

VOLUME I, 1996

REFORMATION



Papers from The 1994 Oxford International Tyndale Conference • Patrick Collinson • Christopher Hill • New evidence on Richard Hunne • Tyndale's last, 'lost' books reconstructed • Words not in A.V.

The Tyndale Society

The Tyndale Society, which grew out of The William Tyndale Quincentenary Trust, was inaugurated in January 1995.

We invite everyone interested in the aims of the Society to join. We have become aware of the size and diversity of interest in Tyndale, and the matters of his time. We welcome any suggestions, ideas or offers, of any kind, and we exist to make them known.

All members of the Society receive a quarterly magazine, *The Tyndale Society Journal*, in which discussion take place and news is given of events, research and publications; short items of information about local events of all kinds or details of investigations in progress and views and ideas members would like to see discussed are welcome. Members also receive the annual journal, *Reformation*, depending on their subscription rate.

The Tyndale Society arranges conferences, lectures and social activities. The Second Oxford International Conference, at Tyndale's colleges of Hertford and Magdalen, will be held 2–7 September 1996. The Society is also raising money to found a Research Fellowship.

Through the Society, arrangements can be made to visit Tyndale sites in England and abroad.

We seek participation as well as patronage. Everyone is welcome.

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The Tyndale Society

The Society aims to: explore and spread abroad the significance of Tyndale's achievement in the light of English and Continental history, theology, Bible studies, literature, language, translation theory and art, throughout the world; provide a forum for discussion, in print and in meetings, for ideas and presentations of all kinds related to these fields; encourage research on Tyndale's place in intellectual and literary movements of the time; and on his religious influence then and now; arrange annual lectures, both within the UK and overseas; raise monies to further all such work

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Advertising rates

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Editorial

Reformation is published by The Tyndale Society each autumn. It is intended to print in each number one or two items with specific reference to Tyndale, about whom a vast amount of work is waiting to be done. The scope of *Reformation*, however, will be wider: it will include essays on history, theology, Bible studies, literature, language, translation theory and art, roughly between 1450 and 1600. These are fields in which scholars are finding that Tyndale is important. The dates 1450–1600 are not in any way rigid: for Bible studies and translation theory in particular, they are probably not helpful.

It is a matter of great satisfaction that the editor of *Reformation* is Professor Gerald Hammond, John Edward Taylor Professor of English in the University of Manchester. Professor Hammond is a much-valued critic and commentator on a number of areas of English and American literary life, a Hebraist, and an acknowledged authority on the Bible in English. He will bring to the journal great distinction. For this first number, however, as Professor Hammond is not free of demanding professional duties, I have undertaken the assembly and editing of papers.

I have also sought to build two panels of experts. One is the beginning of an advisory board, and we are very pleased to have the active interest of David Norton of Victoria University, Wellington, New Zealand; Dr Guido Latré of the Catholic University of Leuven; and Professor Peter Auksi of the University of Western Ontario. The other panel, of seven, is of associate editors, and again we are especially grateful to the following for willingness to serve: for history, Dr Andrew Pettegree, Reformation Studies Institute, University of St Andrews; for language, Professor R. E. Asher, University of Edinburgh; for translation theory, Professor Lawrence Venuti, Temple University, Philadelphia; for art, Dr J. M. Massing, King's College, Cambridge; for theology, Dr David Bagchi, University of Hull; for literature, Professor John N. King, Ohio State University, assisted by: Professor Janel Mueller, University of Chicago; Professor David Kastan, Columbia University, NY; Dr Andrew Hadfield, University of Wales at Aberystwyth; Professor Paul Whitfield White, Purdue University. As we go to press we await a reply to our invitation to be associate editor for Bible studies. Associate editors will evaluate and, occasionally, commission articles in their disciplines. For the moment articles for consideration should be sent to the Editor, *Reformation*, The Tyndale Society, 10B Littlegate Street, Oxford, OX1 1QT.

This first number contains four kinds of material. First come papers given in connection with the quincentenary of the birth of William Tyndale in the autumn of 1994. Among the high points of those celebrations was the service in London at St Paul's Cathedral, attended by a thousand people on 6 October, Tyndale's day in the Anglican calendar, and the date of his martyrdom. The address was given by the former Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Runcie of Cuddesdon, and we are honoured to print it here. Then follow longer and shorter papers, as given, from the first Oxford International Tyndale Conference at Magdalen and Hertford Colleges (Tyndale's own two colleges) in

September 1994: we appreciate the opportunity to print these. (Some papers have had to be held over until the second number.) Next come two major items which grew out of papers to that Conference: Dr Michael Weitzman's on translating the Hebrew Scriptures, and Professor David Norton's on 'Words that did not reach the A.V.' One book review follows: it is our intention to make the reviewing of scholarly books a significant feature of future numbers of *Reformation*. Finally come three extended pieces commissioned specially for this first number. W. R. Cooper gives new evidence in the crucial matter of the murder in 1514 of Richard Hunne – a scandal that embroiled many dignitaries in the run-up to the English Reformation, and arose from the first significant challenge to the corrupt Church practice of mortuaries. Bruce Marsden writes about the origins of the language of mathematics in sixteenth-century England, a story which features that friend of Erasmus and Bishop of London, Cuthbert Tunstall, who so signally failed to support William Tyndale. Finally, Robert Wilkinson reconstructs Tyndale's 'last, lost' books, those he wrote in Latin while in prison in Vilvorde. This he does by digging into the later Latin accounts by his Inquisitor, Jacobus Latomus. We are able to make available for the use of scholars both a translation of the Latin by Professor James A. Willis of the University of Western Australia, and, to conclude the volume, Latomus's Latin text in facsimile.

I must, finally, express my thanks to many people. To the officers of The Tyndale Society, first, who agreed to encourage the founding of *Reformation*. To Sir Christopher Zeeman, for valuable early advice. To Sue Thurgood, who was formerly my part-time secretary and did most useful work. To all the contributors, who allowed me to bully them by phone and by fax and still sent their papers on time. But above all I want to express here my profoundest thanks to our managing editor, Judith Flanders, who came in at the fifty-ninth minute of the eleventh hour and heroically copy-edited everything, sometimes several times, and drove this first number, express, to publication: without her there would be no volume.

David Daniell



ST. JAMES'S PALACE

It is right, I think, that the remarkable work of William Tyndale as a Bible translator should be honoured in this quincentenary year. His spreading and continuing influence on the lives of English speakers across the world - not least through the unacknowledged inclusion of so much of his work in the King James and later versions - richly deserves recognition.

For me, Tyndale's great achievement lies in his still unexplored influence as a maker of a modern English language that in its directness and clarity can speak to the heart, as his translations of the New Testament, and of half the Old Testament, so vividly show.

I know that the International Conference of 1994, with so many distinguished speakers, was a great success and I hope that it will be the beginning of a new appreciation, at all levels, of his genius.

Charles

Commemorative sermon: William Tyndall

6 October 1994, St Paul's Cathedral

The Rt Revd Lord Runcie

All through this year there have been celebrations of the birth of William Tyndall. A birth is something we can readily celebrate: it is an occasion for parties, presents and greeting cards. Yet you will appreciate tonight we have something slightly different, something about which we are likely to have more ambiguous feelings. For on 6 October we remember not Tyndall's birth, but his death: a death that was a classical example of martyrdom: the execution of one lonely, helpless prisoner by the greatest political power of sixteenth-century Europe, the Holy Roman Empire. The form of death was as unpleasant as any of the multitude of deaths for religion that took place in that unhappy century: Tyndall was strangled and then his body was burnt at the stake.

So tonight, although this is the central act of a year of celebration, we commemorate as much as we celebrate. We do so within the carefully structured liturgical form devised by another great churchman of the Reformation who died at the stake for his beliefs two decades after Tyndall: Thomas Cranmer. It is a good setting, because a commemoration is always a thoughtful ceremony, and the memories that it will arouse are not likely to be straightforward. For commemoration is not just remembering a past event, as we might casually remember a pleasant day out, or remember to post a card for someone's birthday; it is a more solemn, systematic act. It involves an honest, careful assessment of ourselves, and what this past means for us.

This is particularly true in the cathedral church where we are gathered tonight. Consider the former members of the Dean and Chapter, sitting in their stalls in the old cathedral quire. In 1536, as the news reached them of the death of William Tyndall, not one of them is likely to have regretted that death. They would feel that justice had been done. There is Cuthbert Tunstall, a much-loved and learned Bishop of London in the 1520s. First he had snubbed Tyndall, when the young scholar had eagerly sought his financial backing in translating the Bible. Then, later on, Tunstall did indeed end up spending his money on Tyndall's Bible, but it was not to read it, but to burn it, in a great bonfire only a few score yards from this pulpit. He was helped in his burning of Bibles by one of my own predecessors as Archbishop of Canterbury, another godly and learned man, William Warham.

True commemoration, you see, involves judgement: and judgement is rarely painless. Inside or outside a court of law, it seldom reveals a straightforward or an easy tale, and it is a particularly poignant exercise in a place so closely associated with William Tyndall's life. I hope I have said enough for you to appreciate that if we had not come to make our commemoration, the very stones of this place would cry out with the story. So often when we remember heroes and heroines of the sixteenth-century Reformation, especially when we remember their deaths, there is a sadness in remembering their heroism: because good and sincere men and women were among those who caused their deaths and did their best to frustrate their purposes. And do not think that one side has a

monopoly of righteousness: there was suffering and martyrdom for the traditional Church as well as for the Reform. William Tyndall's greatest enemy, Sir Thomas More, also died a terrible, lonely death for the sake of his principles, a year before Tyndall himself, and only a mile from this place.

Judgement is uncomfortable and painful. However, in the framework of earthly time, the human judgement of history is still that of a child, because human understanding is still that of a child. Tyndall would have been the first to remind us that even the judgement of history pales into unimportance beside God's judgement of us all.

It was a desperate consciousness of the divine judgement and divine anger that touched off the Protestant Reformation. In his German convent, Martin Luther was driven to experience God's merciful grace in his life only by his first sense that he had been judged and found totally wanting. Tyndall much admired Luther and was inspired by his biblical translation. Yet he had his own twist to Luther's message. And it was his own work of translating the Bible which led him on to a different and fresh insight from Luther – and perhaps one more attuned to our ears. The clue to this is in the first of the readings we heard tonight from Deuteronomy. You may think this was a strange choice. Many modern Christians do not find much spiritual consolation from the books of the law. We are inclined to associate them with detailed regulations from a long-dead society. It was in fact a terrible speech of judgement put in the mouth of Moses and ending with a thunderous condemnation of the Children of Israel for forgetting their God.

This was what Martin Luther found so terrifying. In fact throughout his life as a reformer, Luther found the whole of the Old Testament law terrifying. He said that God put his law in the Bible to remind human beings that they could never keep it all, so that without God's help they were lost for ever.

But Tyndall did not feel like that about the law. When he had finished his translation of the New Testament, he started on the Old, and naturally started at the beginning with the five books of the Law. Quickly he became fascinated by it, and by this book of Deuteronomy in particular. As he translated the book, he became seized with love for it. He called it 'the most excellent of all the books of Moses' because he felt that it spoke to him as much about love as about judgement.

This is what Tyndall said about Deuteronomy: 'It is easy also and light, and a very pure Gospel, that is to wit, a preaching of faith and love: deducing the love to God out of faith, and the love of a man's neighbour out of the love of God.' Easy and light: these were not words Martin Luther would have used about the law. And did you notice the word 'deducing'? It is a word nowadays we may associate with Sherlock Holmes and Dr Watson, and that is just right for what Tyndall means. He thinks that we can go on from the commands of the Law to work out, with God's help, what God wants for us. God has given us reasonable things to do, and he has also given us the capacity to work things out for ourselves, because he loves us. He wants us to use our reason as part of our effort to love him better, and love each other better.

He has no illusions about human nature; it is weak and imperfect, and always chasing after things that are out of reach. But he sees the task of faith as to cling on to the path set out by God in his love, and to keep steadily on, doing one's best with the help that God has given.

That leads us on to the second of our readings, one of the most familiar passages of the Bible. Straight away, from the reading, you will have heard how much we owe to

Tyndall, who created the whole sound of that passage which has echoed in later versions of the Bible. Wedding couples are right to go to it for its literary beauty, and also for its talk of the love that they see in their own relationship. Yet Tyndall would have pointed out to the listener that it speaks of much more than that: it speaks of a love that structures the very pattern of the world, a love that is perfect knowledge, beyond the small efforts and partial visions of human life.

How directly that passage from Corinthians must have spoken to Tyndall! He did indeed himself have the tongues of men and angels. He understood not just English and German, but also Greek and Hebrew, at a time when these gifts were far rarer than they are in twentieth-century England – and they are rare enough now. He was a gourmet of language, a connoisseur of words, fascinated by the way in which they change and take on new life and meanings from one generation to another.

Now there are countless millions who owe Tyndall a debt for his words alone. This is because he undertook his translation at a crucial time for the English language. All European languages faced a testing time in the sixteenth century. European cultures were experiencing what the new technology of printing could do to languages: it would standardize the way they were written – and gradually from that, the way they were spoken. In addition, languages faced a bombardment of new Latin and Greek words, because the European universities had found a new interest in ancient languages in the Renaissance. Because of this, people were fascinated by the possibilities of coining words and receiving them into their own tongues. Anyone who was producing an influential text at that date was therefore making choices that would form the speech of generations. Tyndall and Cranmer and Shakespeare did this for the English language and, from one island off the European coast, their efforts have been spread around the world.

Yet Tyndall simply determined, in a famous phrase, to create a Bible that a ploughboy would understand. Ironically, his desire that his Bible should be popular and not literary in the classical sense created a simple dialect which by its immediacy, clarity and vigour has shaped our culture as no other book or subsequent revision. ‘The Lord was with Joseph – and he was a lucky fellow.’ You can almost hear the Gloucestershire accent – how much warmer than the flat ‘He became a successful man’. Or ‘Let not your heart be troubled’ – it makes to contemporary version, ‘Do not get worried or upset,’ pale and inadequate.

At the same time, through Tyndall’s text, St Paul reminds us that to be in love with words is not necessarily to be in touch with love. Much evil has been done by those who are good with words. All the rest of Tyndall’s career is there in Paul’s text as well. Tyndall moved mountains in his efforts to print his English Bible: outwitting the imperial authorities as he fled from city to city in Germany and the Low Countries. He even cheated Tunstall by making him pay for Bibles to burn in London so that he could finance the printing of another edition – there is consecrated cunning for us! He lived in poverty to put his money into his life’s work – bestowing all his goods to feed the poor, deprived of the word of God in their own language. And finally he gave his body to be burnt in that prison outside Brussels.

Still, without love it would not have been enough. When Tyndall came to comment on this chapter, this is what he said: ‘For that one should love another, is all that God requireth of us; and therefore, if we desire spiritual gifts, he teacheth those gifts to be desired that help our neighbours.’ It is exactly the same message as he had found in

Deuteronomy. Undergirding everything was the love of God. From the love of God was 'deduced' the love of one's neighbour, flowing from it as logically as any deduction of Sherlock Holmes.

William Tyndall undertook his Bible translation because he loved both God and humanity. He would not have understood an humanism that separated out the two. He felt that it was God's purpose for the people whom he loved that they should learn, and grow, and that his why he devoted his life to nourishing them with the word of God. For this in its pages he found the teaching that was helping him to grow towards greater understanding. He did not claim that he had reached his goal, any more than the apostle Paul had done. He looked forward from childish 'unperfect' understanding that is all human beings achieve in this life, however wise and eloquent they may be. After this world of confusing reflections in a mirror, 'then shall we see face to face'.

William Tyndall's greatness, in which it seems to me is unique among his more famed contemporaries, lies in this. He allows the word of God *in his translation* to speak to our humanity – not simply to our religious agonizing or theological disputations.

So in this service we are not just paying homage to a cultural icon – though his stature has been too long overlooked. We are not simply lauding one of the controversialists of the Reformation – though he could exchange insults with the best of them. We are in the presence of a man who used his greatest gifts for other people because he realized his own human imperfections and laid them before a loving God.

In this year of celebration, and on this day of solemn commemoration, may we learn from his example and see how his teaching of the love of God can lighten our own unperfect knowledge and lead us with him in the ways of truth and godliness.

How They Brought the Good News to Halifax: Tyndale's Bibles and the Emergence of the English Nation State

Gerald Hammond
University of Manchester

With the fall of the Soviet empire we have emerged, in a way that could scarcely be predicted even ten years ago, into a world dominated by nationalism. While conventional wisdom has it that the nation state is, in its origins, an eighteenth- and nineteenth-century phenomenon, some historians, writing under the imperatives of new national consciousnesses emerging all round the world, have gone further back to see its sources in earlier times. One in particular, Liah Greenfeld, in her book *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*, has fixed the beginnings of nationalism and the modern world to the England of the first third of the sixteenth century.¹ Nowhere in her book does she mention William Tyndale, but he is undoubtedly the ghost in her machine. Tracing the emergence of national sentiment in early sixteenth-century England, she identifies, early on, 'a factor...the implications of which for both the development and the nature of English nationalism were enormous. This was the printing of the English Bible.' 'The impact of the translation', she adds, 'was unprecedented in its character and extent, and could not be predicted or even imagined before it was experienced...the printing of the English Bible tied Henry [VIII], or rather England, to "the back of a tiger".'²

William Tyndale it was whose Bible had this effect, making Protestant England a nation of the book and it was surely his influence which helped make England different from all other countries. Liah Greenfeld ruminates on the curiosity of this phenomenon for, as she points out, England was by no means the first country to have a vernacular Bible:

In France, Italy and Holland...vernacular translations had appeared much earlier; in Germany, the Scriptures were printed as early as 1466, and fourteen different editions of the Bible in German appeared between this date and 1518. Yet nowhere did the availability of the vernacular Bible have the effect it had in England.

This effect she summarizes thus: 'that the reading of the Bible planted and nurtured among the common people in England a novel sense of human – individual – dignity, which was instantly to become one of their dearest possessions, to be held dearer than life and jealously protected from infringement.'³ Certainly it was the quality of Tyndale's translation, its clarity and power, that helped nurture this love of the Bible's words among the English people – and he, of course, held these words dearer than his own life

– but it was also achieved through the force of his personality, expressed through the Prefaces to his New and Old Testament translations. It is on these Prefaces that I intend to concentrate, with the aim to measure how, through the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth, the love of Tyndale’s words took root and helped create the beginnings of the English nation state. To give this study a focus I shall concentrate on one area of England, the Calder valley, in which lies the town of Halifax.

Halifax, situated in the basin of the River Calder, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, not far removed from the county of Lancashire, I take to stand for England in general. Neither a city nor a village – indeed, only just a town, with a population of between 8,000 and 10,000 in the middle of the sixteenth century, it has no traceable connection with William Tyndale: unlike Gloucester and the Cotswolds, where he was nurtured and had his first clashes with authority; or Oxford, where he was educated; or Cambridge, which he probably did not visit, but where his polemical writings and his Bible translation made such an impact in the 1520s and 1530s; or London, where he tried to gain establishment sponsorship for his translation and where his works soon took firm hold, penetrating right into the court itself; or the east coast generally, where lay the ports through which his books were smuggled, and East Anglia in particular, where an existing Lollard tradition seems to have given them their first footholds in the country.¹ Halifax, rather, stands as one of the dark places of the kingdom, not serviced by any major roads, and more a scattered than a centralized community: and by dint of some guesswork and much supposition I want to use it as the base for this attempt to estimate what Tyndale’s Bibles, their Prefaces as well as their text, did to England.

I have cheated a little in my choice, because the one thing that Halifax did have even earlier than the sixteenth century was a thriving wool trade, an industry which this area’s hard-working inhabitants had developed as a way of making up for the relative paucity of the agricultural land – hilly, and lacking a good climate, Halifax offered little better than subsistence farming, hence the effort to build up a kersey cloth industry.² So, we can guess that the first Tyndale Bibles, if and when they got to Halifax, got there through the wool trade, the means by which they entered England generally. The first printed Gospels in English came into England hidden in the cloth bales which landed at east coast ports: and Halifax men would have acquired them directly through the port of Hull, with which the town, because of the cloth trade, had strong connections, or from London, where Halifax men paid regular visits. They held stalls in Blackwell Hall, the London market for out-of-town clothiers, and Halifax chapmen had stalls at the annual Bartholomew Fair.³

The wool trade notwithstanding, there are plenty of indications that to Tudor Londoners Halifax was one of the dark places. Indeed, it was proverbial. The Earl of Leicester wrote to Lord Burghley from Amsterdam, complaining at the way he was being censured in England without his own defence having been heard: ‘Under correction, my good Lord, I have had Halifax law, to be condemned first and inquired upon after.’⁴ Halifax law referred, among other things, to the town’s infamous gibbet, a kind of guillotine which, since the Middle Ages and right up to 1650, was used to decapitate anyone rash enough to thieve in the district – the vulnerability of wool stocks left lying in the open probably explains the town’s ferocious prosecution of felons.⁵ Another proverb commonly used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries ran: ‘From Hell, Hull and

Halifax good Lord deliver us.'⁹ Certainly, this was explicated as a reference to the gibbet, but there may well be another meaning to it – the positing of a northern triangle, its east–west base running from Hull to Halifax, with Hell at its vertex, may for many Englishmen have represented not just the dark places of the kingdom, but those places where the Reformation had taken strong hold. Hull, as A. G. Dickens has shown, was a focus for early Lutheran ideas, the point where they came into the country and from which they were disseminated; and Halifax, more than other Yorkshire and Lancashire areas, followed suit.¹⁰ Fairly early in Elizabeth's reign, for instance, the northern revolt of 1569 threatened both her rule and the Protestant cause. Archbishop Grindal, an incipient Puritan, reported to her that 'where preaching wanteth, obedience faileth'; and he gave as a good example the parish of Halifax which 'by continual preaching had been better instructed than the rest', with the result that it stood 'ready to bring 3 or 4000 men into the field to serve you against the said rebels.'¹¹ Whether Halifax men were prepared to fight principally for their monarch or for their reformation I cannot determine, but the tradition continued, and in the civil wars of the 1640s and 1650s Halifax was resolutely on the side of Parliament.¹²

And yet Halifax men and women went on the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536 and 1537; and while new style Protestant wills are increasingly found in the immediate post-Reformation period, the majority remain solidly Catholic in their phrasing and sentiments.¹³ To present Halifax as a place that committed itself early and wholeheartedly to the Reformation and all that William Tyndale stood for would falsify the record. When, in 1570, Archbishop Grindal reported that the gentry of the diocese were 'not well affected to Godly Religion' and that among the common people there were 'many Remanents of the old', he is likely to have found good examples of both sorts in Halifax, suffering, as he saw it, from three errors: 'Great Ignorance, much Dullness to conceive better Instruction, and great Stiffness to return [to] their wonted errors.'¹⁴ It is clear, to take a major example, that the vicar of the main parish of Halifax from c.1525 to 1556, Robert Haldesworth, a man of great influence in the area, had little sympathy for the Reformation cause.¹⁵ In 1535 he was reported, in a bill of complaint sent to Cromwell, as saying: 'If the king reign any space he will take all from us of the Church, all that ever we have, and therefore I pray God send him a short reign ...'¹⁶ Like most of the clergy, however, he acquiesced in the changes when they came, introducing an English Bible into his church in 1538, and using the first Edward prayer book in April, 1548: but when Mary came to the throne he happily returned to Catholic forms of obedience and worship.¹⁷ That English Bible is the first tangible sign I can find of William Tyndale's words reaching Halifax, and it is ironic that this should be by way of a man who obviously detested every thing Tyndale stood for.

We do not know much of what the people of England thought during the Reformation – what they said and wrote is not necessarily an accurate register of their thoughts – but we can tell, from reading his Prologues, what Tyndale wanted them to think, for these texts were designed, if any were, to stir men's minds.

To read any one of his Prologues is to be thrust into controversy. The first thing a reader of his 1530 Pentateuch would encounter is Tyndale's fierce hostility to the Church authorities in England, from the archbishops all the way down to local clergy like Halifax's Haldesworth: 'Malicious and wily hypocrites', he calls them, which are 'so

hard hearted in their wicked abominations'. Not only do they deny the possibility of reforming anything, but they say 'some of them that it is impossible to translate the scripture in to English', and some say 'that it is not lawful for the lay people to have it in their mother tongue, some, that it would make them heretics'. And these various 'somes' get revised into an 'all' when he goes on to make a political point: 'And some or rather every one say that it would make them rise against the king', with the rider that it is the king 'whom they themselves (unto their damnation) never yet obeyed'.¹⁸

This is heady stuff and as the Halifax readers moved into the second paragraph so they would encounter a full-blown conspiracy theory about the practices of the Church – and again the some are agglomerated into an all:

...in this they all be agreed, to drive you from the knowledge of the scripture, and that ye shall not have the text thereof in the mother tongue, and to keep the word still in darkness, to thentent that they might sit in the consciences of the people, through vain superstition and false doctrine, to satisfy their filthy lusts, their proud ambition, and unsatiable covetousness, and to exalt their own honour above king and emperor, yea and above God Him Self.

And so the prologue moves on to identify one representative of the conspiracy, Cuthbert Tunstall, the Bishop of London, friend of Erasmus, whose calculated neglect of Tyndale's request of his sponsorship of a translated Bible drove Tyndale on to the Continent, in the belief that not only was there 'no room in my lord of London's palace to translate the New Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England'.

Such polarizations and conspiracy theories still exist, for the Reformation branded them into our culture. Compare, for instance, the meticulous scholarship extended upon the Yale edition of Thomas More's works with the almost complete neglect of Tyndale's writings. Here is the man whose Bible translation formed the basis for the book that has had more influence upon our literature and our general culture than any other, and we still lack any kind of scholarly edition of that translation tracing, for instance, the various influences, historical and contemporary, upon Tyndale in the Old and the New Testament, the processes of revision which he himself undertook of his various versions, the extent to which he utilized earlier biblical resources in the English language or reinvented biblical English, or the theological implications of the renderings he chose. We lack, in fact, for a writer whose influence was perhaps as great as Shakespeare's, possibly greater even than Shakespeare's, the expenditure of 0.1 per cent of the scholarly time we spend on Shakespeare. Indeed, until last year we lacked even the most basic modern edition of Tyndale's Bible translation: until David Daniell made the effort Tyndale's translation of the historical books of the Old Testament – about a fifth of his work in translation – had not been reprinted since the sixteenth century.¹⁹

As with the literary critics so with the historians: what should we make of a book 600 pages long, on the subject of popular religion in England between 1400 and 1580, which mentions Tyndale just twice, giving him less than a quarter of the space it gives to Cuthbert Tunstall? Eamon Duffy's *The Stripping of the Altars* has as its subtitle 'Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580', and the point of that 'traditional' is a well-made one, for to look at pre-Reformation England through his eyes, or through those of Thomas More's editors, is to wonder where all the darkness was which Tyndale and his

fellow Reformers inveighed against, for medieval and early Renaissance England was anything but a biblically ignorant culture.²⁰ Much the opposite, in fact, it was soaked in the Bible. Tyndale might accuse the conspirators of encouraging the people to lose their souls in the reading of tales of Robin Hood, but the evidence points quite elsewhere: in their primers, in their plays, in their seasonal customs, in their commonplace books and their wills, from their birth to the moment of their death, the English people, including naturally the people of Halifax, thought and felt biblically. Echoing Erasmus, Tyndale wanted every ploughboy to sing Scripture as he worked: Duffy offers plenty of evidence to show that the ploughboy was already doing this. He quotes, for example, John Mirk's urging, more than a century before the Reformation, that parish clergy should instruct their parishioners to say their prayers in English: 'hit ys moch more spedfull and merita-bull to you to say you Pater Noster yn Englysche then yn suche Lateyn, as ye doth. For when ye speketh Englysche, then ye knownen and understandyn wele what ye sayn.'²¹ Of course, not all such prayers were biblical in the way the paternoster was. Indeed, most of them were not, and herein lies one way of looking at these different views of history, for traditional religion, as it developed through the medieval period, had wrapped the Bible in a cocoon of images and practices. Eamon Duffy has a nice way of putting this, towards the end of his study. Looking at the increasing spread of Protestant feeling in much of England in Elizabeth's reign, he writes, of the 1570s: 'New pieties were forming, and something of the old sense of the sacred was transferring itself from the sacramentals to the scriptures.'²² However, this does not merely mean that the English people were, as Tyndale would doubtless have us believe, moving from superstition to a biblically based faith, for 'sacramentals', whatever the form they take, must be rooted in scripture. Sacramentals are things that figure in the rites and observances of the Church, but even at their most papist, holy water or holy oil for instance, they act as tokens of Scripture, reminders of revelation. Against Tyndale's view of a nation dwelling in darkness we might set the image of a people all of whose lives were founded on biblically based practices and observances. That they were conscious of the biblical roots of what they did and held is borne out by the poems they heard and read, from the simplest to the most sophisticated, and the dramas they acted in and wondered at.

In miracle and mystery plays, as well as *Piers Plowman*, *Cleanness*, *Patience*, and *Pearl* and the lyric and the ballad, biblical narratives and Psalms and parables and doctrine were ever-present elements. He may or may not have been literate, but a ploughboy or a Halifax trader of the fifteenth century is likely to have had a shrewder idea of who Noah was and what happened to him than today's schoolboy, who struggles to make sense of the imagery of D. H. Lawrence's *The Rainbow*, or the man on the Halifax omnibus.

Go back to the Halifax of five hundred years ago and imagine, as in all likelihood happened, most of the town making an annual trip some thirteen miles to the other side of the Calder valley, to the town of Wakefield, to see the Bible played out in front of their eyes – and to hear its very words in English. They saw Cain kill Abel, and Noah and his family prepare for the Flood – I shall quote first from the text of the Wakefield mystery plays and then from Tyndale's translation.²³

Deus: Caym, where is thi brother Abell?
[Tyndale: Where is Abel thy brother?]
Caym: What askys thou me? I trow at hell,

At hell I trow he be –

[Tyndale: And he said, I cannot tell]

Whoso were ther then myght he se –

Or somwhere fallen on slepyng.

When was he in my kepyng?

[Tyndale: am I my brother's keeper]

Deus: Caym, Caym, thou was wode.

The voyce of thi brothers blode,

That thou has slain on falswise,

From erth to heven vengance cryse.

[Tyndale: The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me out of the earth]

Deus: For he that slays the, young or old,

It shall be punyshed sevenfold.

[Tyndale: Whosoever slayeth Cain shall be punished sevenfold]

Of course, as he saw Cain kill Abel and heard God's judgement, so the Halifax spectator also saw the show stolen by Cain's servant, a witty, down-to-earth lad who has no existence in the Bible; and as he knew about Noah, so he also knew about Noah's wife, a woman who figures very little in the Bible but who in the Wakefield plays comes to dominate the narrative with her shrewish obduracy. And in the New Testament he probably knew in detail much of the midrash, to use an anachronistic term, which filled in every interstice of the life of Mary as narrated in the Gospels. In effect, the darkness which Tyndale came to light was not one of ignorance but of too much knowledge.

Whether when he was on the Continent Tyndale actually learned Hebrew from Jews, or even consulted them, is difficult to judge. On balance, I doubt it, although it seems pretty clear to me that his English contemporary Robert Wakefield, the holder of the first Regius chair of Hebrew at Cambridge, did so in the 1520s.²⁴ But even if he did not, Tyndale certainly did know that they were a people who knew the Bible, or at least their part of it, thoroughly and intimately. And yet such knowledge was in Tyndale's view no help to them at all. As he put it, in the Preface to his 1534 New Testament, describing first the Jews of Christ's day who could not understand the scripture they knew: no matter how much they read or heard it, they were 'locked out'. And he goes on to talk of the Jews of his own day:

...they can understand no sentence of the scripture unto their salvation, though they can rehearse the texts everywhere and dispute thereof as subtly as the papist doctors of dunces dark learning, which with their sophistry, served us, as the Pharisees did the Jews.²⁵

This I take to be an important point in understanding what Tyndale saw himself as doing. At one level, and most simply, he was replacing things with words – sacramentals with Scripture. The English were to become a nation driven by the word, a people of readers rather than spectators; but in becoming so they were inevitably going to be polarized. Well before Calvin, and well before Calvin's hold on the England of the seventeenth century, he presents the frightening vision of a people split into those who are saved and

those who are unsavable, Abels and Cains.²⁶ By giving the English the pure, uncluttered word of God, free of pageants, plays, images and things, Tyndale never imagined that, in saving the soul of the nation, he was saving all the souls in the nation. Much the opposite, he saw clearly that he was condemning some, if not many. This he spells out in detail in that 1534 Preface:

This have I said (most dear reader) to warn thee, lest thou shouldst be deceived, and shouldst not only read the scriptures in vain and to no profit, but also unto they greater damnation. For the nature of God's word is, that whosoever read it or hear it reasoned and disputed before him, it will begin immediately to make him every day better and better, till he be grown into a perfect man in the knowledge of Christ and love of the law of God: or else make him worse and worse, till he be hardened that he openly resist the spirit of God...

He follows this with his favourite light in darkness image, to press the point home:

This to be even so, the word of Christ do well confirm. This is condemnation saith he, the light is come into the world, but the men loved darkness more than light for their deeds were evil. Behold, when the light of God's word cometh to a man, whether he read it or hear it preached and testified, and he yet have no love thereto, to fashion his life thereafter, but consenteth still unto his old deeds of ignorance: then beginneth his just damnation immediately, and he is henceforth without excuse: in that he refused mercy offered to him.²⁷

Here, I think, is a fair point of departure between Catholic and Protestant. The medieval Church presented to the people of England a lovingly paternal care, shielding its children from too direct an experience of the word of God, and dressing up that word with images and practices to make it an ineradicable part of their daily life, not only in their private meditations but in their public entertainments too. Tyndale was certainly as loving – his ‘most dear reader’ is sincerely meant, not a mere rhetorical gesture – but ‘nurturing’ children, to use one of his favourite words in his polemical writings, means eventually giving them the freedom and the responsibility to find their own way. In Liah Greenfeld’s words, ‘a novel sense of human – individual – dignity’ generated by the reading of the Bible.²⁸

Both sides have their contradictions. Defenders of the Church in this country need to explain why this was the only European state to prohibit translation of the Bible into the vernacular. To be sure, the Church’s defenders can explain it, along the lines by which they justify Thomas More’s opposition to Tyndale. More did not oppose Bible translation in itself, they say, but only irresponsible translation. At the right time, done by the right person, a vernacular translation would have been permitted. As Eamon Duffy writes:

It seems likely that even had the Reformation not reached England...this particular ban would have had to go, sooner or later. Without the goad of Reformation, of course, the advent of an English version of the New Testament might well have been absorbed into the devotional mood which dominated English religious reading, without the doctrinal uncertainty and conflict which

in fact ensued.²⁹

But this is the stuff of might have been, and it plays down the historical fact that when the pressure built up for a vernacular scripture the Church made no other movement than to try to screw the lid down tighter. Only if one assumes that the Reformation was itself a conspiracy foisted upon the nation by a group of politically motivated conspirators, in which the will of the people played little or no part, can such a view be supported.

The will of the people of Halifax was probably, like most of England's, an ambivalent one; to have their cake and eat it too. They continued going to the Wakefield plays well after the Reformation, so for a time they not only read God's word in their English Bibles, but still saw God on the stage speaking to Cain and to Noah. This was too much for the reforming Church of the first generation of Elizabeth's reign and an ecclesiastical commission of 1576, under the direction of Archbishop Grindal, directed the suppression of the plays, complaining that '...there be many thinges used which tende to the derogation of the Majestie and glorie of God, the prophanation of the sacramentes and the maunteynance of superstition and idolatrie...'³⁰ Only with this prohibition can we truly say that for the people of the Calder valley the Bible had finally been translated, from spectacle and midrash, down to the pure words of the text itself – most of those words, of course, being William Tyndale's.

From the start, however, it is not difficult to find contradictions in the reformers' emphasis on the desirability of the pure text of Scripture. The chief of them begins to appear in Tyndale's two Prefaces to his 1534 New Testament, 'W.T. Unto the Reader' and 'William Tyndale, yet once more to the christen reader'. 'W.T. Unto the Reader', just before it moves into controversy, makes the fair enough point that the Word, as offered here in English, is not necessarily the final word: 'If any man find faults either with the translation or ought beside...it shall be lawful to translate it themselves and to put what they lust thereto.'³¹ In 'William Tindale, yet once more...' a somewhat different tune is sung, as Tyndale inveighs against his former helper George Joye's unwarranted interpolation of his own renderings into his text. Were Tyndale's complaint only that Joye had foisted upon the world his own revision under Tyndale's name this would be fair enough. But Tyndale goes much further. Joye's chief purpose in making the changes was, it seems, to make the English New Testament carry his own peculiar theology: the change which most alarms Tyndale is from 'resurrection', Tyndale's word, to 'the life after this life':

.. ye shall understand that George Joye hath had of a long time marvellous imaginations about this word resurrection, that it should be taken for the state of the soul after their departing from their bodies, and hath also...yet sown his doctrine by secret letters on that side of the sea, and caused great division among the brethen...Thereto I have been since informed that no small number through his curiosity, utterly deny the resurrection of the flesh and body, affirming that the soul when she is departed is the spiritual body of the resurrection, and other resurrection shall there none be. And I have talked with some of them my self, so doted in that folly, that it were as good persuade a post, as to pluck that madness out of their brains. And of this all is George Joye's unquiet curios-

ity the whole occasion...

The message Tyndale draws from this is one which puts him, ultimately, much closer to Thomas More than he might have wished:

If George Joye will say (as I wot well he will) that his change, is the sense and meaning of those scriptures. I answer it is sooner said than proved: howbeit let other men judge. But though it were the very meaning of the scripture: yet if it were lawful after his ensample to every man to play boo pepe with the translations that are before him, and to put out the words of the text at this pleasure and to put in everywhere his meaning: or what he thought the meaning were, that were the next way to stablish all heresies and to destroy the ground where-with we should improve them.¹²

I do Tyndale a disservice by cutting off the quotation here, for he goes into some detail to argue the point about resurrection, but really this is irrelevant to the principle which he has now expounded. By saying that Joye would have been wrong to have made the change even if it were 'the very meaning of the scripture' he has shown himself to be just as concerned as the Church is not to allow idiosyncratic or individual translation, no matter how verifiable this translation is, for to do so is to work against community. Tyndale calls such translation 'the private interpretation of [a] mans brain' and he is no more willing to endorse it than are his opponents.

To hold this position Tyndale has to believe that his own work is not private interpretation, but belongs to the community. And community, too, needs careful definition. Community is not the sudden agglomeration of people following a new popular leader – George Joye has such a following – and it is certainly not sectarianism: towards the end of the Prologue Tyndale vehemently denies that he has tried 'to be author of any sect, or to draw disciples' after him. So, in order to demonstrate that he is part of a community bound together by the true faith, he needs to believe that this community is one that has evolved or developed in a line which goes back to the early Church and that it consists of most of the people of England.

It was not easy for Tyndale to maintain such a belief. By 1534 he had been in exile for a good few years and although he had a small community of like-minded Englishmen around him and had regular traffic with English merchants and other visitors, the anger at Joye's intervention demonstrates how anxious he was. Not only could Joye misrepresent him back in England, but Joye himself had spread teachings among the English community that had harmed 'no small number'. The true model for these Prologues is that of a Pauline epistle, with Tyndale exhorting a community whom he cannot visit in person to beware the sectarianism that is creeping in this early in the Reformation.

Like Paul, too, Tyndale's strategy is to validate his community's apparently new set of beliefs by asserting its basis in Gospel truth. Not new, but true, in fact. The most obvious way to do this is to deliver to the people the Bible in English but, as we have already seen, he acknowledges that the word of God, on its own, even in the transparency of the vernacular, may do as much harm as good. The Jews are one example of this, George Joye is another. The people need nurturing, even, or especially, with the text in front of them; and this text itself needs to have been translated in such a way that it does not puz-

zle or mislead:

Therefore (that I might be found faithful to my father and Lord in distributing unto my brethren and fellows of one faith, their due and necessary foode: so dressing it and seasoning it, that the weak stomach may receive it also, and be the better for it) I thought it my duty (most dear reader) to warn thee before, and to shew the right way in, and to give the true key to open it with all, and to arm thee against false prophets and malicious hypocrites whose perpetual study is to leaven the scripture with glosses, and there to lock it up where it should save the soul, and to make us shoot at a wrong mark, to put our trust in those things that profit their bellies only and slay our souls.¹³

Bound to deny the validity of a priesthood and removed himself from any real first-hand communication with the English people, Tyndale needs his Bibles to speak for themselves. The way in which they do this most forthrightly is in their Prologues; and it is in the Prologues that he develops his main theme, the coherent totality of the Bible. He began translating, according to the story he tells in the Prologue to the Pentateuch, with the aim of giving the English people the New Testament in their own language. He ended by insisting that the people needed the whole Bible, New Testament and Old. Not only this, the people must realize that every word of the Bible, even in the most recondite areas of the Old Testament, was as important as every other one. In this he is absolutely un-Lutheran. He gives no sign at all that he is tempted, for example, to share Luther's views about the dubious canonicity of many parts of the Bible, and he certainly rejects totally Luther's frequently voiced relegation of the Old Testament as something which Christians could easily live without. For Tyndale the only true way to interpret and understand the Bible was through the Bible itself, text explaining text, Old Testament promise enlightening New Testament teaching, and Old Testament law showing the people how to live obediently in a Christian state.

For an ideal example of the triumph of Tyndale's views I can point to the figure of the most influential of the Tudor vicars of Halifax, a man named John Favour.¹⁴ Appointed in 1594, at a time when the Elizabethan church had moved away from the reformism of men like Grindal, Favour none the less ensured that Halifax stayed firmly reformist. His book *Antiquitie Triumphing Over Noveltie* argued the Tyndale line, that it was the English Church, not the Roman one, which represented the true biblical faith.¹⁵ Rome it was which was new, not true, a fact borne out, as Favour observes, by its determination to hide the Scriptures from laymen. Favour's practice was to explicate the Bible continually by preaching the Word, so much so that Halifax became famous for its monthly 'exercises', still remembered in Civil War times, when Oliver Heywood recalled: '...there was a famous exercise maintained every month at Halifax, whereat not only neighbour ministers preached in their turns, but strangers far and near were sent for to preach it, two sermons a day, being the last Wednesdays in the month, multitudes of hearers'.¹⁶ Perhaps as many, we might guess, as those who went to see the Wakefield plays a generation earlier.

Favour's multitudes are Tyndalian community put into practice, the kind of thing which his Prologues begin to envisage as a substitute for the superstition of the Church in which priests, themselves ignorant of Scripture, encouraged a culture which swamped

the word of God in a mass of ritual and mumbo-jumbo. And reading Favour's book, published in 1619, is to see how seventeenth-century Puritan discourse has its origins in Tyndale's Bible Prologues. Nearly a century later Favour is arguing the same point, that above everything else it is the text of the Bible which should guide the people's actions and thoughts, each man and woman having access to that text in the language which they speak, as opposed to Catholic countries where, in Favour's words (though they might easily be Tyndale's), the 'sacred histories of the Bible were immured and lockt up in the dark dungeon of an unknown tongue'. Favour does exactly what Tyndale had done in his Prologues by contrasting the tales of King Arthur and other fictions, which the papists encouraged, with their suppression of Scripture. Writing of the Golden Legend he gives us a sudden view of Halifax in the late fifteenth century. This book of nonsensical legends, he says, was 'commended to curats, read in churches, hearkened by the people in their owne tongue, when the scriptures lay...motheaten in a few libraries, and were scarce to be found in one Priests studie of an hundred: and were carefully, but most wickedly kept from the people...in an unknown language.'³⁷ And to give his readers an idea of how barbarous those times were, Favour delves into his own family history, describing

the wil of a predecessor of mine, in the Vicaridge of Hallifax, dated *anno. Dom.* 1477, who giveth no booke in his will, but one...*I bequeath to John Williamson my brother Robert his sonne, one booke called the legend of Saints, if he be a Priest.* By which we may see, what store of books such a man in those days had; perhaps in all likelihood, he had not a better.³⁸

Favour, the preacher and expounder of the pure word of God to the people of Halifax, is a fine exemplar of Puritanism's basis lying in conscience and Bible reading, a set of convictions rooted in Tyndale's Bible Prologues.

Now, this insistence upon the pure biblical word was, in some respects, not original to Tyndale: it had been heard in England more than a century before in the teachings of John Wyclif and his Lollard followers. Lollard sermons are remarkable things, often consisting of a few paragraphs of introduction and then many paragraphs literally recounting the Biblical text, this text being, for the most part, the one full English Bible version which pre-existed Tyndale's work, the Wyclif Bible.³⁹ Here, obviously, is a place where we might reasonably look for continuity between Tyndale's work and what had gone before; but when we do so, we find little. In this respect the story of the men of Steeple Bumpstead seems symbolic. According to a deposition entered in 1528, by John Tyball of that parish, he and a man called Thomas Hilles went to London to visit Robert Barnes, an Augustine monk of Cambridge:

And they found the sayd Freer Barons in his chamber; whereas there was a merchant man, reading in a boke, and ii. and iii. more present. And when they came in, the Frear demawnded them, from when they cam. And they said, from Bumstede; and...they desyred...Freer Barons, that they might be aquaynted with hym; because they had herd that he was a good man; and bycause they wold have his cownsel in the New Testament, which they desyred to have of hym. And he saithe, that the sayd Freer Barons did perseve very well, that Thomas Hilles and this respondent were infected with opinions, bycause they wold have

the New Testament. And then farther they shewed the sayd Frear, that one Sir Richard Fox Curate of Bumstede, by ther means, was wel entred in ther learnyng; and sayd, that they thowghte to gett hym hole in shorte space... And then...Thomas Hilles and this respondent shewyd the Frear Barons of certayne old bookeſ that they had: as of iii. Evangelistes, and certayne Epistles of Peter and Poule in Englishe. Which bookeſ the sayd Frear dyd little regard, and made a twyte of it, and said, A poynſ for them, for they be not regarded toward the new printed Testament in Englishe. For it is of more cleyner Englishe. And then...Frear Barons delyverid to them the sayd New Testament in Englyſhe: for which they paid iiis. iid. and desyred them, that they wold kepe yt close...Frear Barons dyd lyken the New Testament in Latyn to a cymball tynkklyng, and brasse sowndyng...⁴⁰

That last point is an interesting one: Barnes seems to be telling them that their Wyclif translations are rubbish because they are Vulgate based. And the whole tale is revealing about how the good news reached the parishes of England. It demonstrates the networking of the reformers: theirs was a proselytizing mission, as with the curate they hoped to 'get hole in a short space', carried out against the threat of persecution, 'and desyred them that they wold kepe yt close'. Barnes's customers are tradesmen – he is encountered instructing three or four merchant men (possibly one from Halifax?) – and Tyndale's New Testament is sold in best tradesman's manner. For 3s. 2d. they will get a Bible much superior to the one they have – 'it is of more cleyner English' – and one infinitely superior to any Latin version. Wyclif and the Vulgate are last year's model.

If, however, Tyndale's Bibles were breaking so radically free from existing vernacular versions, as well as from the Vulgate, then it remains a vital question to consider just what roots he was tapping into, for without roots he can claim neither continuity nor community. He stands in danger of being perceived instead as a man offering the country merely the 'private interpretation' of his own brain. In suggesting answers to this question Halifax and the surrounding Yorkshire area may give us clues.

One answer is to use the work of that great scholar A. G. Dickens who has done so much to show how the Reformation grew out of existing Lollard practices and instincts, but if I go down this road I stand in danger myself of making Tyndale and the Reformation synonymous, and I do not wish to do this. I would rather present Tyndale as a phenomenon even larger than the Reformation, and stress, instead, how his Bibles, unlike, say, his polemical writings, would have interested all men and women, not only those of a Lollard background or those of a reforming state of mind.

In this context it is worth our returning to the Calder valley in which are situated both Halifax and Wakefield, with, some thirty or so miles to the north, the area of Cover Dale. Miles Coverdale, a follower and possible helper of Tyndale, who himself published the first complete English Bible in 1535, came from that area.⁴¹ Wakefield was the home territory of a man I have already mentioned, Robert Wakefield, the first professor of Hebrew at Cambridge.⁴² The second professor was his brother, Thomas Wakefield.⁴³ Other Yorkshire scholars include Ralph Baines, from Handsforth, the first Englishman to compile a Hebrew grammar: his *Prima rudimenta in lingua hebraeum* was published in 1550.⁴⁴ Coverdale was a reformer, but Robert Wakefield and Ralph Baines were not. Indeed, Wakefield's *Oratio* shows that he was wholly opposed to any kind of translation

of the Hebrew Scriptures, and Baines, who was made Bishop of Lichfield by Mary, was dropped on Elizabeth's succession because of his refusal to comply with the returned Protestant order.⁴⁵ I would suggest that to all three of those men Tyndale's Bibles were interesting, if not necessarily good news. Good, certainly, for a man like Coverdale, but interesting and absorbing for the other two, who would want to see how Tyndale's understanding of the Bible's original languages could aid theirs. Here, then, is one community of interest, in getting hold of the books at least, even at a time of great factionalism.

Tyndale's purpose, of course, was to unite as much of the country as possible behind his belief: the religious message is primary. But the scholarship is part of that message, none the less, as the Prologues to his Bibles make clear. In introducing the various books of the Pentateuch, for instance, Tyndale praises the narratives as literal, not allegorical, examples 'written for our learning'. Deuteronomy, that book full of laws, blessings, and curses, is, in fact, a 'gospel', teaching us the love of God.⁴⁶ And in the preface to the New Testament of 1534 Tyndale offers an extraordinary paragraph, right at the very beginning, in which he instructs his readers in the essentially Hebraic nature of New Testament Greek

...Whose preterperfect tense and present tense is oft both one, and the future tense is the optative mode also, and the future tense is oft the imperative mode in the active voice and in the passive ever. Likewise person for person, number for number, and an interrogation for a conditional, and such like is with the Hebrews a common usage.⁴⁷

We might well wonder what such grammatical detail is doing in the first paragraph of a book designed to be read by ploughboys, but I suspect that it went down rather well, not only in Cambridge, but in Steeple Bumstead and Halifax also. Tyndale is educating his people, persuading them to see the old truths which lie behind his seemingly new message. The Old Testament is not a slightly embarrassing source for allegories but a guide to life. Its very laws are a Gospel. Its language is the same language as the New Testament, and through it we can understand what Christ really taught. So, towards the end of the New Testament prologue, in arguing that repentance is not a thing which you do but a thing which you feel, Tyndale pulls in the Hebrew which underlies the Greek word: '...the very sense and signification both of the Hebrew and also of the Greek word, is, to be converted and to turn to God with all the heart...'⁴⁸ And if his readers wanted examples of this Old Testament usage they could find them even in this New Testament volume, in 'The Epistles Taken Out of the Old Testament' which he appended to the main text. There they could find in Joel 'Turn to me'; in Ezekiel 'turn from his way'; and in Hosea 'turn Israel...and turn unto the Lord'.⁴⁹ Turning the heart, not doing a penance is the theology of the Reformation, and Tyndale calls in biblical scholarship to support it.

By encouraging such scholarly attention to the very words of the text, Tyndale taught English men and women to live by the word. For a number, for many if we accept the arguments of historians like Eamon Duffy and Christopher Haigh, this was an unwanted conversion of things, images, and spectacles into bare text.⁵⁰ For many others, however, in the high culture as well as the tradesmen and ploughboys, it was an exciting conversion. Even at court, we know of Anne Boleyn's treasuring of Tyndale's texts; and through

her, perhaps, they found their way to her one-time favourite courtier Thomas Wyatt.⁵¹ From a Yorkshire family, coincidentally, Wyatt shows one of the first attempts to absorb Tyndale's message into poetry in his paraphrase of the seven penitential Psalms. Based on an Italian model, by Pietro Aretino, Wyatt gives these Psalms the same narrative structure, building them into the narrative of David's sorrow for his adulterous affair with Bathsheba. Wyatt begins by following his Italian model closely, but as the repentance narrative develops so he goes more and more his own way, or, to be more exact, more and more Tyndale's, for between the fifth and sixth Psalm, he shows David acknowledging that his repentance is a matter purely of faith, dependent on God's grace not his own actions:

But when he weigh'th the fault and recompense,
He damn'th his deed and findesth plain
Atween them two no whit equivalence;
Whereby he takes all outward deed in vain
To bear the name of rightful penitence,
Which is alone the heart returned again
And sore contrite that doth his fault bemoan,
And outward deed the sign or fruit alone.

With this he doth defend the sly assault
Of vain allowance of his void desert,
And all the glory of his forgiven fault
To God alone he doth it whole convert.⁵²

The emphasis is all on turning – returning and converting. Wyatt's David experiences repentance very much as Tyndale wanted his dear Christian reader to; and Wyatt is writing within five or six years of Tyndale's New Testament appearing in the country.

Like Wyatt and the court, the rest of England turned too; and not least Halifax. The signs are that its movement towards Tyndale's text and his teachings was as fraught there as it was anywhere else, involving the kind of pain which Wyatt's David underwent. I mentioned earlier its vicar at the time of the Reformation, Robert Haldesworth, the man who survived into Mary's reign and who clearly applauded the return to Catholicism. He did not applaud it for long, however, being murdered in a raid on his vicarage in 1556.⁵³ Some twenty years earlier, as the Reformation was beginning to bite, his vicarage had also been twice raided; and whatever the economic or social pressures which led to such violence, there were probably religious ones also. Robert Farrer, from the Midgely parish in Halifax, complained to Cromwell in 1538 about Haldesworth's lack of preaching. Farrar had been one of those early Cambridge Lutherans, and readers of Tyndale, who had been forced to recant and carry a penitential faggot in 1528.⁵⁴ In his submission to Cromwell he complained that 'Rotherham, Doncaster, Pontefract, Wakefield, Leeds, Bradford, Halifax and many other towns had not one faithful preacher', although the people were keen to learn. In the Henrician reaction, in 1540, Farrar was excommunicated after failing to appear before the York Court of Audience to reply to certain articles 'touching the safety of his soul and heretical pravity'.⁵⁵ Like his enemy Haldesworth, Farrar too met a violent end, being one of the Marian martyrs, burnt at Carmarthen in

March 1555.⁵⁶ The deaths of these two Halifax men exemplify what Tyndale predicted in that 1534 Preface: by issuing an English Bible, by translating that Bible from spectacle and ceremony into text, he had forced men and women to choose either to live and die by the word, as in his eyes Farrar would have done, or to live and die against it, like Haldesworth.

That England ultimately choose Tyndale's and Farrar's way may well be because the people came to love Tyndale's words, not least for the scholarship which lay behind them. Here, again, Halifax points the way, for if we look forward one and two generations we find that this ostensibly remote part of England helped contribute two men to the panels which translated the Authorized Version, under James I's direction. One was Henry Savile, born in 1549 and a member of the major Halifax family, who became the leading Greek scholar of his day, tutor for the Greek tongue to Elizabeth I, and one of the team of eight at Oxford who translated the four gospels, Acts and Revelation.⁵⁷ The other was John Bois, the only A.V. translator whose notes have survived, and whose seventeenth-century biographer Anthony Walker wrote of him: 'His father Mr. William Bois was a great scollar, being learned in the Hebrew and Greek excellently well. Which, considering the manners (that I say not the rudeness) of the times of his education, was almost a miracle.' It may have been a miracle, but we should note that his father was, according to Walker, the son of 'An inhabitant of Hallifax in Yorkshire, I think a clothier. In which town his father William Bois was born, and brought up at school...'⁵⁸ William Tyndale it was who lightened the dark places of England, teaching its people to engage with the text of the Bible, taking it right back to its Greek and Hebrew roots; and such 1611 translators as Savile and Bois must have realized how firm a basis he had laid, for as anyone who makes the study will confirm, the A.V. is, in all of the New Testament and much of the Old, really only a revision of Tyndale's text.

My theme has been that in translating the Bible Tyndale helped create England. If Liah Greenfeld is right in her claim that England discovered 'nation-ness' during the sixteenth century, then Tyndale's Bibles, Prefaces and all, must have played a significant part. We see it fairly early in a play like John Bale's *King John*, where England herself is a character, ultimately saved, in the coming together of all stations in the land to applaud Henry VIII's spreading of the Word of God in English throughout the land.⁵⁹

This sticks a little in the throat, given Henry's part in Tyndale's persecution; so I prefer to finish with a better poet than Bale. Thomas Wyatt wrote to his friend John Pointz in 1536, celebrating his escape from court life and his satisfaction at being in the English countryside: neither at court, nor in France, nor Spain, nor Flanders,

Nor I am not where Christ is given in prey
For money, poison, and treason at Rome –
A common practice used night and day.
But here I am in Kent and Christendom...⁶⁰

For Kent, read Halifax; read, in fact, England.

Notes

1. Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Harvard U.P., Cambridge, MA, 1992).
2. Greenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 51; the 'tiger' remark is Lawrence Stone's.
3. Greenfeld, *op cit.*, pp. 53–54.
4. For details of Tyndale's life in England, see David Daniell, *William Tyndale: A Biography* (Yale University Press, London, 1994), pp.9–107.
5. For much of the detail about Halifax's economy and development I have relied on Martha Ellis François, 'The Social and Economic Development of Halifax, 1558–1640'. *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society: Literary and Historical Section*, 11, part 8 (1966), pp. 220–78.
6. A. G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York 1509–1558* (Hambledon Press, London, 2nd edition, 1982), pp. 16–21.
7. The letter was written in March 1585–86; see T.W. Hanson, 'The Halifax Gibbet Custom'. *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society* (1948), p. 57
8. Some idea of the remoteness of Halifax from metropolitan society can be gathered from Thomas Deloney's 'novel' *Thomas of Reading* (1600), in which he describes the setting up of the gibbet in the days of Henry I. Halifax people are presented as speaking in a broad North country dialect which reads more like a Scottish dialect than anything else.
9. See F. P. Wilson ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 3rd edition, 1970), p. 367. The proverb's first attestation is in 1594.
10. See A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (Fontana, Glasgow, 1967), pp.58–60.
11. Quoted by H. Holroyde, in 'Protestantism and Dissent in the Parish of Halifax 1509–1640.' *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society* (1988), p. 38.
12. Holroyde, *op. cit.*, pp. 32–3.
13. *Ibid.*, pp.25–26; François, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
14. John Lister, 'Elizabethan Halifax', *Papers, Reports, etc., Read Before the Halifax Antiquarian Society* (1924), p. 25.
15. Haldesworth had been educated at Oxford and Rome; see Holroyde, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
17. See Dickens, *op. cit.*, pp. 148–151.
18. David Daniell ed., *Tyndale's Old Testament* (Yale University Press, London, 1992), p. 3.
19. Namely the 'Historical Books' (Joshua–2 Chronicles) which appeared post-humously in the 1537 Matthew Bible. We still lack an accessible modern edition of Tyndale's 1526 New Testament.
20. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (Yale U.P., London, 1992). Duffy describes his purpose as a double one: 'to explore the character and range of late medieval English Catholicism, indicating something of the richness and complexity of the religious system by which men and women structured their experience of the world', and 'to tell the story of the dismantling and destruction of that symbolic world' (p. 1).
21. Duffy, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 586.

23. Tyndale's text is from J. I Mombert ed., *William Tyndale's Five Books of Moses Called Pentateuch* [1884] (Centaur Press, Fontwell, 1967), p. 24.
24. See my review of G. Lloyd Jones's edition of Wakefield's *Oratio in Moreana*, 30 (1993), p. 125.
25. David Daniell ed., *Tyndale's New Testament* (Yale U.P., London, 1989), p. 3.
26. For an analysis of Calvinist influence upon seventeenth-century English culture, see John Stachniewski, *The Persecutory Imagination* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1991).
27. Daniell, *Tyndale's New Testament*, p. 5.
28. Greenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
29. Duffy, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
30. Martial Rose ed., *The Wakefield Mystery Plays* (Evans Burns, London, 1961), p. 16.
31. Daniell, *Tyndale's New Testament*, p. 3.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4.
34. For details of Favour's achievements in Halifax, see François, *op. cit.*, pp. 271–7.
35. The fuller title of Favour's books is *Antiquitie Triumphing Over Noveltie: where by it is proved that antiquitie is a true note of the christian catholike church* (London, 1619), STC 10716.
36. Quoted by François, *op. cit.*, p. 273.
37. *Antiquitie Triumphing*, p. 328.
38. *Antiquitie Triumphing*, p. 330. Favour has already told (p. 2) the story of 'a Doctor in Cambridge, a little before the beginnings of king Edwards days, who finding a new Testament of Erasmus translation in a scholers hand, tooke and reade it a while, and redelivering it to the owner, said, *It was a pretty booke, but he had never seene it before.*'
39. See, for example, the sermons transcribed in Pamela Gradon ed., *English Wycliffite Sermons*, 2 (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1988) and Anne Hudson ed., *English Wycliffite Sermons*, 3 (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1990).
40. J. Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, I, II (London, 1822) pp. 54–5.
41. '...born in 1488, "patria Eboracensis" says his friend and contemporary Bale...and Whitaker assumes the surname to have been taken from the district of his birth, Cover-dale...in the North Riding' (*DNB*).
42. The *DNB* entry for Wakefield says that he was 'probably born, like his younger brother Thomas..., at Pontefract in Yorkshire'. His *Oratio* (see note 24 above) was the first printed English books to contain Hebrew and Arabic characters.
43. According to the *DNB* Thomas Wakefield was disqualified from his Cambridge professorship because of his adherence to the old religion.
44. His other publications include a version of Qimhi's Hebrew grammar (1534) published, like the *Prima rudimenta*, in Paris.
45. Baines resigned his Cambridgeshire living in 1544 and was appointed professor of Hebrew in Paris, returning to England only at Mary's accession.
46. 'It [Deuteronomy] is easy also and light and a very good gospel,' Daniell, *Tyndale's New Testament*, p. 254.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
49. The Old Testament epistles are given in Daniell, *Tyndale's New Testament*, pp. 391–408. See, in particular, the passage from Ezekiel 18, in which we find ‘And yet the wicked if he turn from all his sins...that he should turn from his way...And when a wicked turneth from his wickedness...’ (p. 397).
50. Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society Under the Tudors* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1993).
51. Anne Boleyn was famously accused by the Imperial ambassador of being ‘the principal wet-nurse of heresy’. A sponsor of Reformist writing, ‘she commissioned at least one merchant to bring gospels and other religious works back from the continent’. See Joseph S. Block, *Factional Politics and the English Reformation 1520–1540* (The Royal Historical Society: Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 1993), pp.28–32. Wyatt was caught up in the terror which accompanied Anne’s fall and incarcerated.
52. R. A. Rebholz ed., *Sir Thomas Wyatt: The Complete Poems* (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1978), p. 213.
53. Holroyde, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 24: he is reported to have said at the stake, ‘If I stir through the pains of burning, believe not the doctrine I preach.’
57. For an account of Savile’s life see, as well as the *DNB*, also E. Jacob, *The History of the Town and Parish of Halifax* (Halifax, 1789), pp. 369–75.
58. From Anthony Walker’s ‘Life of John Bois’, given in Ward Allen, *Translating For King James* (Vanderbilt U.P., Kingsport, TN., 1969), pp. 128–31. For an account of the Bois family, see J. Horsfall Turner, *Halifax Books and Authors* (Bradford, 1906), pp. 41–2.
59. In Bale’s play England leaves the stage disconsolate at the betrayal and defeat of King John; but the final part of the play shows Imperyall Majestye overcoming Sedicyon, and reconciling Cyvyle Order, Noblyte and Clergy. The Imperyall Majestye passages were added in Elizabeth’s reign – the play was first written in Henry’s reign – but Henry VIII is clearly the focus of Sedicyon’s comment to him that ‘Ye gave injuncyons that Gods wурde myghte be taught’ (line 2508). See Peter Happle ed., *The Complete Plays of John Bale*, 1 (D. S. Brewer, Bury St Edmunds, 1985), p. 94.
60. Wyatt: *Complete Poems*, pp. 188–9.

Cain's Face, and Other Problems: The Legacy of the Earliest English Bible Translations

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Scripture was being put into English at least six hundred years before Tyndale's martyrdom and four hundred and fifty years before the making of the Wycliffite Bibles. The roll-call of great Englishmen involved in promoting Scripture in the vernacular must be expanded to include King Alfred, Ælfric, the self-effacing abbot of Eynsham, and other, unnamed, Anglo-Saxons. The language of the earliest biblical translations, the most important of which were made in the two centuries preceding the Norman Conquest of 1066, was Old English. Although this form of our language is not easy to read for the uninitiated, the languages of Wyclif and Tyndale (Middle and early Modern English, respectively) were its direct descendants. The question I want to pose in this paper, therefore, is an obvious one: to what extent, if at all, were the later translations influenced by the earlier? Can a continuous biblical tradition be discovered, paralleling the linguistic evolution of English and linking the work of the Anglo-Saxon translators with that of their successors in the fourteenth century and beyond?

The general question of the continuity of English literature between the arrival of the French-speaking Normans at the end of the eleventh century and the reassertion of the English language in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries has proved difficult and contentious. In his celebrated attempt to prove the existence of a continuous tradition of English prose, R. W. Chambers used the evidence of both homiletic writings and Old Testament translations from the Anglo-Saxon period, but his account contained much special pleading and was short on detail in crucial places.¹ Charles Butterworth, as part of his classic study of the Bible in English, considered specifically (and uniquely, I believe) the possibility of a continuity of scriptural tradition and suggested two possible mechanisms: the building up of 'an accepted standard or a traditional style for biblical translation', which would then have persisted from generation to generation; or the direct influence of early manuscripts consulted by later scholars.² He concluded, however, that 'no positive indication' exists that either process took place. I shall be displaying less caution than Butterworth in my own re-examination of the subject. This does not mean that I shall claim to have established the wholesale direct influence of the Old English on the Middle English translations, but I do want to suggest that there are specific examples of apparent influence which justify further research. There are indications, too, that other mechanisms of continuity may have been at work than those considered by Butterworth. However, I can begin my exploration of possible connections uncontroversially, with what I would call the 'politics' of continuity. These loomed large in the context of late medieval and Reformation Bible translation, when the existence of Old English scriptural translations was deliberately emphasized by scholars and ecclesiastics, even if the texts had not actually been read in most cases.³ In 1539, only three years after Tyndale's

death, Thomas Cranmer noted in his Preface to the Great Bible (the second of Coverdale's translations and the first 'authorized' version of Scripture in English) how, many hundreds of years before, Scripture had been 'translated and read in the Saxon tongue, which at that time was our mother tongue, whereof there remain yet diverse copies, found lately in old abbeys, of such antique manner of writing and speaking that few men now are able to read and understand them'.⁴ In 1571, Archbishop Matthew Parker, a key figure in the transmission of Anglo-Saxon culture through his interest in manuscripts, supervised publication of one such 'antique' manuscript, an edition of the Gospels translated into Old English.⁵ It was printed by John Daye and entitled *The Gospel of the fower Euangelistes translated in the olde Saxons tyme out of Latin into the vulgare young of the Saxons, newly collected out of auncient Monumentes of the sayd Saxons, and now published for testimonie of the same*. The matyrologist John Foxe contributed a preface, addressed to Queen Elizabeth, in which he implicitly associated the Old English Gospels with what he called that 'Pristine state of olde conformitie' to which the Church was now going to be returned, he clearly hoped, by the young queen:⁶

Likewise haue we to vunderstand & conceaue, by the edition thereof, how the religion presently taught and professed in the Church at thys present, is no new reformation of thinges lately begonne, which were not before, but rather a reduction of the Church to the Pristine state of olde conformitie, which once it had, and almost lost by discontinaunce of a fewe later yeaeres.⁷

Daye's edition of the Old English was not set out as in the original manuscripts, in continuous prose with few divisions, but broken up into chapters and verses, with each verse numbered and on a new line, following current conventions. This was an imposition which reinforced visibly the reformers' belief in the continuity of the tradition.⁸

However, the sixteenth-century champions of vernacular translation were doing nothing original in this harking back to venerable tradition, for the same justification by precedent had been made by their forerunners of two hundred years previously, the Wycliffite translators. It was they who had been the first at any period to provide English readers with a complete Bible. In the Preface which John Purvey wrote to the second of the Wycliffite versions in about 1390, he first ingeniously invoked Jerome's Latin Vulgate itself as a precedent for vernacular translation; after all, he argued, Latin was no more nor less than the great doctor's own mother tongue. He then went on to refer to some of the earliest English translations:⁹

Lord God! sithen [since] at the bigynnyng of feith so manie men translatiden into Latyn, and to greet profyt of Latyn men, lat oo [let a] symple creature of God translate into English, for profyt of English men; for if worldli clerkis loken [examine] wel here croniclis and bokis, thei shulden fynde that Bede translatide the bible, and expounide myche in Saxon, that was English, either [or] comoun langage of this lond, in his tyme; and not oneli Bede, but also king Alured [Alfred], that foundide Oxenford [!], translatide in his laste daies the bigynning of the Sauter into Saxon, and wolde more, if he hadde lyued lengere [lived longer].¹⁰

Bede and Alfred were the names most frequently cited in connection with the earlier translations in five tracts defending vernacular translation which were written between Wyclif's death in 1384 and the prohibition of the Wycliffite translation in 1408.¹¹ As Margaret Deanesly has shown, this claim was taken very seriously by the opponents of 'lollardy', who felt forced to counter-argue. The Franciscan, William Butler, for example, writing in 1401, admitted that there *had* been earlier translations but put forward the rather curious argument that it was all right for the common people to read Scripture in their own tongue at a time when few of them were converted to the faith (the situation he assumed for the earlier English period), but not when all had become converts. In support, he cited Aristotle's dictum: 'The greater the people, the smaller its understanding.'¹² Thomas Palmer, a contemporary Dominican opponent of vernacular translation, justified his opposition with two arguments. If Bede did indeed translate the whole Bible, the Church had never accepted it; but in fact Bede had not really made one at all, or at least had only rendered a small amount for practical purposes.¹³

The facts known to Purvey and others about the earliest translations were essentially correct, though one of the most important had been overlooked. There was never a complete vernacular Bible in the Anglo-Saxon period.¹⁴ If all the scattered scriptural passages cited in Old English translation in the numerous works of homily and sermon which survive from the Anglo-Saxon period were assembled and joined with the more substantial translations that were made (and to which I shall return), we would end up, I estimate, with something in excess of a quarter of a complete Bible.¹⁵

The earliest translation of scriptural prose has often been attributed to the great Bede, who passed his long life from the age of seven (*c.*680) at the monastery of Jarrow in Northumbria, where he taught devotedly and wrote numerous works of exegesis, commentary and history.¹⁶ An eye-witness reported that the indefatigable scholar was still working on his deathbed, trying to finish, among other tasks, 'the gospel of St John from the beginning as far as the words, "But what are they among so many?", which he was turning into our language to the profit of God's Church'.¹⁷ Remarkably then, it seems that we can pinpoint an English translation of the first six chapters of John (as far as 6:9) to the year 735 and specifically (from other information available) to the weeks following Easter. We must be cautious, however, about giving too much significance to Bede's 'translation of John'. Thomas Palmer, the Dominican whose opposition to vernacular translation I noted above, was correct in this instance: there is no question of Bede's having produced a complete vernacular gospelbook, let alone a Bible.¹⁸ If he had, his death-bed efforts would presumably have been unnecessary, and no such work is mentioned in the long list of his achievements which he himself left us at the end of his *Historia ecclesiastica*; all of them are in Latin.¹⁹

We do know, however, that Bede sanctioned the use of the vernacular in the teaching of monks. In a letter he wrote to archbishop Egbert of York in 734, for instance, he recommended that not only laymen but also clerics and monks who were ignorant of Latin ought to be taught the Creed and the Lord's Prayer in English, as he himself had often done.²⁰ Almost certainly, Bede's translation of the first six chapters of John (which does not survive in any form) was for didactic purposes. It may have been an interlinear gloss to the Latin text; such glosses were particularly prevalent in the later Anglo-Saxon period. The eighth-century Vespasian Psalter, whose Latin text was glossed during the mid-ninth century, has sometimes been cited as the earliest surviving translation of Scripture

into English, though, like all such word-for-word renderings, it would have made little sense in its own right as continuous prose.²¹ In fifteen of some twenty-five Anglo-Saxon psalters that survive, the Psalms are wholly or partly glossed, which indicates that hundreds of glossed psalters must have circulated in the tenth and eleventh centuries.²² Famously, the Lindisfarne Gospels, a late seventh-century manuscript of the Vulgate Gospels, was given a continuous Old English gloss by the priest Aldred at Chester-le-Street in the mid-tenth century;²³ and not long afterwards the Rushworth Gospels, an Irish manuscript of about 800, was provided with a gloss by two monks, one of whom seems to have used the Lindisfarne gloss as a crib.²⁴

The sixteenth-century Bible translators were aware from hearsay sources of what has more recently been confirmed by linguistic analysis, that King Alfred (871–99) translated the first fifty Psalms into English. This is the earliest attempt that we know of to put a substantial continuous portion of Scripture into Old English prose.²⁵ After saving the kingdom of Wessex from imminent Viking conquest, building up defences against further attack and creating the conditions under which the first politically unified English state would emerge, Alfred (deservedly called ‘the Great’) embarked on an ambitious programme of educational reform. His aim was to restore throughout his kingdom the standards of learning which had been reached in Bede’s day (150 years earlier) but had since disastrously fallen away.²⁶ According to his contemporary biographer, Asser, Alfred did not master Latin until 887, when he was nearly forty,²⁷ but he was to reach a sufficient level of competence to be able to undertake, albeit with helpers, major translations of Gregory the Great’s *Regula pastoralis*, Boethius’s *De consolatione philosophiae* and Augustine’s *Soliloquia*.²⁸ His version of the first fifty psalms seems to have been made towards the end of his life and survives in a manuscript of the mid-eleventh century known as the ‘Paris Psalter’.²⁹ The manuscript also has Psalms 51–150 in a metrical Old English version, but this is not associated with Alfred. As we have seen, there was a long-standing Anglo-Saxon tradition of using the vernacular to gloss Latin texts of the Psalms, probably as a help in teaching Latin to novice monks, but such glosses followed the Latin literally, word by word, and could not be read independently of the Latin. Alfred’s continuous idiomatic translation was thus a new departure. Why was it made? Alfred seems to have become increasingly pious as he grew older and his piety was closely tied up with his conviction of his own regal destiny and of England’s rightful place in the great scheme of divine history. He may even have seen a model of himself in King David, the putative author of the Psalms – a king, like him, bedevilled by seemingly intractable problems.³⁰ Thus Alfred’s motives for the translation seem to have been a mixture of personal inclination and a sense of national destiny, but it is the personal dimension that makes Alfred’s Psalms, for me, one of the most moving Old English texts. Although the core translation is very accurate and follows the Latin closely, Alfred has no compunction about adding, altering and, most notably, amplifying the rather cryptic Latin. There is the sense of a personal voyage of discovery in the king’s words and a consequent quality of spontaneity, which together endow the work overall with something approaching lyricism. One of the arguments of the sixteenth-century opponents of vernacular translation of Scripture, derided by Tyndale in the address ‘to the reader’ which prefaced his translation of the Pentateuch, was that direct knowledge of Scripture might make people rise against their king.³¹ It is a telling comment on changing ideas of kingship that the earliest English translation of Psalms should not only have been made by an English king

but have been used, at least in part, to bolster his kingship.

Extracts from two of Alfred's versions of the Vulgate Psalms, which he knew in their 'Roman' text, will illustrate the 'personal' nature of his translation.³² In Psalm 3, the Latin of verses 1–2 has: *Multi dicunt animae meae non est salus ipsi in Deo eius. Tu autem Domine susceptor meus es, gloria mea...* ('Many say to my spirit that there is no salvation for it in its God. But you, Lord, are my protector and my glory...'). Alfred translates closely and accurately; but he seems to find the movement to the affirmative by means only of *autem* too abrupt and so inserts a contradiction of the 'many' which serves also to anticipate what follows: 'but it is not as they say'; and then for good measure he inserts a complementary amplification: 'without any doubt'. His version thus reads: 'Monige cweðað to minum mode þæt hit næbbe nane hæle æt his Gode. Ac hit nis na swa hy cweðað. ac þu eart butian ælcum tweon min fultum and min wuldor'. In Psalm 22 (that is, 23 in the usual Protestant division), Alfred decided to amplify his translation of *virga tua et baculus tuus ipsa me consolata sunt* ('thy rod and thy staff they comfort me') in verse 5 with an explanation of what the two objects in question signify: 'that is, your correction and comfort' (*þæt is ðin ðreaung and eft ðin frefrung*). Augustine may have provided the basis for this exegesis.³³

Alfred is associated also with two other smaller portions of scriptural translation, one from the Old Testament and one from the New. They were most likely not made by the king himself but were attached to the law code that was probably issued during the 880s or early 890s.³⁴ A long ideological prologue about law and law-giving, couched in specifically biblical terms, precedes the law code and opens with a translation of most of Exodus 20–23, chapters that present the precepts of Mosaic law, and Acts 15:23–9, which promulgates parts of it.³⁵ These translations, which include some paraphrase and amplification, have a transparent political purpose: to give biblical authority for the English laws and by implication to suggest England as a successor to Israel in the scheme of Christian history.³⁶ Vernacular Scripture serves to demonstrate divine continuity.

The Old English versions of Latin works that were produced by Alfred and his collaborators in the last decades of the ninth century mark the first great phase of vernacular literary achievement in Anglo-Saxon England. The second was to begin in earnest some two generations later, in the middle of the tenth century, in the wake of the powerful movement for monastic reform associated principally with the names of Dunstan, Oswald and Æthelwold.³⁷ English monasticism was reorganized and expanded in accordance with principles propagated by the reforming continental Benedictines. New standards in devotional life were demanded and these in turn catalysed a new phase of intellectual endeavour, with the production by the reformers and their successors of an astonishing library of works in the vernacular.³⁸ Among them were the most important and influential of the Old English biblical translations: a complete gospelbook (the so-called 'West Saxon Gospels'), and a compilation of Old Testament books in translation, of which one extant copy is a Heptateuch and another an illustrated Hexateuch. Both the New and the Old Testament translations were made, independently, towards the end of the tenth century and sufficient copies or the remains of copies of both survive to prove that they were widely used. Furthermore, they were being copied, emended and annotated through the twelfth century and on into the beginning of the thirteenth.

The Old Testament translations known collectively as the Old English Heptateuch, the title under which they have been edited, survive in two main manuscripts: London,

British Library, Cotton Claudius B. iv, a lavishly illustrated Hexateuch, and the Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 509, a Heptateuch containing the same text of Genesis to Joshua as the Claudius manuscript with the addition of a portion of Judges.³⁹ There are seven other manuscripts containing parts of the work, all but two of them fragmentary. The Old English Heptateuch is of especial interest because we know the identity of one of the translators involved.⁴⁰ This is Abbot Ælfric, who dominates the history of late Old English prose to an extraordinary extent, mainly through his two great series of Catholic Homilies and two volumes of Saints' Lives.⁴¹ Some of these works, such as homilies or sermons featuring 1–2 Kings, Job, Esther, Judith and Maccabees, contain further substantial portions of Scripture in translation.⁴² Ælfric set new standards in vernacular prose and showed new possibilities for the English language; after him, for the first time in English literature, we can talk confidently about prose style as a deliberately wielded instrument of communication.⁴³ Little is known about Ælfric as a person, except that he spent most of his life at the abbey of Cerne Abbas in Dorset, where he ran the monastic school, and was then made Abbot of Eynsham, just south of Oxford, a house newly founded by his patron, the ealdorman Æthelweard. Most of his works were written during the last decade of the tenth century and the first few years of the eleventh.⁴⁴ His contribution to the Heptateuch translation appears to have been Genesis chapters 1–24, the second half of Numbers, and all that there is of Joshua and Judges.⁴⁵ The compilation does not in fact offer a complete translation and in the later books there is much omission and editing, and some paraphrasing; in the earlier books, however, close translation of the Latin predominates.⁴⁶

We do not know when the Heptateuch compilation was made, nor for whom; but we can be certain about the original purpose of at least part of it, for Ælfric wrote an explanatory preface to his translation of the first half of Genesis and this has survived in two of the manuscripts. He explains that the translation was made for the laity, though not for the masses. Ælfric's patron, Æthelweard, had asked him for it, and he and his son, Æthelmær, may perhaps be seen as examples of a type of wealthy, literate, and above all pious nobility who were keen to follow as best they could monastic devotions.⁴⁷ The Heptateuch was assigned to be read in the monastic night offices, in the pre-Lenten and Lenten periods, so it may be that such an audience – a very specific class of the laity, many of them important patrons and supporters of the monasteries – was the recipient of the Heptateuch compilation as a whole, eager to follow for themselves something approaching monastic devotions during an important period of the ecclesiastical year.⁴⁸ There is no direct evidence for this, however. Although the combination of vernacular text and illustrations in the Claudius Hexateuch suggests a lay audience, the workmanship of the copy that survives does not indicate that it was prepared for royalty or a particularly high-ranking nobleman.⁴⁹

In his Preface to Genesis, Ælfric reveals himself as the first Englishman (as far as we know) to face those same doubts about the wisdom of vernacular translation that would tax later translators. He expresses great anxiety about translating for the laity and he subscribes firmly, in principle at least, to the Augustinian view that Scripture should be mediated, and that direct access by ignorant people might be a very dangerous thing.⁵⁰ What if, he asks in the preface, the unlearned were to confuse life under the old law with life under the new and believe that they could behave with the same sexual licence displayed by the patriarchs in Genesis? The spiritual meaning of Scripture beyond the

'naked narrative', says Ælfric, is very deep. But he is clearly aware of a further dimension to the problem. He writes of ignorant priests (*ungelæredan preostas*), who understand a little Latin and think that this enables them to be teachers of Scripture.⁵¹ Bede, in the early eighth century, as I have noted already, knew that he must cater in English for clerics without adequate Latin, and Alfred, too, in the late ninth century, saw vernacular translation as a necessary first step in overcoming the ignorance of those in holy orders.⁵² Clerical ignorance was to be a recurring theme among later English translators. In Tyndale's Preface to his translation of the Pentateuch, he gives as one of the reasons why he has suffered persecution in his England the fact that 'the priests of the country be unlearned, as God it knoweth there are a full ignorant sort which have seen no more Latin than that they read in their portesses and missals which yet many of them can scarcely read'.⁵³

The Old English Gospels survive in six more or less complete manuscripts (four copied in the eleventh century, two in the twelfth) and two fragments.⁵⁴ Each Gospel is translated in its entirety, in a rendering that is close to the Latin and largely accurate. We know nothing at all about the circumstances of the translation, though we may guess that it was probably made during the last decade or two of the tenth century. There is no evidence that Ælfric was in any way involved, or that he even knew of the existence of the translation. Rubrics in a copy associated with Exeter relate the Gospel texts to their liturgical use throughout the year, but this does not mean that the Old English Gospels were actually read during Mass as a substitute for the Latin.⁵⁵ Roy Liuzza has noted the lack of evidence that any of the Gospel manuscripts were ever in the hands of laymen; they were part of monastic or cathedral libraries. What is more, examination of successive copies suggests a process whereby the originally 'freestanding' translation was 'drawn back into the orbit of the Latin text' by means of added Latin headings and corrections made to the Old English text, apparently with reference to a Latin, not another Old English, text.⁵⁶

It is clear that we would be mistaken to regard our two Anglo-Saxon vernacular part-Bibles – a gospelbook and a Heptateuch – as the clear beginning of a movement to provide Scripture for the masses. It is true that pious noblemen or noblewomen may have been involved, but whatever their initial audiences it is within the monasteries that all the scriptural translations, of the New and Old Testaments, survived, and there that alterations and emendations were made. These continued into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In one Gospel manuscript, for instance, improvements were made to the Old English text in the thirteenth century, but the manuscript was still being used in the fourteenth century, when Latin glosses were added.⁵⁷ In one Heptateuch manuscript there has been updating of the English language, too, by means of Middle English glosses, and the illustrated Hexateuch carries numerous notes partly in Latin and partly in English, made in the twelfth century and deriving mostly from the writings of Josephus.⁵⁸

II

Of all freestanding English scriptural translations, the Old English Psalms, Gospels and Heptateuch were the first into our language, and my fascination for them derives from this very fact. The putting of Scripture into any vernacular language for the first time is

a coming of age for that language. In being brought face to face with the ineffable texts, couched as they are in the imagery and syntax of alien cultures and transmitting profound and often difficult concepts, the vernacular language is stretched to the limit. It may be found wanting; at the very least it will have to accommodate, to adapt, to explore new possibilities, and perhaps even to re-invent itself. It will never be quite the same again. Literary languages have sometimes in effect been created specifically in order to propagate Scripture. Old English itself only began to be fully written with the coming of Christianity and the adoption of the Roman alphabet. Even earlier another Germanic language, Gothic, had undergone a similar experience and, indeed, the only substantial written record we have of Gothic are fragments of the Gospels and some other biblical books in a translation made by bishop Ulfila in the second half of the fourth century.⁵⁹ What especially interests me about the first translations made in Anglo-Saxon England is the linguistic challenge posed by some of those pivotal moments in the Old Testament narratives which are now such an intimate part of our linguistic, as well as spiritual, consciousness. In most cases the simplest of ideas or actions were involved, not great theological cruces, yet they had been described in the original Hebrew (and then in the Vulgate translation) in obscure or idiosyncratic words or phrases. Among these pivotal moments, as we shall see, are Adam's and Eve's discovery of their nakedness in Genesis 3 and God's rejection of Cain's sacrifice in Genesis 4.

Ælfric himself was well aware of language problems in general⁶⁰ and the problems of scriptural language in particular. This was another of the issues which he tackled in his Preface to the translation of Genesis. For Ælfric, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew were three sacred languages of equal status, and he was familiar with Jerome's insistence that in holy Scripture the very order of the words is a mystery.⁶¹ But Ælfric was also an educator and, like all educators, a pragmatist. He explains in his Preface that Scripture is 'very dense with meaning' and is set out syntactically exactly as God delivered it to Moses (Ælfric is talking here specifically of the Pentateuch). So, he says, 'I dare not write in English anything that is not in the Latin – except in one case, namely, that English and Latin do not do things in the same way. Always, he who translates from Latin to English must order things such that the English keeps its own manner, or it will be confusing to understand for those without knowledge of Latin.'⁶² I am not going to accuse Ælfric of being disingenuous here, and certainly he is a long long way from the Wycliffite idea that language is simply the clothing of the law of God, to be changed according to the style of clothing familiar to a particular people, but the freedom he gives himself to translate as he sees fit is fairly comprehensive, for the 'one case' when the two languages differ in their way of saying things (that is, in their syntax) is in fact most of the time. The churchman, heavily influenced by Augustine and others, never loses sight of the almost numinous character of the sacred text, and of his awesome responsibility to remain faithful to its profound spirit (*deopan digelnysse*); but the experienced teacher and expert grammarian knows that a translator who does not truly *translate*, but who simply, in effect, *glosses*, is abrogating the further responsibility of enlightening rather than confusing his flock. This approach is in fact that of Jerome, who, in producing his Latin Vulgate against great opposition in some quarters, had paid lip-service repeatedly to the sanctity of the words of Scripture (in Greek and Hebrew) but in practice had exercised the same sanction implicit in Ælfric's 'except in the one case'.⁶³ The evidence of Ælfric's approach is there throughout his translation: in general, he uses Old English idiom when

the Latin is awkward or obscure, but he is prepared to go further in those cases where there is a chance, not that the *words* may be misunderstood, but their meaning. In his version of Genesis 6:2, for instance, which contains the notoriously difficult passage about the sons of God marrying the daughters of men ('the sons of God, seeing the daughters of men, that they were fair, took to themselves wives'), Ælfric adds to 'the sons of God' an explanation: *ðæt wæron gode men* 'who were good men'. He could have found his authority in an extensive range of patristic works, including Augustine's *City of God*.⁶⁴ Another example is found in Genesis 2:13, where Ælfric qualifies the name of the second river of Paradise, Geon, with the statement, *seo ys gehaten Nylus* 'it is called the Nile' – a sound piece of information, available in Isidore and other sources.⁶⁵ We have seen that Alfred made similar amplifications in his translation of the psalms, though the approach of the abbot is certainly more scholarly.

Critics have taken at best a rather condescending attitude to the Old English translations of the Gospels and the Heptateuch, laying the blame for shortcomings on the inadequacies of the language itself as much as on the translators. Geoffrey Shepherd suggests that an educated person would have found the vernacular, during the period before Wyclif and probably at any time before the sixteenth century, 'simply and totally inadequate'.⁶⁶ A vernacular, he writes, must have 'relevance and resources' and especially 'cultural prestige' before it can make an acceptable translation, and this must coincide with an 'available theology' for interpretation. Shepherd seriously underestimates the achievements of late Old English prose, especially in the hands of Ælfric. I would argue strongly that the Old English language *did* have the resources and that the abbot of Eynsham himself, if none other, gave it cultural prestige. The artfully controlled rhetoric of Ælfric, which in his later homilies involves the use of some of the tools of the alliterative poet to unite the logic of his argument to the form of its expression, has been widely studied and admired.⁶⁷ As for an 'available theology', my example of Ælfrician amplification in Genesis 6:2 is enough to suggest that there was one, rooted firmly (as other examples would confirm) in the core 'canonical' works of Augustine, Jerome and the other fathers, and that it could be used effectively and uncontroversially in the Anglo-Saxon period to add definition to Bible translation in crucial places.⁶⁸ The suggestion of Roy Liuzza that such translations in the Anglo-Saxon period are 'concessions, not accomplishments', undervalues the actual results of their work, I believe.⁶⁹ The translations were indeed concessions, in the sense that their aim was probably limited to giving vernacular access to only parts of Scripture, and for a restricted audience of monks without adequate Latin and perhaps pious laymen or laywomen, and that their making presupposed the softening of a traditional reluctance to vernacularize Scripture. Nevertheless, they were accomplishments also in respect of the way in which they transmitted lucidly and literately the biblical narratives. Indeed, the stark success of the translation exercise may have contributed to Ælfric's doubts about the wisdom and propriety of thus spreading abroad the 'naked narrative'.⁷⁰

There is a particular trap which lies in wait for the analyst of scriptural translation: the bogey of 'literalism'. Ælfric himself has been accused of being so concerned to keep to the letter of the sacred language that he was prepared to write 'nonsense' Old English on occasions.⁷¹ My indignation at such a preposterous idea is already in print, and I need do no more than summarize my views here.⁷² I am convinced that Ælfric always translated with calculation, as well as with skill. The instances of apparent over-literal translation

are not always what they seem and sometimes they simply illuminate that crucial moment (in fact a whole series of crucial moments) to which I alluded above, when a vernacular comes face to face with Scripture for the first time: what does the original mean, and how is it to be tackled? It is a moment when all the resources of the language are tapped and when it may have to be shaped anew. Perhaps the greatest skill of the translator in these circumstances lies in knowing the limits of the possible in his language and then pushing as far as he dare beyond them in a shaping, creating process. Thus when Ælfric, who as a rule shows no inclination to translate with slavish fidelity the Latin, renders Jerome's odd 'cessauerat ab omni opere suo quod creauit Deus ut faceret' in Genesis 2:3 as 'he on þone dæg geswac his weordes ðæt he gesceop to wyrckenne' ('he rested on that day from all the work *which he had created to make*'), we may perhaps posit two reasons. Either the verb 'gescieppan' was already in use in Old English in the sense of 'to intend to', followed by an infinitive (although there is no other record of it), or that Ælfric deliberately pushed the verb a very short step from its established use to another, hardly obscure or revolutionary, one.⁷³ On occasions he may simply have wanted to retain something of the numinous quality of a momentous divine statement. Thus in Genesis 17:4 Ælfric apparently chose to translate the Vulgate 'dixitque Deus ego sum et pactum meum tecum' literally, with omission of a second copulative verb and thus a spartan and memorable syntax: 'ic eom and min wed mid ðe' ('I am, and my covenant with you'); but he was not compelled to do this.⁷⁴

What is instructive is that the critics of Ælfric's alleged 'literalism' have not been outraged, it appears, by other of his 'literal' translations. Particularly prominent among these are the hebraisms which are such a characteristic feature of the Old Testament in translation, not least in Genesis. Rendered nearly always literally by Jerome in the Latin Vulgate, they were in turn translated more or less literally by Ælfric. And here, at last, we reach the problem of Cain's face. In Genesis 4:5, it will be remembered, God refuses Cain's sacrifice, and Cain's disappointment is shown by a change in his facial expression. The Vulgate, translating fairly accurately the Hebrew,⁷⁵ has *iratusque est Cain uehementer et concidit uultus eius* 'and Cain became mightily angry and his face fell' or 'fell down'. The phrase is repeated in the following verse, 4:6, where God asks Cain, 'Why did your face fall?' (*quare concidit uultus tuus?*). Ælfric translated 4:5 quite literally: *þa hirsode Caim þearle and his nebwlite æffeol* 'then Cain became greatly angry and his face fell, or fell down'. The reason why critics of Ælfric's translation style have not protested at this peculiar idiom, 'his face fell' (or, as the Authorized Version has it, 'his countenance fell'), is obvious: it is current in modern English and causes us no problems (though this is not the case, it may be noted, in many other modern languages, which invariably paraphrase).⁷⁶ But what did the Anglo-Saxons make of the idiom? Was it known in Old English before the fateful day (almost exactly a thousand years ago) when Ælfric translated Genesis 4:5?⁷⁷

The Hebrew idiom (בָּנָיו נִפְלָא 'his faces fell down') had been paraphrased in some Greek versions but in others rendered literally, except that the noun was made singular (for example, *καὶ συνέπεσε τῷ προσώπῳ αὐτοῦ*).⁷⁸ Both the earlier Latin translators (working from the Greek) and Jerome (with access to the Hebrew) chose to be literal also, yet there is reason to think that the 'falling face' idiom was never accepted easily in the Latin. Isidore, in a glossary of scriptural passages, felt that an explanation was necessary: *mutauit colorem uultus sui* 'he changed the colour of his face'. An Old Latin (i.e.

pre-Vulgate) version of the passage from the late first century was even more helpful in Genesis 4:5: *et tristus factus est Cain ualde confusa est facies illius* ‘and Cain was very sad and his face became upset’; but, curiously, it gave a literal rendering of 4:6: *et dixit Deus ad Cain. quare tristis factus es et quare corruit uultus tuus?* ‘...why did your face fall down?’¹⁷ The evidence is that the Anglo-Saxons in their turn were in no hurry to accept the idiom, for when King Alfred came to put Gregory the Great’s *Regula pastoralis* into English and had to deal with Gregory’s citation of Genesis 4:5, given in the usual Vulgate version, he paraphrased: ‘ða wearð Cain swiðe ierre ond hnipode ofdune’ ('Cain became very angry *and bowed down*').¹⁸ The fact that Alfred used this paraphrase strongly suggests that the literal idiom was not known to him and therefore not yet available in English.¹⁹ More interestingly still, Ælfric’s literal translation of the passage is in only one version of the Old English text, that in the mid-twelfth-century Cambridge University Library manuscript which carries a translation of Genesis 1–24:22 which is believed to be nearest to Ælfric’s original translation.²⁰ The main Hexateuch and Heptateuch manuscripts transmit a text which has undergone some revision, and they omit the clause ‘and his face fell’ altogether, having simply ‘ða wearð Cain ungemetlice yrre’ ('Cain became angry without measure'). Perhaps the revisers were unhappy with the idiom of the falling face; perhaps, indeed, they were the first to accuse Ælfric of ‘literalism’. Whatever the case, I believe that in Ælfric’s version of Genesis 4:5 we may be able to see our language being created – and created in the image of Scripture.

III

In considering finally the subsequent history of the ‘falling face’ idiom in Genesis, after Ælfric’s fateful decision to present it literally, I return to my theme of continuity. We have seen that the fourteenth- and then the sixteenth-century translators were right in their self-justifying claims to be not innovators but continuators, when it came to the idea of vernacular translation. But can any more solid connections be drawn, whether linguistic or stylistic, between Ælfric and Wyclif, or even Tyndale? On this question I offer optimistically a few pointers to future study. The territory has hardly been touched, and yet it is a rich one, with intriguing problems and some oddities awaiting investigation; and one of the most fruitful areas of enquiry will be hebraisms, such as that used in the Cain narrative.

The next known continuous prose version of Genesis after the one made by Ælfric and other Anglo-Saxons is that of the first Wycliffite translation (1380), which was based also on the Latin Vulgate. Its literal rendering of Genesis 4:5 is: ‘And Caym was greetli wroth, and therwith felle his chere’. The second, more idiomatic, Wycliffite version (1395) modifies slightly, filling out the action of falling with a preposition and thereby, arguably, coming closer to the Latin (*concidit*): ‘And Cayn was wrooth greetli, and his cheer felde doun’.²¹ From its use in the second version, if not the first, it is tempting to assume that the ‘falling face’ idiom was acceptable in Middle English, perhaps as a result of its introduction to our language in the Anglo-Saxon period and subsequent continuity of use through the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It is therefore disappointing to find in one of the six surviving manuscripts of the second Wycliffite version a gloss to this passage, which explains ‘felde doun’ as ‘he was hevy’, that is, sad.²² This

seems to suggest that the idiom was *not* considered to be immediately comprehensible, or at least not universally, and so it may be argued that we witness in the Wycliffite version a new and parallel act of language creation. Yet it remains possible that there were dialectical differences, in respect of the phrase in question, between various areas of England. The *Oxford English Dictionary* cites poetical use of the idiom some fifty years later, so perhaps we may assume that by then, at least, it had become ‘naturalized’.

There is no direct evidence that the Wycliffite translators had read any Anglo-Saxon versions of Scripture, but they knew about them, as I noted above. The language would certainly have posed a problem. As John Purvey put it in a treatise on the question of Bible translation, Bede’s version of John and other Gospels, which he claimed still survived ‘in many placis’, were ‘of so oolde Englische that vnnethe can any man rede hem’.¹⁵ But the statement that ‘hardly anyone’ could read the Old English Gospels leaves open the probability that some people, at least, *could* read them and it certainly does not preclude their study by scholars. It is not impossible that the Old English Gospels, and perhaps other scriptural translations from the Anglo-Saxon period, were on occasions consulted by the later translators.¹⁶

What does Tyndale do in his version of Genesis 4:5? Rather surprisingly, for one whose translation is based in general on the Hebrew and noted for the vigour of its idiom, he uses a paraphrase: ‘And Cain was wroth exceedingly, *and loured*’. The latter verb (first used in Middle English but of unknown origin) is graphic, but why did Tyndale not use the dramatic, and above all faithful, ‘falling face’ idiom? The first Coverdale Bible of 1535 is stiffly reticent: ‘Then was Cain exceedingly wroth, and his countenaunce chaunged’. The Geneva Bible (1560), however, fulfills the claim of the translators in their preface to have kept the Hebrew expression wherever possible: ‘wherefore Kain was exceeding wroth, and his countenance fel downe’. This is very close to the Wycliffite version. Curiously, though, when the phrase is repeated in the following verse, Genesis 4:6, Geneva varies with a paraphrase: ‘Then the Lord said unto Kain, Why art thou wroth? and why is thy countenance cast down?’ All the other English Bibles from which I have cited repeat in 4:6 whatever idiom they have used in the previous verse. The Bishops’ Bible of 1568, on the other hand, eschews the verb ‘to fall’ and opts to use ‘abate’ (with the primary meaning ‘beat down’) intransitively: ‘Cain was exceeding wroth, and his countenaunce abated’.¹⁷ Finally, however, the Authorized Version of 1611 opts once more for the Hebrew idiom, and thus makes one of its comparatively rare departures from Tyndale: ‘Cain was very wroth, and his countenance fell’. Did the King James translators, in this instance, recreate the language anew? Or were they drawing on well-established vernacular resources, deliberately taking over an idiom which was already available, although perhaps restricted to regional or dialectical use and therefore considered unsuitable by most other Reformation translators? And if so, had the idiom become established through the Wycliffite translators’ use of it, or had the original Old English version, Ælfric’s creation, been current in the vernacular all the time?

The ‘falling face’ idiom is just one of a whole nexus of hebraic expressions which occur in modern, or at least medieval, English and which may have become ‘naturalized’ in the Anglo-Saxon period. Several others are connected with the face, including ‘before the face of’, ‘to set one’s face against’, ‘to set one’s face towards’. Still in the facial region, the resonant phrase ‘lift up your eyes’, of Old Testament origin, seems first to enter our language when the anonymous translator of the Old English gospels writes ‘*þa*

hig heora eagan up ahofon' ('then they lifted up their eyes') in Matthew 17:18. Ælfric uses it in his translation of Genesis 13:14 – 'aheve up þine eagan' ('lift up your eyes') – but does not seem to have been happy with it in 13:10, in a slightly different context, and paraphrases: 'Lot ða beheold geond all' ('then Lot looked all about'), as does the anonymous translator of Genesis 24:63: 'þa he hyne beseah' ('when he looked around him'). Among other characteristically hebraic expressions is 'to die by death', with the variation 'to die the death'. This barely survives in today's language but was current (in various forms) throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and until the Renaissance period. The expression made its first prose appearance in the scriptural translation which heads King Alfred's law code and was used also in the poem *Genesis A*, a long Old English paraphrase of Genesis (line 1,205). It thus had already a long pedigree when the second Wycliffite version used it, for example, in Judges 13:22, 'Bi deeth die we'. Coverdale, in the same passage, used 'We must dye the death'.

I shall finish with one more intriguing example of possible continuity between the Anglo-Saxon and later periods, again from Genesis but this time involving Adam's and Eve's sartorial emergency. The Geneva Bible earned its famous nickname, 'the breeches Bible', because it used that word in Genesis 3:7 to describe the garments Adam and Eve hurriedly made out of fig leaves in order to clothe themselves, once they had eaten of the forbidden tree and thereby discovered their nakedness: 'Then the eyes of them bothe were opened, and they knewe that they were naked, and the sewed fig tre leaues together, and made them selues breeches'. A footnote in the Geneva Bible interprets the Hebrew **חָגָרֹת** (*chagoroth*), as 'things to girdle about them to hide their privities'. Other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century versions, including those of Tyndale and Coverdale, and the Bishops' Bible, the Great Bible and of course the King James Bible, prefer 'aprons'. Tyndale's version of Genesis 3:7, for example, is: 'they understande how that they were naked. Then they sowed fygge leves togedder and made them apurns'. The Hebrew word for the garments worn by Adam and Eve was put into the Greek as **περιζωματα** (*perizōmatā*, 'an apron', from a verb meaning 'to gird round'). Jerome then took this over directly, as *perizomata*, for his Vulgate version.

Geneva's 'breeches' is well-chosen but it was not original, for a precedent for the use of the word had already been set by the Wycliffite versions two hundred years previously: 'and whanne thei knewen that thei weren nakid, thei sewiden the leeves of a fige tre, and madden brechis to hem silf'. I do not know whether this had influenced the Geneva translators, but my more immediate interest is in the source of the Wycliffite version. It seems to have gone unnoticed by historians of the English Bible that there was a precedent for this, too, and that it had been set by abbot Ælfric in the Old English translation which he made at the end of the tenth century. The Old English form of 'breeches' is *brec* (which can be plural as well as singular) and it is compounded with *wæd* (cf. modern English '[widow's] weeds'): 'and hi worhton him wædbrec'; that is, 'and they worked for themselves clothes in the form breeches'. Old English *brec* is itself of Latin origin and occurs fairly frequently in its simple form.^{**} Is this a genuine example of semantic continuity between Ælfric and the Wycliffites (and then perhaps the Geneva translators)? I believe that it is, though in a specialized way. The only other occurrence of the Old English compound *wæd-brec* in the Anglo-Saxon period is in a glossary, where it defines 'perizomata' or 'campestria' (the word used in some older Latin versions, and meaning a leather apron worn about the loins). But this Old English glossary is by Ælfric himself

and it circulated with the vernacular grammar of Latin which he wrote.¹⁹ In other words, in the glossary he may have been simply legitimizing his own choice of a translation, and my assumption is that Ælfric himself was indeed its originator. Interestingly, the uncompounded word is given in the entry immediately before *perizomata* in Ælfric's glossary as a translation of Latin *femorale* 'covering for the thighs', which is a rare word but occurs in the Vulgate Sirach 45:10.²⁰ It is possible that the Wycliffite translators re-created the translation 'breeches' spontaneously, but it seems to me more likely, in view of the difficulty of the word requiring translation (*perizomata*), that they turned to a glossary for help. Glossaries were a staple of early medieval intellectual life, and collections of glosses survive which originated in Anglo-Saxon England as early as the seventh century.²¹ We know that copies of Ælfric's glossary (with its collocation *femorale/brec* and *perizomata/wædbrec*) were being made as late as the thirteenth century;²² the use of one of these by later translators is a possibility. What I am suggesting, then, is yet another sort of continuity in the history of English scriptural translation – a continuity of biblical scholarship.

IV

I have used this paper to promote an idea of continuity between the earliest English translations of Scripture and those of the later English periods beyond the level merely of a shared conviction of the need for such translations. My thesis is that scriptural translation changes for ever the receiving language and that this will have been the case with the English language during the Anglo-Saxon period. The case has not yet been proved beyond doubt, and how 'provable' it will be is unclear, but at the very least I believe that the language available to the Wycliffite translators, and then in turn to those of the Renaissance and Reformation periods, will in some measure have been prepared for the task by what had been done some centuries before by those early Englishmen whose activities had enriched the literary and spiritual history of the English language.

I conclude with the words of Bishop Æthelwold, a tireless monastic reformer of the tenth century who espoused vigorously the cause of vernacular translation. It was he who first put into English the *Benedicti Regula*, the monastic Rule established by St Benedict of Nursia in the sixth century and followed in the later Anglo-Saxon monasteries. Æthelwold is specifically talking about the Rule, not Scripture, in the passage which I cite here, but the principle he propagates is a general one and is in perfect harmony with the spirit of the age of reform to which he belonged, an age when English translators were already hard at work and had not yet faced the threat of capital punishment for their efforts:

IC Æ[onne] geþeode to miclan gesceade telede. Wel mæg dug[an hit naht] mid hwylcan gereorde mon sy gestryned and to þan soðan geleafan gewæmed, butan þæt an sy þæt he Gode gegange.²³

I therefore considered this translation a very sensible thing. It matters not at all by what language a man is acquired, and drawn, to the true faith, as long only as he come to God.

The original form of expression is Old English and the context is Anglo-Saxon, but I am confident that later translators, including William Tyndale, would have united to endorse the sentiment.*

Appendix

Genesis 3:7

Hebrew	וַיְרַא כִּי עֹרֶךְ מֵת וַיַּחֲפֹר בָּעָלָה תְּבִשֵּׁשׁ לְהַמְּתָנָה
LXX	καὶ ἔγωσαν ὅπι γυμνοῖ ἡσαν. καὶ ἐρραψαν φύλλα συκῆ
Vulgate	et posuerunt se esse nudos consuerunt folia ficus et fecerunt sibi perizomata
Ælfric (c.990)	hi oncneowon ða ðæt hi nacode wæron and sywodon him ficleaf and worhton him wæd-brec
Wyclif 1 (1380)	and whanne thei knewen hem silf to be nakid, thei soweden to gidre leeues of a fige tree, and maden hem brechis
Wyclif 2 (1395)	and whanne thei knewen that thei weren nakid, thei sewiden the leeues of a fige tre, and maden brechis to hem silf
Tyndale (1530)	they understande how that they were naked. Then they sowed fygge leues togedder and made them apurns
Coverdale (1535)	and they perceaued that they were naked, and sowed fygge leaues together, and made them apurns
Geneva (1560)	and they knewe that they were naked, and the sewed fig tre leaues together, and made them selues breeches
Bishops' (1568)	and they knewe that they were naked, and they sowed fygge leaues together; & made them selues apernes
KJV (1611)	and they knew that they were naked; and they sowed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons

Genesis 4:5

Hebrew	וַיַּחֲרֵר לְקַיְן מֵאָד וַיַּסְפְּלֵה סָגָר
LXX	Καὶ εἰλυπήθη Καΐν λαρ, καὶ συνέπεσε τῷ προσώπῳ (var. τῷ προσώπον αὐτοῦ)
Vulgate	iratusque est Cain uehementer et concidit uultus eius
Alfred (c.880)	ða wearð Cain swiðe ierre ond hnipode ofdune
Ælfric (c.990)	þa hirsoðe Caim þearle and his nebwlite ætfeol
Wyclif 1 (1380)	And Caym was greetli wroth, and therwith felle his chere
Wyclif 2 (1395)	And Cayn was wrooth greetli, and his cheer felde doun
Tyndale (1530)	And Cain was wroth exceedingly, and loured
Coverdale (1535)	Then was Cain exceedingly wroth, and his countenaunce chaunged
Geneva (1560)	wherefore Kain was exceeding wroth, and his countenance fel downe
Bishops' (1568)	Cain was exceeding wroth, and his countenaunce abated
KJV (1611)	Cain was very wroth, and his countenance fell

1. *On the Continuity of English Prose from Alfred to More and his School*, Early English Text Society 191A (1932), esp. pp. xc–xciv. For a general survey of the linguistic history of the transition period, see A. C. Baugh and T. Cable, *A History of the English Language* (Routledge, London, 3rd edition, 1978), pp. 107–57.
2. C. C. Butterworth, *The Literary Lineage of the King James Bible 1340–1611* (U. of Pennsylvania P., Philadelphia, PA, 1941), pp. 22–6.
3. For the fourteenth century, M. Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Biblical Versions* (University Press, Cambridge, 1920), is indispensable. General accounts of the history of the Bible in English are numerous (though usually derivative). Early important contributions were B. F. Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible*, 5th edition, rev. W. A. Wright (Macmillan, London, 1905) and Butterworth, *op cit.*, For a useful recent survey of mainly the sixteenth century, see G. Hammond, *The Making of the English Bible* (Carcanet New Press, Manchester, 1982). For the Anglo-Saxon period, see below, n. 14.
4. On Coverdale's Bibles, see Hammond, *op. cit.*, pp. 66–88.
5. Parker and his secretary, John Joscelyn, used an Anglo-Saxon homily by Ælfric to support their case in a controversy over transubstantiation and thereby, in 1566–7, produced the first book containing printed Old English, *A Testimonie of Antiquitie*; see M. Murphy, 'Religious Polemics in the Genesis of Old English Studies', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 32 (1969), 241–8. For more on the first generation of Old English scholars, see E. N. Adams, *Old English Scholarship in England from 1566–1800*, Yale Studies in English 55 (Yale U. P., New Haven, CT, 1917; repr. Archon Books, Hamden, CT, 1970), pp. 11–41, and C. P. Berkhout and M. McC. Gatch eds., *Anglo-Saxon Scholarship: the First Three Centuries* (G. K. Hall, Boston, 1982), *passim*.
6. On Foxe, see M. Murphy, 'John Foxe, Martyrologist and "Editor" of Old English', *English Studies* 49 (1968), pp. 516–23.
7. *The Gospel of the fower Euangelistes*, p. 9.
8. On this, see R. Liuzza, 'Who Read the Gospels?', in *Words and Works: Essays for Fred C. Robinson* (P. S. Baker and N. Howe eds., Toronto, forthcoming).
9. J. Forshall and F. Madden eds., *The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal Books, in the earliest English versions made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers* (Oxford U. P., Oxford, 1850), Prologue, pp. 1–60, at 59.
10. The argument used by King Alfred himself to justify vernacular translation, made in a Preface to his English version of Pope Gregory the Great's *Regula pastoralis*, was essentially the same: 'Then I recalled how the Law was first composed in the Hebrew language, and thereafter, when the Greeks learned it, they translated it all into their own language, and all other books as well. And so too the Romans, after they had mastered them, translated them all through learned interpreters into their own language. Similarly all the other Christian peoples turned some part of them into their own language'; H. Sweet ed., *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, 2 vols., Early English Text Society 45 and 50 (London, 1871), I, pp. 2–9, at 5–7, and S. Keynes and M. Lapidge trans., *Alfred the Great: Asser's 'Life of King Alfred' and other Contemporary Sources* (Penguin,

- Harmondsworth, 1983), pp. 125–6. The translations referred to by Alfred in the last sentence were probably scriptural versions in continental Germanic languages which he had heard about; *ibid.*, p. 295, n. 12. On Alfred's version of Psalms, noted by Purvey, see below, pp. 32–3.
11. Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible*, pp. 131–4. In a treatise, Purvey was a little more circumspect about Bede, writing that he 'translatid the Bibel or a grete parte of the Bibile. w[h]os originals ben in many abbeis in Englond'; *ibid.*, pp. 437–5, at p. 441.
 12. *Ibid.*, pp. 133–4, trans. Deanesly, with the Latin at p. 406.
 13. *Ibid.*, pp. 133, trans. Deanesly, with the Latin at p. 435. In 1528, Thomas More, too, appears to allude to the existence of Anglo-Saxon biblical translation in a *Dialogue* (1528) written to refute aspects of the 'new learning', including vernacular translation; *ibid.*, p. 5 and n. 4.
 14. Still useful for the Anglo-Saxon period, though dated, is Butterworth, *op. cit.*, on which many later accounts seem to depend. See also G. T. Shepherd, 'English Versions of the Scriptures before Wyclif', in his *Poets and Prophets: Essays in Medieval Studies* (T. A. Shippey and John Pickles eds., D. S. Brewer, Cambridge, 1990), pp. 59–83; Henry Hargreaves, 'From Bede to Wyclif: Medieval English Bible Translations', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 48 (1965), pp. 118–40; and W. A. Craigie, 'The English Versions (to Wyclif)', in *The Bible in its Ancient and English Versions*, (H. W. Robinson ed., Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1940; repr. 1954; Westport, CT, 1970), pp. 128–145. Deanesly, *op. cit.*, pp. 132–40, is judicious and perceptive.
 15. I deal with the continuous translations of the Gospels and the Heptateuch below. Much non-continuous Old English translation is collected in A. S. Cook, *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers Edited with the Vulgate and Other Latin Originals, Introduction on Old English Biblical Versions, Index of Biblical Passages, and Index of Principal Words* (Macmillan, London, 1898), and *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers, Second Series. Edited with Latin Originals, Index of Biblical Passages, and Index of Principal Words* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, and Edward Arnold, London, 1903). Further citations are in A. S. Napier, 'Nachträge zu Cook's *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers*', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 101 (1898), pp. 309–24, 102 (1899), 29–42 and 107 (1901), 105–6. M. C. Morrell, *A Manual of Old English Biblical Materials* (U. of Tennessee P., Knoxville, TN, 1965), gives manuscript details of Old English scriptural texts, with bibliography. For a discussion of the Old English translations in relation to their Vulgate originals, see my *The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 15 (University Press, Cambridge, 1995), Ch. 12.
 16. It is Bede who tells us of the miraculous origin of Old English poetical versions of Scripture at the monastery at Whitby in the seventh century, where the cowherd Cædmon was granted the divine gift of song; see *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, (B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors eds., Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1969), IV.24, pp. 414–20. The Old Testament poems which survive, however (reworkings of parts of Genesis, Exodus, Daniel and Judith), cannot be attributed to Cædmon. Exodus, Daniel, Judith and much of the very long

- Genesis are translated in S. A. J. Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, (Dent, London, 2nd edition, 1995).
17. '[A] capite euangelii sancti Iohannis usque ad eum locum in quo dicitur "Sed haec quid sunt inter tantos?" in nostram linguam ad utilitatem ecclesiae Dei conuertit': 'Epistola de obitu Bedae', printed *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 580–86, at 582.
 18. See the useful account by Deanesly, *op. cit.*, pp. 134–6. Cf. the eccentric theory of M. Grünberg ed., *The West-Saxon Gospels: a Study of the Gospel of St Matthew with the Text of the Four Gospels* (Scheltema and Holkema NV, Amsterdam, 1967), pp. 369–70, that Bede translated all four gospels and that the text of a tenth-century translation of the Gospels (which I describe below) is descended from his work.
 19. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 566–70.
 20. Printed in *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, C. Plummer ed., 2 vols. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1896), I, pp. 405–23, at 409.
 21. For a facsimile of the *Vespasian Psalter* (London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A. i), see *The Vespasian Psalter*, D. H. Wright and A. Campbell eds., Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 14 (Rosenkilde and Bagger, Copenhagen, 1967). The text and gloss of are printed in *The Vespasian Psalter* (S. M. Kuhn ed., U. of Michigan P., Ann Arbor, MI, 1965).
 22. See C. Sisam and K. Sisam eds., *The Salisbury Psalter*, Early English Text Society 242 (London, 1959), p. 75.
 23. For a facsimile of, and commentary on, the Lindisfarne Gospels, see *Evangeliorum Quattuor Codex Lindisfarnensis. Musei Britannici Codex Cottonianus Nero D. iv*, T. D. Kendrick *et al.* eds., 2 vols. (Urs Graf, Olten/Lausanne, 1956–60). The gloss and glossator are described in II, Book 2.
 24. See J. Stevenson and G. Waring eds., *The Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels now first printed from the Original MSS. in the British Museum and the Bodleian Library*, 4 vols., Surtees Society 28, 39, 43, 48 (London 1854–65), where the Rushworth gloss is printed at the foot of the page, below the Latin and Old English texts of the Lindisfarne manuscript.
 25. The Psalms are ed. J. W. Bright and R. L. Ramsay, *Liber Psalmorum. The West-Saxon Psalms* (D. C. Heath, Boston, MA, and London, 1907). A few are translated in Keynes and Lapidge, *op. cit.*, pp. 153–60. For a discussion, see A. J. Frantzen, *King Alfred* (Twayne Publishers, Boston, MA, 1986) and for evidence of Alfred's authorship of the translation, see J. M. Bately, 'Lexical Evidence for the Authorship of the Prose Psalms in the Paris Psalter', *Anglo-Saxon England* 10 (1982), pp. 69–95. The tradition of Alfred's authorship had been preserved in the twelfth century by William of Malmesbury in his *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*. Some earlier historians spuriously associated the translation with Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury and Bishop of Sherborne.
 26. On Alfred's life and work, see Frantzen, *op. cit.*, and Keynes and Lapidge, *op. cit.*, pp. 9–58.
 27. W. H. Stevenson ed., *Asser's Life of King Alfred* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1904), ch. 87 (p. 73). For a translation, see Keynes and Lapidge, *op. cit.*, p. 99; see also p. 239, n. 46.

28. Keynes and Lapidge, *op. cit.*, pp. 124–52, give brief notes on, and short translated extracts from, these works. See also D. Whitelock, ‘The Prose of Alfred’s reign’, in *Continuations and Beginnings: Studies in Old English Literature*, (E. G. Stanley ed., Nelson, London, 1966), pp. 67–103.
29. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8824; see N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1957; reissued with suppl., 1990), pp. 440–41 (no. 367).
30. See Keynes and Lapidge, *op. cit.*, p. 153, and Frantzen, *op. cit.*, pp. 96–105, especially at 105.
31. *Tyndale’s Old Testament. Being the Pentateuch of 1530, Joshua to 2 Chronicles of 1537, and Jonah* (David Daniell ed., Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1992), p. 3.
32. The so-called Roman text of Psalms was that most commonly known in Anglo-Saxon psalters until the end of the tenth century. See Sisam and Sisam, *op. cit.*, pp. 47–9.
33. See, for instance, his *Enarrationes in psalmos*, E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont ed., 3 vols., Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 38–40 (Turnhout, 1956), I, 134–5.
34. Two complete copies of the law code, joined with the code of Ine, survive, the earliest of them in the mid-tenth-century Parker manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 173, fols. 33–52; see Ker, *op. cit.*, pp. 57–9 (no. 39). The laws are ed. F. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 3 vols. (Max Niemeyer, Halle, 1903–16) I, pp. 16–123. I discuss the translation of Exodus in my *Text of the Old Testament*, pp. 401–2.
35. *Gesetze*, Liebermann I, 26–43 and 42–5. See Liebermann’s ‘King Alfred and Mosaic Law’, *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 6 (1908–10), pp. 21–31; Frantzen, *op. cit.*, pp. 14–16; and P. Wormald, ‘Lex Scripta and Verbum Regis: Legislation and Germanic Kingship, from Euric to Cnut’, in *Early Medieval Kingship* (P. H. Sawyer and I. N. Wood eds., London, 1977), pp. 105–38, at 132.
36. The West Saxon kings traced their genealogies back to Noah and Adam; see, for instance, Asser’s account of Alfred’s descent: *Asser’s Life of King Alfred*, Stevenson, Ch. 1, pp. 1–4, Keynes and Lapidge, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
37. See D. H. Farmer, ‘The Progress of the Monastic Revival’, in *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia* (D. Parsons ed., Phillimore, London and Chichester, 1975), pp. 10–19, and D. Bullough, ‘The Continental Background of the Reform’, *ibid.*, pp. 20–36.
38. See H. Gneuss, ‘Anglo-Saxon Libraries from the Conversion to the Benedictine Reform’, *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo* 32 (Spoleto, 1986), 643–99, at 682–3.
39. The edition is S. J. Crawford, *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch, Ælfric’s Treatise on the Old and New Testament and his Preface to Genesis*, Early English Text Society 160 (1922; repr., with the text of two additional manuscripts transcribed by N. R. Ker, 1969). On the manuscripts, see pp. 1–9, 440–41, 444 and 456–7. Crawford’s text is based on the Claudius manuscript, which is available in facsimile, with a valuable introductory section, in *The Old English Illustrated*

Hexateuch. British Museum Cotton Claudius B. IV (C. R. Dodwell and Peter Clemoes eds., Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 18 (Rosenkilde and Bagger, Copenhagen, 1974).

40. As I will show in a forthcoming article, the assumption that there was only one ‘anonymous’ translator is wrong; there were at least two.
41. On Ælfric, see esp. J. Hurt, *Ælfric* (Twayne Publishing, New York, 1972); J. Wilcox ed., *Ælfric’s Prefaces*, Durham Medieval Texts 9 (Durham, 1994), 1–81; and L. M. Reinsma, *Ælfric: an Annotated Bibliography* (Garland Publishing, New York and London, 1987).
42. See Craigie *op. cit.*, pp. 131–4, and Morrell, *op. cit.*, pp. 14–18.
43. On Ælfric’s prose, see esp. P. Clemoes, ‘Ælfric’, in *Continuations and Beginnings*, Stanley, pp. 176–209, and M. Godden, ‘Ælfric and the Vernacular Prose Tradition’, in *The Old English Homily and its Backgrounds*, (P. E. Szarmach and B. F. Huppé eds., U. of New York P., Albany, NY, 1978), pp. 99–117.
44. P. Clemoes, ‘The Chronology of Ælfric’s Works’, in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in some Aspects of their History and Culture Presented to Bruce Dickins*, (P. Clemoes ed., Bowes, London, 1959), pp. 212–47; corrected reprint in *Old English Newsletter*, Subsidia 5 (Binghamton, NY, 1980).
45. See P. Clemoes, ‘The Composition of the Old English Text’, in *Illustrated Hexateuch*, Dodwell and Clemoes, pp. 42–53.
46. See R. Marsden, ‘Ælfric as Translator: the Old English Prose Genesis’, *Anglia* 109 (1991), pp. 319–58.
47. M. McC. Gatch, ‘The Office in Late Anglo-Saxon Monasticism’, in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, (M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss eds., University Press, Cambridge, 1985), pp. 341–62, at 360–61.
48. A partial analogy may be noted in King Edgar’s request, around 960, that Bishop Æthelwold translate the Benedictine Rule (by which English monks ostensibly lived) into English. According to a document which was probably written by Æthelwold himself, Edgar was conscious of a need to rectify his own life with proper obedience to the divine purpose, and to this end he began to investigate for himself the precepts of the monastic Rule. For the text and translation of the document, see *Councils and Synods, with Other Documents Relating to the English Church, I. 871–1204, Part I, 871–1066*, (D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C. N. L. Brooke eds., Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1981), no. 33, pp. 142–54, at 149. See also below, p. 42.
49. Clemoes, *Illustrated Hexateuch*, p. 58.
50. The preface is printed in *Heptateuch*, Crawford, pp. 76–80.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
52. See Alfred’s preface to his English version of Pope Gregory the Great’s *Regula pastoralis*, in *King Alfred’s West-Saxon Version*, Sweet, I, pp. 2–9; also Keynes and Lapidge, *op. cit.*, pp. 124–6.
53. Daniell, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
54. They are listed and described in R. M. Liuzza ed., *The Old English Version of the Gospels*, Vol I: Text and Introduction, Early English Text Society, 304 (Oxford U.P., Oxford, 1994), pp. xvi–xlvi.

55. The manuscript is Cambridge, University Library, II. 2. 11. See Liuzza, pp. xvii–xx.
56. Liuzza, ‘Who Read the Gospels?’
57. The manuscript is London, British Library, Royal 1. A. XIV; see Ker, *op. cit.*, p. 316 (no. 245).
58. The Middle English glosses are in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115, which contains Ælfric’s version of Judges; see Crawford, *Heptateuch*, pp. 422–3. The Hexateuch notes are printed *ibid.*, pp. 418–22.
59. See J. Wright, *Grammar of the Gothic Language and the Gospel of St Mark. Selections from the Other Gospels and the Second Epistle to Timothy with Notes and Glossary*, 2nd ed. with a Supplement to the Grammar by O. L. Sayce (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1954), pp. 195–7.
60. Ælfric was the author of the first vernacular grammar of Latin for English school boys: J. Zupitza ed., *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar*, Sammlung englischer Denkmäler 1 (Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, Berlin, 1880; repr. with introduction by H. Gneuss, Max Niehans Verlag, Berlin, 1966).
61. See my discussion in ‘Ælfric as Translator’, pp. 324–8.
62. *Heptateuch*, ed. Crawford, pp. 79–80: ‘we ne durron na mare awritan on Englisc þonne ðæt Leden hæfð, ne ða endebyrdnysse awandan, buton ðam anum, ðæt ðæt Leden and ðæt Englisc nabbað na ane wisan on ðære spræce fadunge; æfre se ðe awent oððe se ðe tæcð of Ledene on Englisc, æfre he sceal gefadian hit swa ðæt ðæt Englisc hæbbe his agene wisan, elles hit bið swyðe gedwolsum to rædenne ðam ðe ðæs Ledenes wise ne can’.
63. Marsden, ‘Ælfric as Translator’, pp. 324–8.
64. XV.23 (CCSL 48, 488–92). See also my ‘Old Latin Intervention in the Old English *Heptateuch*’, *Anglo-Saxon England* 23 (1994), pp. 229–64, at 238.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 239.
66. Shepherd, *op. cit.*, pp. 62–3.
67. See above, n. 43.
68. A useful introduction to the theological concerns and sources of the late Anglo-Saxons, based on the writings of Ælfric and Archbishop Wulfstan of York is M. McC. Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan* (U. of Toronto P., Toronto and Buffalo, 1977). On Ælfric, see also L. Grundy, *Books and Grace: Ælfric’s Theology*, King’s College London Medieval Studies 6 (London, 1991).
69. Liuzza, ‘Who Read the Gospels?’.
70. In his preface to Genesis, Ælfric shows himself to be aware that ‘*sum oðer man*’ had already put into English the book of Genesis from the Abraham and Isaac episode to the end; see *Heptateuch*, Crawford, p. 76.
71. This is the view of H. Minkoff, ‘Some Stylistic Consequences of Ælfric’s Theory of Translation’, *Studies in Philology* 73 (1976), 29–41, repeated in S. B. Greenfield and G. C. Calder, *A New Critical History of Old English Literature* (New York U.P., New York and London, 1986), p. 85.
72. See my ‘Ælfric as Translator’, *passim*.
73. *Ibid.*, pp. 349–58.
74. *Ibid.*, pp. 344–9.

75. See Appendix.
76. Cf. German, 'Da ergrimmte Kain sehr, und seine Gebärde verstellte sich'; French, 'sa figure s'allongea'.
77. The 'falling face' idiom is one of those noted in an excellent discussion of hebraisms in the English Bibles by J. Isaacs, 'The Authorized Version and After', in *The Bible in its Ancient and English Versions*, Robinson ed., pp. 196–234, at 209–14; but Isaacs is unaware of the Old English usage.
78. See Appendix.
79. *Sancti Clementis Romani ad Corinthos Epistulae versio latina antiquissima*, C. Morin ed., Anecdota Maredsolana 2 (Maredsous, 1894), p. 5.
80. *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version*, Sweet, I, p. 234. We do not, of course, know what idiosyncracies Alfred's exemplar of Gregory's work may have shown in the passage in question.
81. Ælfric knew the works of Alfred, including the *Regula pastoralis* (see Godden, *op. cit.*, pp. 102–5), and so presumably could have followed Alfred's precedent in using the paraphrase, if he had wanted to.
82. The text in Cambridge, University Library, II. 1. 33, differs notably in some extended passages (4–5:31 and 10–11) from the text which is common to the other two major manuscripts. See *Heptateuch*, Crawford, pp. 4–5 and P. Clemoes, 'The Composition of the Old English Text', pp. 42–53.
83. 'Chere' or 'cheer' is a Middle English word for 'face', of French origin, which, unlike the earlier Old English word *nebwlite*, has survived in the modern language, though only in the derived sense of 'state of mind', as in 'to be of good cheer'.
84. Forshall and Madden, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
85. Deanesly, *op. cit.*, p. 441.
86. The assertion of Hargreaves, *op. cit.*, p. 121, that the Old English of the manuscripts was 'as unintelligible to Purvey...as it is to the layman today' is not warranted by Purvey's words.
87. Cf. 'abate' II.6 in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (2nd ed.)
88. The word is from the Classical Latin *brac(c)ae* 'breeches', but I am aware of no instance where it is used in Latin versions of Genesis 3:7.
89. Zupitza, *op. cit.*, p. 315. A glossary by Ælfric has the entry Old English *strapulas* ('breeches') for Latin *tubroces uel braccae*; see Wright, T. and R. P. Wülker eds., *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Trübner and Co., London, 1883–4), I, col. 125, line 2. It is probable that *tubroces* is an error for *tribroces*; *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (R. E. Latham *et al.* eds., Oxford U.P., London, 1975–), s.v.
90. More common than *femorale* is *feminalia*, with the same meaning. Cf. a classroom gloss made at Canterbury in the late seventh century to the words *feminalia linea* in Exodus 28:42: *feminalia linea: .i. bracas curtas* ('linen breeches: that is, short trousers'); see B. Bischoff and M. Lapidge eds., *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 10 (Cambridge U.P., Cambridge, 1994), p. 358, no. 316. I am not aware of any Old English translation of Sirach 45:10.
91. See previous note.
92. Worcester, Cathedral Library, F. 174, was written at Worcester in the first half of

the century and shows consistent linguistic modification; see Ker, *op. cit.*, pp. 466–7 (no. 398). On manuscripts of the glossary, see also R. E. Buckalew, ‘Leland’s Transcript of Ælfric’s *Glossary*’, *Anglo-Saxon England* 7 (1978), pp. 149–64, at 153–4.

93. Whitelock *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–2.

94. I am indebted to Kimberly Molinari for valuable criticism of a draft of this paper.

The Poetics of Tyndale's Translation

Gordon Jackson

You would expect me to say at the outset how great an honour it is for me to be asked to contribute to this expression of the nation's debt to a great man and to a great achievement. I will not disappoint you, because it is for me a profound honour. And I want to start this little address – it isn't a lecture because I'm not an academic, merely a bigoted poet who expects to be acknowledged as a legislator of the world – with some observations on the nature of paying honour.

If we honour the living it's like most of our transactions, we expect something back for it. More normally though we wait for a person to be tidily out of the way before we say the proper things. But who gains then? The dead couldn't care less, however vain they might have been in life, however hungry for compliments. And to be sure the dead can't do the living much good. Yet there is a profit. In honouring the worthiness of another, I lift my own aspirations; in a sense I acquire some of the honour I myself have paid. The more I honour others, the more honourable I become. It's what we might call a reflexive virtue. And we are all in this conference gaining a little in self-respect in the act of honouring William Tyndale. It is a good thing to be doing, and we should be feeling the benefit of it. As in other forms of love, one gains by giving.

Professor Daniell invited me to speak in the hope I would cast some light on the working ear of Tyndale. It was anticipated that, as a practising poet (a calling which, I hasten to add, I practise only in private) and as one who has recently wrestled with the twists and turns of the Psalms, I would have something significant to add that was not obvious to others. I think I am about to disappoint. What I will try to do instead is relate what we have in Tyndale's performance to the overall task of translation, the poetics of recompilation, and that includes, beyond the patterns of phrase-making and setting word against word, the whole idea of composition, rhetoric, melody, cadence, prose and speech, drama, vocality and, finally, the vatic.

That's because the Scriptures Tyndale is rewriting are not quite prose; and though we are used to them presented in numbered units called verses, they are not verse either. In fact the writing moves from discursive prose to historical narrative, crystallizes into proverbs, bursts into dramatic episodes, spins a good yarn, cracks an outrageous joke, and then sings a most lyrical cadenza; and all this in the space of a single chapter in the Gospels. Whatever the style a translator adopts, it needs to be pretty versatile, subtle, able to modulate from register to register; a flexible and brilliant and above all a controlled and well-judged medium. Anyone fancy trying his hand at it? If we look at Shakespeare modulating from comic prose to majestic blank verse, using short speech statements as a bridge which nevertheless form a broken but complete iambic pentameter, we can see something of the kind of skill the Gospel translator has need of. By Tyndale's poetics, therefore, I understand not just words, phrase, sentence, rhythm, cadence, image, sound, but more a feel for the whole architecture of the Scriptures, the grand design as well as the detailing, the practical passageways as well as the decorative

finials; and behind it all the mind of the architect, and the purpose and the occasion of the great work.

One way to measure Tyndale's literary mastery is to look at his own prose separately from the translation. In that way we can see his stylistic predilections, hear his own voice, feel the writer's pulse. Here are some specimens:

Christ's words were spirit and life: that is to say, they ministered spirit and life, and entered into the heart, and grated on the conscience.¹

The rhetoric is elegant, but look how startling the effect of that 'grated' is: we have an idiom – I don't know how old – that something 'grates on the ears'. It has a most uncomfortable physicality, which is apt; and a most common reference to the kitchen, which is perhaps typical.

If a young man break a ring between him and a maid; doth not the fact testify and make a presumption to all men, that his heart meant as his words spake?²

I suppose for eloquence I don't know any better English. The parallel of 'heart meant' and 'words spake' is not just a syntactical delight, it is excellent workmanship, practical and lasting.

All that be shaven be sworn together.³

What wit! The old hendiadys 'shaven and shorn' is contained in the phrase, one that we've all known from childhood – 'This is the priest all shaven and shorn/That married the man all tattered and torn/That kissed the maiden all forlorn' etc. – with the added novelty that the sign of the tonsure is a kind of masonic conspiracy.

For God thinketh it better for his commonwealth, that twenty should spend twenty or forty shillings apiece, than that one should spend twenty or forty pounds, and nineteen never a whit: for then must many poor hang on one rich.⁴

The parallel is like the one before, but contrasts opposites, 'many poor' – 'one rich', and concretizes the Latin verb 'depend' more pertinently in the English 'hang on' so we can see them actually dangling from the rich man's pocket.

Baptism is called 'volowing' in many places in England; because the priest saith, 'Volo, say ye.' 'The child was well volowed,' say they, 'yea, and our vicar is as fair a volower as ever a priest within this twenty miles'.⁵

One is disposed to wonder whether Tyndale ever read Dickens.

If he promise life, he slayeth first; when he buildeth, he casteth all down first. He is no patcher; he cannot build on another man's foundation.⁶

Not only the metaphoric reference again to the world of work, its good practices and val-

ues, but the very mouth of the labourer is audible in the phrase. There must have been thousands of builders whose self-respect shared that contemptuous phrase, 'I'm no patcher,' which Tyndale naturally and easily appropriates to Christ.

Finally, when they had done all they could, and that they thought sufficient, and when Christ was in the heart of the earth, and so many bills and pole-axes about him to keep him down, and when it was past man's help, then holp God.'

The triple stressed main clause at the end is dramatic in the extreme, and again apt. It could not be better said, I believe, which must be the mark of the best of writers.

Milton says of the best poetry that it is simple, sensuous and passionate. Not only are the specimens I've given worthy examples of such a combination of qualities, but this seems to be Tyndale's characteristic mode of writing. Putting it another way, he wrote prose with the full power of the poet.

Gavin Bone in an excellent essay on Tyndale and the English language writes:

It will be apparent by this time how richly gifted Tyndale was in his appreciation of spoken idioms. There is no vestige of literariness in his writings... The truth is that Tyndale hated literature. Next to a papist he hated a poet... In all his works there is no trace of writing for effect... In exasperation he calls More a 'poet'... It is an ironical thing that any essay [or lecture for that matter] should come to be written on Tyndale the literary artist.*

Which puts me in my place. Twice.

I suppose we all have some idea of what we expect from a poet, or at least from a conventional poet. But I'd briefly like to reconsider the matter, and to help me I wish to bring in an associate whom we are also honouring in the year of our Lord 1994. The Jewish poet and painter Max Jacob was a friend of Picasso in the first decade of this century; he twice had visions of Christ, once in a cinema, and was converted to Christianity. He died at Drancy prison camp in 1944 on his way to Auschwitz. Here are some of his tips to a young man whose parents wanted him to be a poet.

People think that to be a poet you have to make unequal lines equal and finish up with a half-pun. No, to be a poet you have to be first a man, and then a Man-Poet.

First of all find God.

What makes a good doctor or a good poet is not the number of books they've read, but the quality of their inner life. Buffon says 'Style is the man himself' – that means, what is deepest in the man's heart and blood.

What is written lasts.*

All of which takes us away from the mechanics of writing to the source, to the character, to the conversation with the *Logos*. Yes, the ear will be functioning, as will all the other faculties. But the work itself is an open challenge to vanities. It is the making of a man. It is, when finished, an abiding ladder between the world of man and that of his superiors. Jacob also insists on the poet being serious, serious at heart, and that's not with the

'high seriousness' that Matthew Arnold failed to find in Chaucer, the sort of thing that is dominant in Tennyson, a grave self-importance; no, it is more a quality that comes from a profounder source – we might call it 'deep seriousness', and it is often expressed in jokes, as in Shakespeare, or in a brilliant *mélange* like the great cathedral of the *Canterbury Tales*.

Such, I believe, is the poetic equipment and attitude that is required of the translator of the holy miscellany we call the Scriptures. As for his task, that is, I take it, to carry over meaning and power from one language, or a series of languages including one 'original' that is putative, to another. And since that task is not entirely possible, the translator is obliged to select what he can and what he can't translate. The gist can usually be represented, provided the translator understands it, but the force, eloquence, wordplay, euphony, allusiveness that belong to the first language can only rarely be reproduced in the second. Puns are particularly obdurate. So what the translator has to do is effectively remake the work in his own tongue, or else find an intermediate vehicle which sticks to the form of the original as closely as it can while using near equivalent words in the second language. This is sometimes called translationese, and I think there's more to be said for it than it usually gets.

Jerome says concerning his practice in making the Vulgate that sometimes he translated word for word, and other times he followed the overall sense. Tyndale's task, however, was a bit more complicated. He was not just making another translation of the Bible, as you or I might, and as the A.V. committee did; he was effectively liberating it from vested interests. He was consciously de-idolizing the Scriptures, taking them from their ceremonial position on the altar of the Church and making them words again for people to mouth.

In his introduction to *Tyndale's New Testament* Professor Daniell speaks of the two kinds of taste in respect of religion, the one that wants God to be majestic and distant (with the clergy claiming the same attributes), and the other wanting him up-front and in person; we can perhaps call the two attitudes 'hieratic' and 'demotic' respectively. In his justification for his work Tyndale was opposed by the hieratic school and driven into the demotic camp. It is not just English he is turning the Bible into, but a particular style of English, with a precise political bias. As against the pettifogging Latinity and the obscurantism of what he abusively calls 'chopology', he was after the plainest English possible.

But we all know that plain English is easier said than done. What does it need to be? In the first place it must be comprehensible and clear. Jacob again on the subject of sacred verse says it must be musical and shining, and such that the most wretched of peasants will say when he hears it, 'That's good', and not, 'What's all that about?' For Tyndale the arbiter of his translation is the shepherd and the ploughman, the housewife and the child.

But plain English is not artless speech. On the contrary, it must speak to the heart with power, with wisdom, with conviction and authority, with wit, with musicality and with memorability. And to do these things, the flowers of rhetoric are all invoked, not for display but for effectiveness. It is, nevertheless, an easier task than this might suggest. After all, the writers Tyndale is translating are themselves proverb-makers and pithy narrative artists, and much of the same cast of mind as he himself was, beleaguered and belligerent all of them.

So then, his first task is to create an overall style and language out of the various oral and literary Englishes available, a language that will serve as a vehicle for the whole literature of the Bible. And his success in achieving this was so spectacular that all subsequent versions have at the very least depended on it. 'For God loveth a cheerful giver' has become as true to our ears as 'live and let live'; the ear and the heart are in total consonance. And the English mind and its mysticism and love of plain poetry are all there in his benediction: 'And the peace of God which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in Christ Jesu.'

Every language has its own genius. Its poets explore and exploit that genius for the better use of the tribe that does its living in that dialect. How well Tyndale has effectively done this is evident in the fact that he sounds so modern, even after nearly half a millennium.

As pertaining to good works, understand that all works are good which are done within the law of God, in faith, and with thanksgiving to God; and understand that thou in doing them pleasest God, whatsoever thou doest within the law of God, as when thou makest water. And trust me, if either wind or water were stopped, thou shouldest feel what a precious thing it were to do either or both, and what thanks ought to be given God therefore. Moreover, put no difference between works; but whatsoever cometh into thy hands that do, as time, place and occasion giveth, and as God hath put thee in degree, high or low. For as touching to please God, there is no work better than another. God looketh not first on thy work as the world doth, as though the beautifullness of the work pleased him as it doth the world, or as though he had need of them. But God looketh first on thy heart, what faith thou hast to his words, how thou believest him, trustest him, and how thou lovest him for his mercy that he hath showed thee; he looketh with what heart thou workest, and not what thou workest; how thou acceptest the degree that he hath put thee in, and not of what degree thou art, whether thou be an apostle or a shoemaker.¹⁰

What makes for plain English is more than an organization of words; it is the good sense it expresses. I have quoted the passage above from *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* not only to demonstrate the modernity of Tyndale's discursive style (and it dates from 1527), but also to show the highest excellence of the theologian, a true familiarity with the mind of God. This is Tyndale the prophet in his own right, not translating the words of other prophets.

The native genius of English was available to Tyndale in the folk speech and proverbs that he loved, as it was to George Herbert a century later. Both of them made collections of proverbs, and Tyndale quotes with delight the shepherds' saying to wanton children: 'This sheep hath maggots in his tail, he must be anointed with birchen salve'. It was there in popular rhymes, like 'When Adam delved and Eve span, where was then the gentleman?' It's the stuff of our nursery rhymes still.

There is a kind of bedrock language that underlies Tyndale's grasp not only of English but also of absolute moral values. What I mean by 'absolute' here is as when the hammer hits the nail on the head with a perfection of drive that is both practical and elegant;

we might call it 'the drive absolute'. Here are some specimens from contemporary bedrock English – they come from taped conversations my former students made of persons two generations older than themselves. In low cunning I have interspersed quotations from Tyndale among them, and you have to guess which is which. There are no prizes, though saving face is its own reward.

'You cut, you choose.' A masterful means of managing a pair of daughters over who should get the biggest slice of cake. The one who doesn't cut gets first choice, so the cutter has every incentive to be even-handed. This exceeds, for my money, all the recorded wisdom of Solomon.

'I take the biscuit for being stubborn, but you take the cake.'

'If you're very very poor you have to be a good manager.' Not an eloquent statement this, bit a plain fact witnessed by every generation. It says a lot for organizations being managed by the poorest of folk, and other unthinkable truths.

'A mother can smite, and love.' A similar statement of one of the facts of love. This is by Tyndale from the *Commentaries on the Sermon on the Mount*.¹¹ I suppose the verb 'smite' gave it away. I was never smitten myself as a child, but I was given many a good clout. Out of love. I think.

'She was one of those creaking gates, you know, not ill but not fit'. There is a proverbial form of this that says 'A creaking gate will last for ever', which may well be as old as Tyndale.

'When I left school I didn't know hay from a fool's foot.' Other versions of this you probably know that can't tell a hawk from a handsaw.

'Well, it's too late, I only get the sack once'. That's the same speaker as the last, a man who had been sacked on the supposition of his having stolen some gear. When the real culprit was found, and the man offered his job back, that was his reply; and note how full of an honest man's pride it is. It wasn't the man who was found wanting, but the master, and the injury had been to a place that couldn't be easily patched up.

'A cobbler's prayer is as good as a cardinal's.'¹² You can guess that as Tyndale's from the red hat reference; it expresses sound theology on top of an artisan's pride in his trade and his character.

'He consents that fire is hot when he puts his finger in it.'¹³ That's Tyndale's wit as well, but it's so traditional in feel that he may well be quoting a common proverb.

'If you could carry eighteen stone on your back, you got a man's pay.' A practical measure of manhood as defined in the farmer's jobyard. The subject goes on to tell how, when bringing in such a load, a young lad jumped on top of the bale, and the labourer carried the lot into the barn. It was a measure of strength and pride; and I ought to add that the subject was not a big man.

'She could talk the hangman out of hanging her.' A measure this time of a woman's perseverance, like the one in Luke's Gospel, but is it Tyndale or contemporary? I won't give you the answer to that one.

'No, you've got a family.' Those were the last words of a young miner to a mate when both were trapped and only one could get out. It's not only sound heroics and good manly courage, the reasoning is impeccable too.

'What we didn't have, we went without.' Statements of this order occur again and again. There's a dignity about the resignation, and an utter rejection of modern self-pity.

'I never did like dolls, I didn't; I were more for 'ammer and nails.' I put that in

because I thought you'd like it.

'The place God made, and forgot to bless.'¹⁴ I think we've all been there at some time. The speaker in this instance was referring to Barnsley, not Halifax.

'A Christian receives all things of the hand of God, both good and bad, both sweet and sour, both wealth and woe.' That is Tyndale in *The Obedience*,¹⁵ but the pattern of doublings – here opposites – is very much like the traditional English love of hendiadys, the alliterative doubling of synonyms like 'might and main', 'bag and baggage' and so on. Here's an example from the intercessions prayerboard in Lincoln cathedral: 'Please pray for me and my friend Leela. May God be with us through thick and thin. Love, Lisa and Leela.' It may seem their very friendship was a hendiadys, but I quote the example to show how much is compressed into that beautiful piece of poetry 'through thick and thin'. I don't suppose it was an idiom available to Tyndale, but it's so available to us that we take it as 'ordinary', the sort of thing we say without thinking. Our forebears have formed such phrases for us to do our thinking in, and, as here, our praying.

The point of this little game is to make connection between what we all say when we are talking at our best, and what Tyndale himself thought of as good plain English, and what therefore lies at the heart of the Bible in English. Our language is highly idiomatic, and we revel in new ways of saying old things. We prefer comic sayings to serious ones, and we multiply nouns to denominate fools and knaves, as Tyndale does with his 'pickers' (by which he means half-inchers, i.e. pinchers, appropriators, tealeaves, nimmers, nickers, and all light-fingered folk). But this inventive art belongs to an essentially oral tradition where its beauty is dramatic. Yet for all his being versed in a tradition of formal rhetoric, we should remember that Jesus also was an oral teacher who resisted the temptation to write things down in a book; whose sayings were strikingly memorable; and who produced his wit for the occasion and used his tongue like a rapier. And Paul too seems to be dictating his letters rather than giving them the studied finish of writing.

On the other hand, the prejudice of our education favours writing models over good speech, and not the best writing models either. This is often referred to as 'good English' and offered as a 'standard' by which various oral customs are measured and found wanting. I don't wish to get bogged down in the business of vested interests of modern language teaching, but merely to register the fact that language choice is political, and I would like to claim that it's not just on class grounds – the different interests of worker and employer – but on grounds of righteousness, the honest man as opposed to the dishonest, the wise as opposed to the fool, as in the Wisdom literature and our stock of national proverbs. It is a battle in which truth, accuracy, clarity and justice are ranged against political greed and unrighteous power, between men who mean what they say and men who do not.¹⁶

Here are a couple of poems that come from the vernacular tradition, using rhyme for strength of statement as in the ballads, and with a strikingly successful oral indignation:

T'Other Side o' t'Coin

When a miner's killed in t'pit
An' 'e's only bi his-sen,
Nob'dy seeams to wittle much
At one deeath nah an' then.

Bur if a few gus altergether
Nah that's a different caper,
That's when we ger all t'sob stuff
On t'telly an' in t'paper.

Then iverbody luvs a miner,
An' sez 'Thi damn fine chaps,
'Orny 'anded 'eroes,'
An' other such claptrap.

But when it's all deed dahn a bit,
It sets em in a rage,
When we stan on ahr back legs
An' ask for a deeacent wage.

Then we're brutish ruffians
Squeezin' t'country dry,
Shooitin's too gud fer us,
We owt to burn! Or fry!

They's sooiner trust to t'Arabs
As keeaps uppin' t'price o'oil
Than pay a British miner
A proper wage fer coil.

Soa we mun trust each other,
An' be prepared to feight,
Each man stan' be 'is brother,
An' 'owd aht fer ahr reights.

Totley Tom (a working miner)

Here the poet gets good value from purely speech energies. 'Wittle' is a lovely word for putting the pens of Tunbridge Wells in their place, and the much more modern spoken idiom 'sob stuff' does the same for more professional newspaper editorials. The deflating power of a well-chosen, pointed word – as claptrap exposes the empty wind of printed eulogy – has its analogues in the Gospels, as when Jesus says 'Give then unto Caesar, that which belongeth unto Caesar:' (wait for it) 'and to God, that which pertaineth to God.' Which must be all-inclusive and contain Caesar and all his pennies along with gross national products and tithes of cummin.

The second poem is called *The Good Life*.

Start at the bottom! And finish there!
That's what you get at the pit!
Start at the bottom! And finish there!
That's all there is to it!

Get it while you can lads!
No wonder that's what they say!
Dust! Bad backs! And broken bones!
That's our early retirement pay.

The miners get good wages?
Or so the people are told.
But what happens when miners get injured?
What happens when miners get old?

What happens when they can't slog and graft?
When they've given all they've got?
No golden handshakes! Not even a watch!
Just 'That's it, mate. That's your lot.'

'We'll give you enough, just to live on,
No easy life for you.
Keep a tight rein on the pennies,
I'm sure that you'll get through.'

The miners struggle in retirement
As they struggle down the pit;
Start at the bottom! And finish there!
That's all there is to it!

Carole Underwood (miner's daughter, miner's wife)¹⁷

The work here is to bring into sharp and actual focus the languages of those within the mining world and those outside; together with the indignation at injustice, resentment at misrepresentation, and the lyricism that naturally celebrates a lifetime of work. But the true poetry happens when a note is struck that sings a fact and sings it true. 'Dust! Bad backs! And broken bones! That's our early retirement pay.' A most interesting question here concerns the voice; who is doing the speaking? It is not in fact, as one might suppose, the miner himself standing on his back legs and demanding his rights, like the one referred to in the first poem; it is the daughter and wife and mother who feel the indignation more fiercely than the man, and who are no doubt closer to the pennies, who feel the injustice because they feel it at second hand.

Jacob says that the word in poetry should have density, exteriorization, concreteness. He says of such language that it combines the elements of what came forth from the lance wound of Christ – from his heart came water (which is matter) and blood (which is spirit and contains life). It is this language that has authority, the language that gives to poetry its highest prestige. It was a language Tyndale was steeped in; it was there in the literatures he read, and equally there in the labourers he admired, in their wit, in their precise measure of what was what, of what was good for the job, and in their readiness to call a spade a spade, a fool a fool, a hypocrite a hypocrite. He quotes many a saying in the form of contemporary jokes at the expense of the clergy, indicative of their major fail-

ings in that their interfering made jobs turn out badly. If the porridge gets burnt it is not the devil who has had his hand in it, but the priest or the bishop.¹⁸

'The great keep the small under, for their own profit, with the violence of the law. Every man praiseth the law, as far forth as it is profitable and pleasant unto himself: but when his own appetites should be refrained, then grudgeth he against the law.'¹⁹ So writes Tyndale in *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, and it sounds politically very modern, and sympathetic to the position of the poor. But the impression changes when we set beside it the very unmodern passage from *The Obedience of a Christen Man*.

Mark this also, if God send thee to the sea, and promise to go with thee, and to bring thee safe to land, he will raise up a tempest against thee, to prove whether thou wilt abide by his word, and that thou mayest feel thy faith, and perceive his goodness. For if it were always fair weather, and thou never brought into such jeopardy, whence his mercy only delivered thee, thy faith would be but a presumption, and thou shouldest be ever unthankful to God and merciless unto thy neighbour.²⁰

I think that was written before Tyndale lost his work in the sea. It would be equally true if after.

The political conflict for Tyndale is not between rich and poor, or between class and class; it is between the man of faith and the man of the world; it is between wise and foolish; ultimately it is within our own souls, in our own interior life. All our labours have this precise moral dimension, whatever is going on about us. In his work of translation Tyndale is facing it as well.

And the tools for this work must be well chosen, and well managed. Tyndale rejects inkhorn terms because they're simply not right for the job. Instead he will have

The word neither diffident nor ostentatious,
An easy commerce of the old and the new,
The common word exact without vulgarity,
The formal word precise but not pedantic.²¹

Or in other words, words that are used to working for their living. The language of the *ipsissima verba* was Aramaic, a vernacular tongue, and what its properties and what the use Christ made of them we can only guess at. It is equally hard to say what equivalent tongue of English would have been chosen had he come among us. It might have been not English at all, not even an off-centre dialect, but something like Welsh, or Cornish; an outlandish or up-country speech that Peter could be bewrayed by.

But why of all languages should Aramaic be the chosen one? And even if we knew that, and we had the *ipsissima verba* of Christ himself, there would still be the problem of discerning and translating the *ipsissima tono*. How does Jesus say his say? Is it like Pasolini's Christ, spitting fiery tirades over his shoulder so that the well-known words strike new terror? Or should they be said in the affectionate tones of the infinitely old and gracious towards worried kiddies: 'Get up, lass, when I've told you. And give her summat t'eat.' To our ear the dramatic language Tyndale adopts seems fairly neutral, and his Christ comes across in character through the substance of his message rather than

through its form. And all translations into English that I know, except dialect ones which are served up as comic, follow Tyndale in this.

Perhaps it doesn't matter too much in the narratives and maxims; but in the interviews I sense that something is lost, and in the jokes almost the point itself goes missing. Let us consider the one about the camel and the eye of the needle. We'll assume with the Latin and Greek that it *is* a camel, and not some smaller hyperbole like a cable, or a ferret; certainly it fits the rough style of humour that goes in for millstones used as concrete overshoes, and theme park lakes burning with sulphur and brimstone. But why a camel? The answer must be in the visual image. Let your mind's eye dwell on it for a moment: you're looking at a Disneyesque camel and a somewhat enlarged needle. You see the needle shining. The camel has a mind to get through the needle. We will have to ignore the beast's specific motive for this, and just assume it's because it was there, or some such thing. It strains, and twists, and squirms, and eventually by the most incredible squeezing only possible in animated cartoons, the head, the shoulders and the forelegs finally make it. But there all progress must end, because however a camel will strive to get through a needle's eye, he will always be stopped by the hump. Now I said it was a visual joke, and it is; but it is more, because the camel is a similitude for the rich man, and on this analogy the rich man is an ordinary one who has made his wealth into a physical deformity that is not just ludicrous, it will effectively keep him out of heaven.

I dwell on this because Jesus the joker is not too commonly advertised; but quite clearly he has both a love of the ludicrous and a comic genius. The grotesque comedy of his similitudes is perfectly attuned to the folk humour that knows well the folly and pride of man, because their own lives are subject to it. But perhaps you think I exaggerate, or that the camel is a one-off, or has crept in by mistranslation. Well, consider the pearls cast before swine. Do you know anyone who does that? In one sense, you might be feeding swine like the prodigal son in the parable, and throwing them pearls instead of acorns. The pigs take one taste, and say, 'Yuk, pearls!' and immediately turn on their pastor and tear him to pieces. Another scenario might be styled the inappropriate gift. A man gives his favourite pig a pearl necklace, puts it round the neck of his beloved animal, and shows her herself in a mirror. Far from being pleased at the embellishment, the pig pulls off the hideous halter, and savages the one who had hoped to please. Either way, Jesus seems to be reminding his hearers on the Mount of the old rabbinic proverb about the fine lady without discretion being like a jewel in a swine's snout.

Tyndale had himself a similar vein of humour. 'Christ said to Peter, "Feed my sheep," not "Shear my flock"'.²² Elsewhere, 'The Pope for money can empty purgatory when he will.'²³ and 'The parson sheareth, the vicar shaveth, the parish priest polleth, the friar scrapeth, and the pardoner pareth; we lack but a butcher to pull off the skin'.²⁴ But witty as these are, the humour is much less earthy than the Saviour's.

It's about time I looked at an actual passage that shows the writer at work. I have chosen the one from the Sermon on the Mount at the end of Matthew 6. The theme is, as I've previously stated, one central to Tyndale's teaching, the choice man must make between the call of God and call of the world.

No man can serve two masters. For either he shall hate the one and love the other: or else he shall lean to the one and despise the other: ye cannot serve God and mammon. Therefore I say unto you, be not careful for your life, what ye

shall eat, or what ye shall drink, nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more worth than meat, and the body of more value than raiment? Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither reap, nor yet carry into the barns: and yet your heavenly father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they?

Which of you (though you took thought therefore) could put one cubit unto his stature? And why care ye then for raiment? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow. They labour not, neither spin. And yet for all that I say unto you, that even Solomon in all his royalty was not arrayed like unto one of these.

Wherefore if God so clothe the grass, which is today in the field, and tomorrow shall be cast into the furnace: shall he not much more do the same unto you, o ye of little faith?

Therefore take no thought saying: what shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or wherewith shall we be clothed? After all these things seek the Gentiles. For your heavenly father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But rather seek ye first the kingdom of heaven and the righteousness thereof, and all these things shall be ministered unto you.

Care not then for the morrow, but let the morrow care for itself: for the day present hath ever enough of his own trouble.²⁵

The first thing to note is how familiar it is to the ear, and how easy to digest. Indeed the most striking features are the words that are different from the A.V. So much so that it feels as if Tyndale has changed 'glory' into 'royalty', and not the other way round. Which is perhaps unfortunate, because the Wycliffe versions, if they were known to Tyndale, had 'glory', and Tyndale's change to 'royalty' was preserved in the Great Bible and the Geneva.²⁶ And indeed, since it is Solomon's accoutrements that are in question, and not his personal and kingly character, then 'royalty' fits the bill better than 'glory'.

Well, that very ease of the passage, its syntactical as well as lyrical beauty, was something Tyndale was consciously seeking for. We can see that from the changes he himself made: compare what you have just heard, from the 1534 edition, with this from the 1525.

Behold, the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither reap, nor yet carry into the barns: and yet your heavenly father feedeth them. Are ye not better than they?

Which of ye (though you took thought therefore) could put one cubit unto his stature? And why care ye then for raiment? Behold the lilies of the field, how they grow. They labour not neither spin...

As is clear, Tyndale is revelling in repetition in this passage, following the Greek. But in the 1534 text he departs from the reinforcing parallelism of the similitudes – 'behold the fowls of the air: behold the lilies of the field', a repetition that the Wycliffite versions preserve – and varies the sound with a synonym, the now familiar 'Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow'. It doesn't alter the sense, and there's nothing at all wrong with the repeated sound of 'Behold' – in no way does it jar. (I'm assuming, by the way, that all our ears prefer 'Consider'.) So, how is it an obvious improvement, and if it's not a change to the sense what is it exactly an improvement of?

Let's try permuting the possibilities. We could have:

Consider the fowls of the air
Consider the lilies of the field

We've already had 'Behold the fowls' and 'Behold the lilies'

Consider the fowls of the air
Behold the lilies of the field

As against

Behold the fowls of the air
Consider the lilies of the field

The answer must lie in what is called euphony, or what I remember being called vowel harmony when I was trying to learn some Turkish: the agreeability of the rounded 'o' sounds in 'behold the fowls', and the same with the short 'i' sounds in 'consider the lilies'. As against that there's the possibility of combining assonance and alliteration in the phrase 'Behold the flowers of the field, how they grow', which does make for a consistent music, but for pretty and perishing lilies it's perhaps a bit heavy.

However, in the parallel passage in Luke, he has 'mark well the ravens' and 'consider the lilies' in 1525, and changes this to 'consider the ravens' and 'consider the lilies'. The repetition he resists in Matthew he seems to prefer in Luke, and I'm not sure where that leaves my case.

I don't think I can prove anything from this other than the fact that Tyndale was acutely conscious of the need for certain lyrical effects, and that in his successive versions he was attending more to the sound, having got the sense more or less right. We might even suppose that he would have gone on to make many of the changes others did make, given the chance. But even so, such changes would have been refinements for the ear, and to remove clumsiness. An example of that is at the end of our passage. In the 1525 text we have 'Care not therefore for the day following. For the day following shall care for itself. Each days trouble is sufficient for the same self day.' Had Tyndale's New Testament been like that throughout, we would not be holding this conference today. But it must have cost him little trouble to amend it to 'Care not then for the morrow, but let the morrow care for itself: for the day present hath ever enough of his own trouble'; which is commoner English, kinder, and much more pithy.

Two other changes are made in the second edition. 'What raiment ye shall wear' is simplified to the more homely 'what ye shall put on', which avoids the repetition of 'raiment'. And 'Are ye not better then they?' is intensified to 'Are ye not much better than they?'

What has Tyndale achieved here as a writer? Well, in terms of invention, nothing: the sense and the structure, the rhetoric and imagery are all given. What Tyndale has made is a passage of beauty and power and clarity, pleasing both to the mind and to the ear. It is convincing, with that authority Jacob was looking for. And that authority is arrived at by the same art that makes masterpieces of literary invention. In the next seventy seven

years some of Tyndale's phrasing no doubt needed updating; in any case new fashions would suggest alterations. 'Stackered', for example, yields place to the 'staggered' we still use. This happened even less in the next three hundred years, so it is only the odd word that the R.S.V. revises. But the fact that this text has lasted so substantially should not persuade us that Tyndale saw it as a finished work. I am sure that the process we have witnessed above is one that the translator would have continued. I am sure he would have consented to that dictum of Max Jacob: 'One does as much as one can: and if you can do more, you should.'

Most translation, and all translation of ancient texts, depends on two chancy elements, guesswork (that is, what is the text's meaning?) and judgement (that is, what can I best use to render that meaning?). Earlier we looked with Dr Richard Marsden at the celebrated britches in Eden. All the translators had the same problem. Tyndale fared no better with his aprons than others that were laughed at for their breeks, which of course doesn't sound funny any more. Aprons anyway sounds delightfully old fashioned since even grandmas don't wear them now. So what do we choose? Loincloths introduce Adam and Eve as Tarzan and Jane, which is fine and primitive, except that the element of shame is missing from the noble savages' indulgence in clothing. Much better is 'something to hide their pudenda', which gets the fact that their 'privities' are newly shameful, but the phrase is far too clinical for Eden. We could suggest 'knickers' as a possibility. What's your reaction to that? Far too risqué for Bible-write? But isn't that the attitude you deplore in the A.V. line, and why Tyndale is applauded? Besides, the comicality we associate with the word 'knickers', and why we like the word so much, is exactly appropriate: Adam and Eve when naked in Eden were grand; now in knickers they look rather silly.

I raise the question to highlight what must go on – guessing what the old text was getting at, and then finding a word that will allow as many of the colours as the thing needs. I'm going to leave the problem of the *mot juste* with you, and I imagine it will be with you for the rest of your lives.

Grosseteste uses the idea in word and will of an inner and an outer *verbum*; the outer one is the expression and involves action in the world, the inner is the intention which remains invisible except insofar as we can guess it from the action it produces. Translating is like this, and often it can leave the writer wrestling with text when he ought to be attending to intention. This is something that modernist writing, and particularly the work of Ezra Pound, has brought home to us.

Which brings me on to the vatic element in Tyndale's work. Poetry enjoys a high lip-service among men because the poet in many cultures has been accorded the status of a seer, prophet, shaman, a spokesman between men and gods. His words come to have near-divine value. In a more civilized and less religious climate, the poet continues to claim the status of prophet but he also demands the rewards of the town.

Customs have grown up in which people looking for guidance will close their eyes and put their fingers on a verse which they will accept as providential. I have not come across novels used in this way, and of poetry only certain kinds. Virgil certainly was; I think that Homer was; the Holy Bible continues to be, particularly the book of Psalms. And if we ask what these have in common we can find one answer is they all give us insight into the hidden word of divinity: they tell us what no merely human thinking or science or wisdom could. They spill the beans on the very source of being, and so open

the doors of luck and prosperity.

When poets themselves accept this role they put themselves in danger. It takes little imagination to envisage the risks of saying things about the gods that are untrue; or even true, but meant to be kept secret. So the poet calls for safeguard on an intermediary, one with divine status and understanding but who has an interest in making the unknown known. And so the muses come in. If Homer says indiscreet things about the Olympians, then it's all down to Calliope.

In the Old Testament we find references to true and false prophets. We find lying spirits at work, so that professional prophets are deceived. We also find in the narrative what the word is that is given to the prophet, and then what the prophet himself says, so we can see he is sticking to the letter of what he was given to say.

We also have a commoner experience of prophecy in such phenomena as intuition, sudden confidence, winning streaks, premonitions and, if we're really unlucky, second sight. As for dreams, perhaps they are even too ordinary to mention here.

But one thing I would like to include, which Aristotle himself saw as a definitive characteristic of the true poet: the power of making metaphors. Let me make a distinction here. Simile is the tool of science. Man sees connections defined as similarities between one phenomenon and another. But metaphor, the tool of religion and poetry, asserts an identity between the two phenomena against all sense of the contrary. The simile is a rational scheme or figure, and welcome in the Platonic republic (as well as lots of others): metaphor, on the other hand, is a trope that belongs to the world of magic.

In the life of religion these two views of things are in perpetual conflict. One school will fight another to the death on, let's say, the nature of the bread and wine in the Mass. One will argue that when Christ says, 'This is my body, this is my blood', that he really means this is *like* my body and my blood, it is just a stronger way of putting it: that is a view that anyone can agree with. The other argues that if Christ had meant to use a simile he would have done so; but he chose to say what in fact he said, and deliberately identifies the two dissimilars: so we have a paradox, that Christ albeit remaining Christ is also identical with the consecrated wafer and wine, the doctrine of the real presence. In the ritual meal he ordained, it is Christ himself that we eat and drink, and not some imitation or half-hearted likeness.

Rational, practical people use the expression 'mystical' to put the others in their place, a place which is particularly at the sidelines of human affairs: I suppose they in their turn are called 'unimaginative' by polite mystics, and 'blind mouths' by the more irascible sort.

In introducing these distinction I am paving the way to the idea of Tyndale as a prophetic writer, despite his Zwinglian tendencies;²⁷ a role that takes him far beyond that of a mere literary hack. And the prophet in his vatic undertaking has his feet planted not on the daily news like the rest of us, but on the abiding threshold of eternity. And his ear and his heart, his scholarship and his imagination, could only do their work, and do it as well as he did, on the unshifting quicksands of faith.

When Professor Daniell invited me to make this contribution to the conference I take it he knew my credentials at secondhand. Unless he had been prodigiously diligent he would not have seen anything of my work. So few people have. Let me treat you to a small sample. It is the closing passage of a long poem called *Five Sisters York*, a sort of homage to the great grey windows that I've heard one nun call the nearest thing she

knows on earth to the vision of God:

so poor we are born, poor die, the only
jewels we can make are tears, our songs
but sighing hopes, our breath on the cold air
is silver dust, silly and silent prayer
the spirit's ignorant grey ghost that dares
to fly or fall, burdened with boils we
love and long and beat our brains upon
our breasts as if friction could make light
of our offences, but only good
is right, and we inhabit still the grey
of daily day, each a false dawn, but one
day soon the day will surely come and from
the east proclaim a feast that every eye
shall witness, palpable Elysium
of jasper, amethyst, smaragdos,
jacinth, sardius, chalcedony,
sardonyx, beryl, chrysolite,
topaz, chrysoprase and sapphire,
light that our eyes deny shall we see by
and not need lamp or sun, our sight
beweeded, here wedded to where and when
by nyctalopia, shall be nursed then
to nympholepsy, some vestiges
only and hints we have, seen on a
wall of grey lovelight in minuscule
as rare as angels' music distantly heard
across a cataract, whom holy dread
marks ever after, five grail sisters
sing their gradual, light in counterpoint
curl upon curl though hanging down suspended
lifts ever upward, heaven's high aspirate
and grace's grammar, hallowing where
it rises in its flight, though here restrained
to a motet of lenten latin light.²⁸

I quote this passage because I want to let you into a few trade secrets. For most of the poem, and certainly the first part of this, I had been taxiing along at a trundle pace trying one word and then another, counting syllables on my fingers' ends, looking up words in dictionaries – I'm still unsure about the pronunciation of kalsedony – my mind on the train of thought and my ear on the music, and looking to an outsider the exact opposite of the inspired Romantic poet. But as the passage progressed there was an increase of pace, and the final lines – I must be precise here – *seemed to write themselves*. I was astonished; and even today I can't read the line in which 'five grail sisters sing their gradual' without a sizeable frisson of awe.

There were no voices, no manifestations of any divine or daemonic presences: only the words themselves. I can't for certain say where the seam lies between my own excogitated matter and the muse's gift. I can only say, like Senex in *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum*, on being approached by a new, pretty and very willing slave girl, in Plautus's words 'Whichever of you Gods did this, I give you a thousand thanks'. And yet, in the middle of this miraculous composition I still could manage to look up such an inkhorn term as *nyctalopia* – the difficulty of seeing in half-light – and *nympholepsy* – a frenzied yearning for the unattainable – conscious of the fact that readers like their poets to be more logo-daedalic than themselves – and yes, I got that out of the dictionary as well.

I mention this little experience of my own because it helps me to understand the likely process of Tyndale's operation. He is translating, surrounded by all the books he can get. And if he had been intent on Englishing Luther or Melanchthon, that would have been the end of it. But Tyndale is translating holy writ, the word of God transmitted through old prophets, set down by scribes, and copied by generations of amanuenses. If the writing he is Englishing is 'inspired', it should follow that the translation must be equally so. And along with his patient looking up words, and comparing text with text, and trying this word and that, there must have been many a moment where, as we say in modern English, 'It just occurred to me'. We used to say 'methinks', and Germans still use the same form in *mir dünkt* 'it (unspecified) thinks to me'. No man can say for sure what is the source of such inspired suggestion, but it is a surprisingly common experience. 'It just came to me', 'I said without thinking', and so on.

But the real difference between these casual offerings of the muses and what Tyndale was doing is this: the task he had undertaken was a prophetic one, and to achieve it called for a vatic dedication. We see the same thing in Milton, the acceptance that his life and his role as vatic poet are one and the same thing. Milton was born to write the grand poems he did, and Tyndale was born to give the English their Bible. In retrospect we can easily see that, but Milton and Tyndale saw it before there was very much chance of realization. Indeed, Milton was blind before he started, and Tyndale was strangled before he finished; but they ventured as they did not on a likely success, but on manly faith. They depended on God to provide. We have Milton's word for it that his poem was 'dictated', and I speculate in the absence of evidence that Tyndale was given a great deal of assistance from the quarter to which he looked.

Probably not in the form of rolling passages. Probably not even in his choice of words, for his gifts as a writer were equal to this. And as my own experience shows me, Tyndale himself would most likely find it difficult to say where the holy muse was speaking and where his own DNA was at work. It is perfectly possible that the word of God and the word of man coincide in perfect partnership, that the word of the divine and the human poet are simultaneous and coextensive; or, to put it another way, 'righteousness and truth have kissed each other'. I would still imagine, however, that had Tyndale lived he would have continued to revise his New Testament; but there are some passages, some phrases, some words, that he would never dare tamper with.

These are mysteries, and will remain so. But there is a further vatic mystery to be considered, and one that goes beyond the power of faith, and the provision of God. I refer to the mystery of being 'in Christ', and the other mystery of Christ being 'in me'. It is the mark of priesthood that the human agent identifies himself with the God he rep-

resents. He is, one could say, God in metaphor. In bringing God, through his word, to the people of England, Tyndale is undertaking a task comparable to that of Christ himself. The task had been claimed by the one who was styled Vicar of Christ, but it was apparent that there was a fatal flaw in this vicarship, and Tyndale made it his mission to *take that role on himself*, not presumptuously, as he was accused, but with the full humility of the true priest, a man prepared to lay down his life for the sheep of God.

It is quite possible he knew John Purvey's prayer for Bible translators:

A translator hath great need to study well the sense both before and after, and then also he hath need to live a clean life and be full devout in prayers, and have not his wit occupied about wordly things, that the Holy Spirit, author of all wisdom and knowledge and truth, dress him for his work and suffer him not to err. By this manner, with good living and great travail, men can come to true and clear translating, and true understanding of holy writ, seem it never so hard at the beginning. God grant to us all grace to know well and to keep well holy writ, and to suffer joyfully some pain for it at the last.²⁹

Tyndale must have expected the outcome. He had himself translated that passage that promised how he would be turned out of church, and hounded, and beaten, and mocked, and accused of all villainy, and at last ritually killed, for so they used the Christ, the Son of God.

Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye when men revile you, and persecute you, and shall falsely say all manner of evil sayings against you for my sake. Rejoice, and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. For so persecuted they the Prophets which were before your days.

He could be under no expectation that he might avoid the fate of those who were burnt by Fisher and More, and the Lollards before them who suffered in the English Inquisition. His imagination must have suffered the trial to come many times over. And he must have wrestled with his own spirit, and prayed too that the cup might be taken away from him. But we know his answer to these temptations, and his Bible is written in blood.

Tyndale's translation, then, is so much more than a shifting of words from one language into another. It is the rendering of self, a self that has all the impurities that ours have, into a medium that can carry the fire of the divine. And his work, which we are trying to do fit honour to today, is one that goes beyond mere human achievement. His is the work of a prophet, and apostle. His honest and unrewarded labour was to bring every Englishman, woman and child into the company of Christ: Christ who is the Truth. It was the noblest of aims, and it is doubtful if any man of this nation ever aimed higher. And we who share that aim have the most reason to honour Master William Tyndale, because whether we realise it or not, he has become to the English-speaking world the effective mouth of Christ.

I started this little oration with some observations on honour. Here is another. What we are able to derive from the act of honouring others is a new access of courage. We

are here today to celebrate an achievement that itself was the result of courage, that virtue that Jacob says all others depend on. I imagine that many of you here now are worn down and tired, irritated and got down by the circumstances of your work and the unspeakable manners of those you have to work with. You have no doubt seen good friends and colleagues go down under the same strains, and wonder how long it will be before you do. So it was for Tyndale. Probably more so. That's largely why we are set on honouring him in this conference.

But it is also a part of the purpose of paying due honour that we take something in return, that we take heart from his success against the odds, that we recognize the victory there is even in losing battles. And that courage I speak of, that we are here together to share, should be for each one of us a new hope, and a renewed desire to continue our work and push it through to the very end; and trust, as William Tyndale trusted, that God would provide, even if it was left to others to continue the task. So let not your hearts be troubled. Work, as you have never worked before; aspire, as you have never aspired before; and risk, as you have never risked before; as long as you have days left you in the light of this world. And if you dare trust God as William Tyndale quite simply did, then He will see you through, the work, and the trial, and if necessary the burning. Or as good vernacular English has it, to the bitter end.

Notes

1. Exposition of Matthew 5,6,7, in *Expositions and Notes on Sundry Portions of the Holy Scriptures* (ed. Henry Walter, The Parker Society, Cambridge, 1849), p. 131.
2. 'A Brief Declaration of the Sacraments' in *Doctrinal Treatises and Introductions to Different Portions of the Holy Scriptures by William Tyndale, Martyr, 1536* (ed. Henry Walter, Parker Society, Cambridge, 1848), p. 361.
3. 'The Practyse of Prelates', *Expositions*, p. 320.
4. *Ibid.* p. 328.
5. 'The Obedience of a Christen Man', *Doctrinal Treatises*, p. 276.
6. *Ibid.* p. 135.
7. *Ibid.* p. 134.
8. G. D. Bone, 'Tindale and English Language', in S. L. Greenslade, *The Work of William Tindale* (London 1938).
9. The Max Jacob quotations are taken from the Gallimard reissue of the 1945 text of *Conseils à un Jeune Poète*. My translation of this is published by Asgill Press (1994).
10. 'The Parable of the Wicked Mammon', *Doctrinal Treatises* p. 100.
11. *Expositions*, p. 62.
12. 'The Obedience of a Christen Man', *Doctrinal Treatises*, p. 258.
13. 'The Practyse of Prelates', *Expositions*, pp. 324–5
14. The folk analects were collected by Lisa Barrett, Janet Butler, Kate Elsom, Fiona Fletcher, Rebecca Griffiths, Sam Holman, Rebecca Hopkins, Lynn Jepson, Nicola Walker, Claire Woods, Clare Wright, students of Bishop Grosseteste College, Lincoln.
15. *Doctrinal Treatises*, p. 197.

16. Cf. Tyndale's translation of 2 Timothy 2: 'Study to show thyself laudable unto God a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, dividing the word of truth justly'.
17. I owe my acquaintance with these poems to a piece of work by Judith Dudhill, another of my former students. They are from Frank Vernon, *The Day the Earth Trembled*, (Doncaster Library Service, 1989), which is primarily a miner's record of the Bamburgh Main Colliery disaster of 1942.
18. See 'The Obedience of a Christen Man', *Doctrinal Treatises*, pp. 304–5.
19. *Doctrinal Treatises*, pp. 114–15.
20. *Ibid.* p. 135.
21. T. S. Eliot, 'Little Gidding', V, *Four Quartets*.
22. 'The Obedience of a Christen Man', *Doctrinal Treatises*, p. 257.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 224.
24. *Ibid.* p. 238.
25. *The New Testament translated by William Tyndale 1534, with the Variants of the Edition of 1525* (ed. Hardy Wallis, Cambridge, 1938).
26. See Bagster's *English Hexapla*, n.d.
27. In 'The Souper of the Lorde 1533, an Exposition of John 6' in Tyndale's *Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue* (ed. Henry Walter, The Parker Society, Cambridge, 1850), Tyndale is mainly intent on countering the priestcraft that More is defending. With this in mind we can see his insistence on 'spiritual meaning' here, at odds with his usual insistence on 'literal meaning' elsewhere, is more to discredit his opponent's view than to assert an absolute dogma. In any case the force of his argument is to assert the all-importance of the Christian's *faith* in God's act of salvation present in the host.
28. G. Jackson, *Five Sisters York*, V (Asgill Press, Lincoln, 1980).
29. Quoted in F. F. Bruce, *The English Bible: A History of Translations* (London, 1961), p. 20.

William Tyndale and the Course of the English Reformation

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In locating and contextualizing William Tyndale in the English Reformation, we encounter a paradox. Assumptions are made, and were made from the very beginning, about Tyndale's primary role in changing, or offering to change, the religion of England. Bishop John Stokesley called him 'arch-heretic', Sir Thomas More 'captain of our English heretics'.¹ Reviewing 'these bokes of heresyses' in 1532 ('there be so many made within these few yeares'), More wrote: 'Fyrst Tyndale's new testament, father of them all by reason of hys false translatoryng.'² Tyndale himself, in the Prologue to his 1525 New Testament, described by David Daniell as 'the first English Protestant tract',³ expressed a heightened sense of his own pioneering role:

For who is so blind to ask why light should be shewed to them that walk in darkness, where they cannot but stumble, and where to stumble is the danger of eternal damnation... After it had pleased God to put in my mind, and also to give me grace to translate this fore-rehearsed New Testament into our English tongue, howsoever we have done it, I supposed it very necessary to put you in remembrance of certain points, which are...⁴

– and so on. The paradox consists in the fact that the pioneer should be so soon forgotten.

John Foxe in the 1570 edition of his great 'Book of Martyrs' called Tyndale, in the chapter heading of his account of him, 'the Apostle of England': 'The life and story of the true servant and Martyr of God William Tyndale: Who for his notable paynes and travell may well be called the Apostle of England in this our latter age': although, towards the end of Foxe's narrative, Tyndale is demoted to the rank of '*an* Apostle of England'.⁵ But in these accounts Tyndale was generally placed first. According to Foxe's older mentor, John Bale, 'the spirit of Elias was not at all asleep' in Tyndale (named first), Robert Barnes 'and such other'.⁶ In the volume containing *The Whole Workes* of Tyndale, John Frith and Robert Barnes (in that order), a collection which followed hard on the heels of the 1570 edition of *Acts and Monuments*, and which Foxe edited, or at least oversaw in John Day's printing house, Tyndale, Frith and Barnes were bracketed together as 'chiefe ryngleaders in these latter tymes of thys Church of England', and as 'principall teachers of thys Church of England':⁷ a surprising citation, the more one thinks about it, and one which would have interested Archbishop Cranmer, not to speak of King Henry VIII.

Tyndale's primary, even apostolic, place and role in the English Reformation seems to be assured. But *The Whole Workes* of 1572–3 were never to be reprinted; while Foxe's

account of Tyndale in his *Acts and Monuments* perhaps faded into little more than a piece of folk memory. Thomas Fuller, in his mid-seventeenth-century *Church History of Britain*, merely obituarizes Tyndale when his narrative reaches 1536, the year of his death. And Fuller, strangely, suggests that the philological capacity of the great translator was distinctly limited. 'I presume', wrote Fuller in a patronizing vein, 'he rendered the Old Testament out of the Latin, his best friends not entitling him to any skill at all in the Hebrew: yea, generally, learning in languages was then but in the infancy thereof.' Fuller, grudgingly, thought that 'Tyndale's pains were useful, had his translation done no more good then to help towards the making of a better.' But credit where credit is due. Fuller picked up, what no other commentator has noticed, that two apparently inconsequential pieces of anecdote in Foxe had been put there to hint at Tyndale's apostolic, Pauline status. The episode in Antwerp, when Tyndale's mere presence was sufficient to render impotent the diabolical enchantments of a local 'juggler', paralleled Paul's defeat of the sorcerer, Elymas; while his conversion of his jailor, 'and others of his household', echoed what Paul had accomplished at Philippi.¹⁰ What Fuller noticed probably owed something to Bale, whose own picaresque and novel-like autobiographical narrative, *The Vocacyon of Johan Bale*, drew explicit parallels between himself and the Apostle Paul.¹¹

I am afraid that when we reach, a few years after Fuller, Gilbert Burnet's *History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, Tyndale is reduced to a walk-on part:

And William Tyndale made a translation of the New Testament in English, to which he added some short glosses. This was printed in Antwerp, and sent over into England in the year 1526. Against which there was a prohibition published by every bishop in his diocese... There were also many other books prohibited at that time, most of them written by Tyndale.¹⁰

End of story.

Insofar as such authors tell us anything about Tyndale, they plagiarize Foxe; and it is clear that without Foxe and his informants, who included Tyndale himself in various autobiographical disclosures, he would have been almost unknown to posterity. To this day, perhaps 70 per cent of what modern biographers are able to tell us, in their strictly biographical rather than literary-critical role, depends upon Foxe, and to a lesser extent on the chronicle of Edward Halle. 'Foxe' here means 1570 (and all subsequent) editions of the Book of Martyrs. In 1563 Foxe had merely obituarized Tyndale at his martyrdom date of 1536, with 'the life and story of maister William Tyndall', consisting in the main of Richard Webb's collection of little Sodbury anecdotes.¹¹ In 1563, 'the description and manner of the burning of Maister Wylliam Tyndall' had consisted of the famous picture only, with the familiar balloon emerging from the martyr's dying lips: 'Lord open the King of England eies'; no accompanying text.¹²

Why Foxe should have chosen to expand, reconstruct and modify the polemical thrust of Tyndale's story in his 1570 edition is a good example of the kind of problem confronting Professor David Loades and his collaborators in the projected critical edition of Foxe which they have in hand.¹³ It is, for example, typical of Foxe's intensified anti-papal animus in the year of the publication of the bull of excommunication of Queen Elizabeth that the anti-Catholic motivation of Tyndale's labours should now be accentuated,¹⁴ while an oblique reference in 1563, potentially scandalous, to the machinations of

George Joye as the precipitant of the 1534 edition of the New Testament, was in 1570 tactfully removed.¹⁵

Two years later followed *The Whole Workes* of Tyndale, Frith and Barnes: 478 pages of Tyndale, with an Index containing perhaps 1,500 entries, and a Preface alerting the reader to the particular value of these pioneering teachers and authors:

In opening the Scriptures, what truth, what soundnes can a man require more, or what more is to be sayd, then is found in Tyndall...How perfectly doth he hit the right sence, and true meaning in every thing!... Wherefore not unrightly he might be then, as he is yet cauled, the Apostle of England, as Paule cauleth Epaphroditus the Apostle of the Philippians, for his singuler care and affection toward them.¹⁶

And now there was additional biographical matter (to which I shall return), added to the account taken from *Acts and Monuments*.

We may link Foxe's motivation, and his significance, in this promotion of Tyndale to his efforts, between 1575 and 1578, to make Martin Luther better known in England; and, in particular, to make available to an English readership those writings of Luther which Foxe prized for their comfortable, consoling qualities, as it were made for 'all afflicted consciences which grone for salvation'.¹⁷ This little library of Luther, consisting primarily of the *Commentary on Galatians*, but including a commentary on select Psalms and a collection of sermons, was published by the Huguenot printer Vautrollier under Foxe's surveillance. It represented most of what would be available of Luther to English-speaking Protestants for three centuries to come: a source of inspiration and consolation to both Bunyan and the Wesleys. The general affinity of the two enterprises is clear. Not only does Foxe present Tyndale as a devoted and as it were intuitive pastoral figure, resembling Luther, of whom Bishop Sandys, commending the Galatians commentary, wrote: 'the Author felt what he spake, and had experience of what he wrote.' Foxe had these significant things to say in his preface to Luther's *A commentarie upon the fiftene psalms*: 'Albeit the reading of the Scripture it selfe and the simple text thereof without further helpe hath matter enough to give intelligence and instruction sufficient for the soule of man to salvation', it was also helpful to read 'good commentaries and explications annexed withal'. (This was to beg a large question, and one eagerly contested in England for two or three generations to come: whether a bare reading of 'the simple text', rather than hearing the word preached, could save.)¹⁸ In his commendations, Foxe suggested that Luther was necessary reading in order to comprehend the right relation of Law to Gospel, a matter which, as we shall see, has been thought central to a true understanding of Tyndale. I believe, while I cannot prove it, that Foxe intended his editions both of Tyndale–Frith–Barnes and of Luther to serve as a kind of prophylactic against the harmful pastoral effects of the determinism all too easily read into Calvinist soteriology, a problem with which Foxe seems to have had direct, and as it were clinical, acquaintance.¹⁹

Recent revisionist historians of the English Reformation sometimes seem to suggest that John Foxe made it all up, and that historians like A. G. Dickens merely replicate Foxe. Be that as it may, it is apparent that without Foxe there would have been precious little recognition, even in the England of the 1570s, either of the fundamental importance

for a reformed Christianity of Luther's comfortable Gospel or of Tyndale's simple scriptural text, applying that Gospel to the heart and conscience.

And what of the 400 years and more since the 1570s? A certain amount of attention has been paid from time to time, and not least in 1994, to Tyndale, as it were within himself, and for his own sake, his own religious thought and aspirations; and much more to the inestimable significance of his translations, not only for religion but for language and literature. In 1937 Gavin Bone wrote that but for Tyndale 'the Bible would not be such a homely thing',²⁰ and in 1994 we discovered the homeliness all over again: for example, the 'couple of fritters' which Tamar serves up to her half-brother, King David's son Amnon. In reading the story of Peter's denial in the version of 1611, we learn that 'a certain maid beheld him...and earnestly looked upon him.' Tyndale tells us in 1526 that 'one of the wenches' 'set good eyesight on him'. These are very different pictures: as different as Mannerism (Caravaggio, I think) and Brueghel. And the Brueghel reference is apt, since at the wedding at Cana in Galilee the ruler of the feast in Tyndale's translation does not talk about the worst wine being commonly served when 'man have well drunk' (1611) but 'when men be drunk'. When Sir Thomas More wrote that for all England to go to school with Tyndale to learn English was 'a very frantique foly',²¹ he chose to miss the point that Tyndale had been to school with all England, and had translated the New Testament, if not into all English, into a skilfully moderated form of the everyday speech of his native Gloucestershire.

In 1994 we have discovered (or rediscovered) Tyndale the wordsmith, Tyndale the expert rhetorician, whose rhetorical skills, painfully acquired at Oxford, were so artfully concealed in his text that we never noticed them.²² We have been introduced to a Tyndale whose English was better than Erasmus's Greek, and whose Hebrew was so good, better than that of his German teachers, that he could sense the Hebrew forms implicit in the Greek of the New Testament.²³

But little that is helpful or convincing has so far been written about Tyndale's ongoing role in the developing course of the English Reformation. And it may be that there is not a great deal on this subject which can be usefully said. Speaking theologically, and presently we shall have to attempt to do that, we still lack an adequate historical-theological account of post-Reformation English Protestant doctrine; although a recent study by Carl Trueman, *Luther's Legacy*, begins to fill the gap.²⁴ A recent and controversial study dealing with predestination and related matters between the Reformation and the Civil War contains only two passing references to Tyndale, who is indexed as Tyndale, John. Discredit where discredit is due.²⁵ Alister McGrath, in his two-volume work on the history of the doctrine of justification, *Iustitia Dei*, writes disparagingly of the 'theological mediocrity' of the early English reformers, and finds that the influence of Tyndale on the theology of the English Church was ephemeral. 'While martyrs have their uses, the later sixteenth century saw the recognition of an even greater need – a systematic exposition of the theological foundations of the English Reformation.'²⁶

McGrath's judgement is coldly clinical, but just. An apparently definitive study of *The Origins of the Federal Theology in Sixteenth-Century Reformation Thought* (a topic often fathered upon Tyndale) finds no need to mention the translator-martyr so much as once.²⁷ Even on Tyndale's own ground of translation, he may have been a half-forgotten irrelevance no later than the last quarter of the sixteenth century. In 1582, the Catholic Gregory Martin published at Rheims *A discoverie of the corruptions of the holy*

Scriptures by the heretiques, a polemical text to accompany the Rheims New Testament and reminiscent of Tyndale's own tendentious prefaces. And in the following year, William Fulke replied from the Protestant side with *A defence of the sincere and true translations of the Holy Scriptures into the English tongue*.²⁸ The references to Tyndale by both combatants are few and far between, with the issue of whether 'congregation' was to be preferred to 'church', once hotly contested between Tyndale and More, now referred to 'the first translators', rather than to Tyndale by name. Tyndale had now disappeared behind a new mountain range represented by Theodore Beza, the Geneva Bible and the rising English Protestant star of the day, William Whitaker, who had been born twelve years after Tyndale's death.

Whitaker and his contemporaries William Perkins and John Rainolds (not to speak of Richard Hooker) mark the professional coming-to-age of English Protestant divinity. In relation to their generation, William Tyndale begins to look like a figure in the English pre-reform. He has, in fact, been so presented in two modern studies. John Yost has interpreted Tyndale as some kind of Christian humanist, a true disciple of Erasmus. The intention is to detach him from Luther and to interpret his deeply moral concern in a non-Protestant context.²⁹ But Donald Dean Smeeton, while equally concerned to minimize Tyndale's dependence upon Luther, discovers that he was the heir of another and different pre-reform tradition: the native Wycliffite–Lollard heretical tendency.³⁰ Whether or not there is any truth in these insights, the fact that we are content to accept Tyndale's contemporary and fellow-martyr Thomas Bilney as some kind of pre-reformer,³¹ but not Tyndale, who we assume to have been almost the first of English Protestants, owes much to Foxe, who made Tyndale the founder of an English Protestant tradition while never pretending that Bilney was anything other than a transitional figure, still professing loyalty to the pope, still affirming transubstantiation.³² But if we are to acknowledge in Tyndale some kind of Protestant, as we must if we are not going to look foolish, then we must not forget that Protestantism, especially with regard to the 'ism' part, was not in 1525 or even in 1536 what it had become by the age of Whitaker and Perkins; and that the label 'Protestant' had not been invented when Tyndale first translated the New Testament.

II

So far this has been as exercise in gound-clearing. Tyndale and the Reformation is like a river and the sea. The river (which is Tyndale's Bible) runs into the sea (which is the post-Reformation religious scene), where it is absorbed and disappears in that larger whole. The Fjordland of south-west New Zealand receives an astonishing 320 inches of rain in a year, with the consequence that the upper ten yards of some fjords consists of unassimilated fresh water. Tyndale's Bible language was a little like all that fresh water, initially a separate stratum overlying the immense depth of the pre-Reformation religious consciousness of what (according to Eamon Duffy)³³ was one of the most Catholic of the countries of late medieval Europe. The absorption of Tyndale's prose into all successive versions of the Bible, so that 80 or 90 per cent of the Authorized Version is his, in those portions of Scripture which he translated, is tantamount to the progressive absorption of all that land water into the Southern Ocean. But is a process hard to trace by the meth-

ods available to the historian, and nearly impossible to assess in its ultimate consequences. C. S. Lewis believed that biblical language was never fully assimilated by the national consciousness, that in respect of many even familiar phrases, the quotation marks still show. The Authorized Version had less influence on English prose than Dryden:¹⁴ an interesting but probably mistaken critical judgement.

The paradox in this process, to which I referred earlier, is one deeply embedded in William Tyndale himself, if I read his character correctly. According to Stephen Greenblatt, he provides a very special case of Renaissance ‘self-fashioning’, in which a series of recessions and even self-negations (Oxford and perhaps Cambridge to Little Sodbury, to London, to Germany, to Antwerp) were necessary to both conserve and construct an assertive design: which would then have the effect of fashioning everyone else.¹⁵ As Christopher Hill put it, memorably, in the Oxford International Tyndale Conference, like Karl Marx Tyndale did not so much want to understand the world as to change it: and he did. Whereas Erasmus had expressed the pipe-dream of an *utinam*: would that ‘everyman’, and every woman, might read the Gospels for themselves, Tyndale boasted, according the Foxe’s Gloucestershire informant: ‘If God spare my life, ere many years, I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the scripture than thou dost.’¹⁶ One might have expected that famous ‘vaunt’ to have swelled like a bullfrog’s throat, as Tyndale actually fulfilled it, in the creation of what Greenblatt and the chief executive of the British Library (who has just promised more than a million pounds for it, and who may have been reading Greenblatt) agree is the most important book in the English language.

However, C. S. Lewis wrote of the vaunt that it was remarkable that the constancy of Tyndale’s purpose triumphed not only over danger, exile, poverty and persecution, ‘but even (which may be rarer) over all that was personal in the vaunt itself’.¹⁷ The inclusion of his name on the title page of the 1534 New Testament was not another vaunt. It was necessary to warn the consumer against cheap imitations, the inferior products of the pirate printers and of George Joye. The government agent Stephen Vaughan had already reported back to control that in their secret negotiations in a field outside Antwerp, Tyndale had assured him that if Henry VIII would only allow a ‘bare text of the scripture’ to be published for the benefit of his people, as other governments had done long since, ‘I shall immediately make faithful promise never to write more, not abide two days in these parts after the same.’¹⁸ In effect, Tyndale was saying that in those favourable circumstances there would be no need for him to exist, or ever to have existed, as a fugitive translator living in unlicensed exile.

And that, in a sense, is what happened after Tyndale was indeed eradicated, with the progressive adoption of the English Bible, to such an extent his Bible, by the English crown. We may take as an instructive and contrasted parallel Christopher Saxton’s *Atlas*, published in 1578. It was not at first advertised as his. There was no mention of Saxton on the title page, indeed, no title page, but instead a hierocratic, enthroned image of Queen Elizabeth, set between the pillars of Hercules. Only in later editions was it acknowledged as Saxton’s *Atlas*, whereas William Camden’s *Britannia* was from first to last Camden’s *Britannia*. But what began as Tyndale’s New Testament and Tyndale’s Pentateuch were absorbed into the Great Bible, with its Holbeinesque title page displaying Henry VIII distributing it to his people, organized into the clerical and lay estates; and later into the so-called Authorized Version, with its obsequious address to ‘The Most

'High and Mighty Prince James'. So it was that Tyndale became, in Philip Howard's striking phrase, 'the forgotten ghost in the English language.'³⁹

III

Is this then all that can be said about Tyndale and the course of the English Reformation? I hope not. And yet what has so far been written includes some methodologically dubious and even slipshod intellectual history with which it will be necessary to join in critical engagement.

What we may reasonably discuss in the remainder of this essay is Tyndale's past, present and future, three constituencies, as it were: the constituency out of which he came, of which he was in some respects a representative; the constituency in which he lived and with which he communicated; and the constituency which he in some sense created and in which he may have been posthumously received. All three may be considered both circumstantially, and with reference to Tyndale's religious thought, and beyond thought, instincts and convictions. With respect to none of these three dimensions of Tyndale's place in history can we confine discussion to the phenomenon or factor of 'influence', as if it were all a matter of influences on Tyndale, or Tyndale's influence upon others. For, as Quentin Skinner taught us long ago, influence is a tricky customer who should be kept out of intellectual history unless and until he presents himself with impeccable credentials.⁴⁰

Obviously, Tyndale did not come from nowhere, any more than the English Reformation came from nowhere, or nowhere except Henry VIII's marriage bed: and the question is the same for both. Did Tyndale, did the Reformation, emerge from indigenous tendencies, and in particular from the native dissenting tradition of Wycliffite Lollardy? Or did it and he more plausibly hatch from the egg which Erasmus laid in Tyndale's own lifetime, which for Tyndale would point to a process of incubation, mainly at Oxford, and possibly at Cambridge?

In the absence of any evidence of the inner turmoil of the kind experienced and monitored by Martin Luther, or, for that matter, documented for the Cambridge scholar Thomas Bilney out of his own mouth, most of what we know and can infer of Tyndale's formation can be attributed to his secondary and tertiary education, with what turned a typical young Erasmian and Grecian of the age into an evangelical 'apostle', abandoning his Isocrates for the more demotic Greek of the New Testament, undocumented and unexplained. But in his Gloucestershire background it may be possible to dig up hints and fragments of deeper roots to the religious ardour and adversarial rebelliousness which mark his evangelical writings. In his native Vale of Berkeley the growing ascendancy of a number of related families, gentry and near-gentry, and rising to local political prominence with the temporary extinction of the Lords of Berkeley, was apparently connected with an openness to novel and critical religious opinions, as much as to wool, cloth and a London-linked cash economy.⁴¹ The Tyndales, together with the Walshes (the young Tyndale's employers), the Poyntzes (who included Thomas Poyntz, Tyndale's protector in Antwerp) and the Tracys, all seem to have been to various degrees implicated in a reformist and anticlerical tendency. William Tracy was presently the author of distinctly heretical, indeed Protestant, will preamble which led to the *cause célèbre* of the

scarcely legal exhumation and burning of his body by the bishop's chancellor. This remarkable testamentary statement was published with commentary by Tyndale, and soon Tracy's confession was used in their wills by people of evangelical persuasion as far away as mid-Suffolk and Yorkshire: some of the best evidence we have of a kind of jungle telegraph in action in these early stages of the English Reformation.⁴² Tracy was also the uncle of James Bainham, one of the first and socially the best connected of what we may call Tyndale's martyrs. Bainham was arrested in December 1533 with most of Tyndale's books in his possession.⁴³

It is tempting to relate these straws in the wind to a long-established dissenting tradition rooted in the recent history and developing sociology of the lands between the Cotswolds and the Severn: border country, according to a somewhat romanticized vision of this landscape. David Rollison does just that in his book on early modern Gloucestershire, *The Local Origins of Modern Society*. The leading echelons of that neck of the woods which was Tyndale's native heath are called by Rollison in a chapter-heading 'Tyndale and All His Sect', which of course was Bishop Stokesley's expression, here somewhat misapplied. Protestantism is said to have been 'indigenous to the Vale of Berkeley', and to have consisted of a theology which appealed to men of 'middle rank', everywhere in England.⁴⁴ Donald Smeeton's study, *Lollard Themes in the Reformation Theology of William Tyndale*, which Rollison endorses ('a moderate, careful and thorough work and will take some refuting') presents a similar, if less well-informed impression of a Gloucestershire which was a long-standing safe haven for dissent, and where, in Tyndale's time, 'anticlericalism had reached new heights'.⁴⁵

I am afraid that this will not do. It neither explains William Tyndale, nor adequately characterizes early Tudor Gloucestershire, so far as its general religious complexion was concerned. The Smeeton–Rollison scenario differs from what we know (or think we know) about early-sixteenth-century religion generally. More to the point, it conflicts with the latest study of religion in sixteenth-century Gloucestershire itself, contained in the recent Cambridge thesis by Dr Caroline Litzenberger.⁴⁶ On the basis of all surviving and relevant local evidence, including many hundreds of wills selected for study by a sound and sophisticated statistical method, William Tracy and his famous heretical testament proves to have been wholly exceptional. Litzenberger writes of 'a few well-placed, articulate and learned proponents of protestantism'; but also of 'the majority's fervent conventional piety'. 'Eventually, the Reformation would transform Gloucestershire into a predominantly Protestant county and diocese, even at the level of the laity, but in 1580 [note, 1580, not 1530] the process of change had only just begun.'⁴⁷ This might appear to conflict with Kenneth Powell's earlier researches into the origins of the Reformation in the same region.⁴⁸ But Powell was looking for Protestants and naturally found some (whereas Caroline Litzenberger's subject is the religion of the laity at large), and his search was concentrated on the city of Bristol.

We have no reason to doubt that in Tyndale's part of the county (and not, for example, in the Forest of Dean) there existed a sub-culture (as it happens a well-heeled and socially confident, even aggressive sub-culture) which responded to Tyndale's religious message and had perhaps helped to nurture it. The coming together of the veterans of what Anne Hudson has called 'the premature Reformation'⁴⁹ with the beginnings of what may be called the Reformation proper (not always an easy relationship) is not in doubt. But the evangelicals were everywhere a minority, insufficient to explain, by their pres-

ence and influence, the Reformation as a public event affecting the social majority and the Church at large, either nationally or regionally.

That is not detrimental to Smeeton's argument, which concerns the alleged intellectual affinity with, or dependence upon, the Lollard tradition of an individual intelligence, that is, the mind of William Tyndale. But Smeeton fails the Skinner test.⁵⁰ To be fair, he is as conscious as any critic might be of the tentative, inferential status of his argument. He writes: 'I do not claim that Tyndale was "only" a Lollard. The theological comparisons, however, do suggest that Tyndale articulated his message in ways compatible with traditional English dissent to a degree far greater than has previously been suggested.'⁵¹ The possibilities are certainly there. Gordon Rupp, in one of his later essays, confessed to a growing sensitivity to these: Tyndale's hostility to a corrupt, power-hungry prelacy, his radically reduced ecclesiology, his sense of the Gospel as 'the law of Christ': all these could have come, somehow or other, from a Wycliffite source.⁵² Smeeton is not barking up some wrong tree when he calls for further exploration of certain affinities and resonances of language, as with the development of 'true' and 'false' in both Tyndale and the Wycliffite texts: although he may go too far in claiming that 'Tyndale spoke the same language, if not the same dialect, used traditionally to express religious dissent.' At the heart of his thesis, as of all revisionist accounts of Tyndale's religious thought, is his 'moralism' (as some would call it). Smeeton suggests that Tyndale's conspicuous 'moral seriousness' could be interpreted as 'his attempt to integrate Lutheran terminology with the ethical concerns of traditional English dissent.' There is, for example, a shared (and markedly un-Lutheran) respect for the Epistle of James.⁵³

Anne Hudson's well-supported insistence on the Wycliffite consistency and coherence of some early-sixteenth-century oral and written traditions,⁵⁴ together with the discovery of a Lollard presence at social levels not dissimilar from the lower-gentry clans of Tyndale's Gloucestershire,⁵⁵ make it difficult to dismiss Smeeton out of hand. And yet it must be said that there is no documented evidence whatsoever to sustain his thesis. Smeeton is obliged to admit that 'what Lollard tracts and sermons [Tyndale] may have read, heard, or even used cannot now be determined.'⁵⁶ Most of the observed affinities can, in principle, be put down to a shared scripturalism. And whether Tyndale's scripturalism was in itself a specifically Wycliffite legacy is a question not capable of determination by applying the ordinary rules of intellectual history. And yet, as David Daniell has said, it would be good to know the nature and content of Tyndale's early sermons, preached in Bristol and elsewhere near or on his native heath;⁵⁷ as useful as it would be to know what Thomas Bilney shared with Lollard conventicles in East Anglia.⁵⁸

IV

This brings us to the present-related dimension: the constituency to which Tyndale spoke, which sustained him, to which he ministered. There is little that can be added to what is already known about Tyndale's sustenance and audience, or about the networks of colporteurage which disseminated his New Testament and other writings. Once again, we should be worse off than we are, still less straw for brick-making, if it were not for Foxe. Foxe preserved among his papers, without fully exploiting, those London diocesan trial records of the late 1520s, where we learn of what happened to the New

Testament in the hands of such colporteurs and sympathizers as Robert Necton and the monk of Bury, Richard Bayfield, or the Essex Lollard with a bookish mother, John Pykas of Colchester, who found the preaching of Bilney 'best for his purpose'. Without Foxe to introduce us, we should never have been admitted into that parlour in the Austin Friars in London, where Robert Barnes was discovered, closeted with a young merchant wearing a gold chain, the most emblematic cameo of the early Reformation: discovered, that is, by the men from Steeple Bumstead in Essex, John Tyball and Thomas Hilles. Tyball and Hilles showed Barnes what was left of their tattered, cherished, hand-written Wycliffite Gospels, which Barnes waved aside. 'A poynte for them, for they be not to be regarded toward the new printed Testament in Englyshe'; sending his visitors back to Steeple Bumstead with a newly minted copy of Tyndale, for which Hilles says they paid three shillings. Tyball three shillings and twopence, two weeks' wages for a working man.⁵⁹

With the publication of Susan Brigden's *London and the Reformation*,⁶⁰ we know most of what we shall ever know about that shadowy society which Gordon Rupp called a kind of 'forbidden book of the month club',⁶¹ the Christian Brethren. What we should still like to learn is how far this loose evangelical connection sent out feelers, not only over the North Sea between London and Antwerp, but into rural and provincial England. The fact that a ritually insubordinate group of parishioners at Mendlesham in Suffolk, engaged in some form of inversion play, or misrule, should in 1531 have called themselves Christian Brethren, I was once inclined to dismiss as probably irrelevant; until evidence was uncovered of the William Tracy Protestant will formula being copied in the rural fastness of Mendlesham, before the end of the 1530s.⁶²

All the same, I am reluctant to follow David Daniell in extrapolating from the probable print-run of the Worms New Testament (more likely to have been 3,000 than 6,000 copies), not to speak of five pirated editions before 1534, to project a mass heretical or semi-heretical constituency in England.⁶³ As with some more recent new products (Coca-Cola comes to mind, especially in parts of Africa) it is not easy to say how far Tyndale and his publishers and distributors found, how far they created their market. Hundreds of pages of Foxe's Book of Martyrs are proof of the speed with which the English Bible was internalized among its dedicated readers, reading, of course, 'acoustically', so that the illiterate within earshot shared in the exercise.⁶⁴ The martyrs' letters are for the most part pieces of biblical pastiche, constructed by a cross-referential method which seems to have become instinctive and habitual within less than a generation.

But this was the culture of the bible-reading minority. The revisionists are having the better of the argument so far as the numbers game is concerned, even if, as Daniell points out in a long footnote directed against Eamon Duffy, they are one-sided in the evidence which they choose to consider: two references to Tyndale in the 654 pages of Duffy's *Stripping of the Altars*, seven words on the Marian martyrs in Scarisbrick's *The Reformation and the English People*.⁶⁵ Susan Brigden, who would not want to be identified as a revisionist, is always writing about London Protestantism, up to the point at which her book ends (early Elizabeth), as a minority religion: a committed, hardline evangelical community of a few hundreds in a population of perhaps 50,000, somewhat ingrown and tending of necessity to marry within itself; but cross-sectional in social composition.⁶⁶ This is consistent with most other microcosmic investigations of the early Reformation in local communities so far conducted.⁶⁷

But it would be a serious error to suppose that Tyndale's New Testament had the capacity to appeal only to heretics and once-born dissidents with a Lollard past, or that its reception was necessarily indicative of a total repudiation of traditional beliefs and habits. That 'scripturalism' had been a significant and appealing element in English culture since the late fourteenth century, a taste implied in much late medieval literature, if one which the book trade was unable to satisfy, is established in the important study by Janel Mueller, *The Native Tongue and the Word*.⁶⁸ This is the point, an important, precious point, of the two letters in *The Plumpton Correspondence* which A. G. Dickens brought to attention in his *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York*.⁶⁹ Despatching a New Testament from London to his mother in Yorkshire, in about 1536, Robert Plumpton, a young man serving his time in the inns of court, writes:

Yf it will please you to read the introducement, ye shall see marvelous things hyd in it. And as for the understanding of it, doubt not; for God will give knowledge to whom he will give knowledge of the Scriptures, as soon to a sheppard as to a priest, yf he shall ask knowledge of God faithfully.

And in his second letter:

Wherefore I desire you, moste deare mother, that ye will take heede to the teachinge of the gospell, for it is the thinge that all wee muste live by... Mother, you have muche to thanke God that it woulde please him to geve you licence to live untill this time, for the Gospell of Christe was never so trewly preached as it is nowe.

What is striking about these letters is the evidence they contain that Plumpton was not merely receptive of the 'bare text' of the New Testament but had taken on board Tyndale's construction of its meaning and message, what he calls 'the onlye waye to understande the scripture unto our salvation'. And yet, as Dickens notes, the Plumptons were a family later noted for their staunch adherence to the old religion, while Robert Plumpton (who was to die young) married into a family which was to be deeply implicated in the Northern Rebellion of 1569.

At this point, we recall that when Sir Thomas More wrote his *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* in 1529, his son-in-law William Roper was 'infatuated' (Thomas Lawler's word) with the Lutheran heresy, so that Roper may have served as the pattern for the interlocutor satirized as 'the Messenger' in the fiction of the *Dialogue* (a point on which not all commentators would agree). In the character of 'Messenger', we are told, More created 'a composite picture of the layman who is tempted to break from the ancient oral traditions of the church and accept the Protestant idea that all doctrine and practices of the church must be based on the written word of the Bible'.⁷⁰ More believed that that was a deadly infection, a kind of spiritual AIDS or hard drug addiction which threatened the entire Christian community of England. That conviction alone accounts and even atones for the literary and physical savagery of his personal vendetta against heresy, both in the interminable verbiage of his literary onslaught upon Tyndale and in the minor atrocities of his privatized prison in Chelsea. Yet William Roper recovered, and became in his mature years a prominent Catholic, one who served under Mary on commissions to dis-

cover heresy, wrote a hagiographical account of his martyred father-in-law, and ended his days under Elizabeth as an obstinate recusant.⁷¹

If the revisionists are right, then a dispassionate history of the English Reformation, one not concerned to score confessional points, will have to explain why the Tyndalian spring in which Plumpton and Roper were swallows (and how lone we shall never know) proved to be a false spring, or no summer. Do we find the answer in that Chelsea prison, successful repression? or in the process of generational progression, as young rebels turned into middle-aged conservatives? or (almost the same point) the initial freshness of Luther's and Tyndale's Gospel losing its shine and proving an ephemeral attraction? or in a number of individual accommodations of vernacular Bible-reading to formally orthodox religious behaviour? But perhaps Robert Plumpton and William Roper were simply somewhat exceptional young men.

But not, perhaps, that exceptional if they had been found in the comparative immunity and cultural otherness of the house of the English merchants at Antwerp, a society living, incongruously, under the spiritual protection of St Thomas à Becket. This, if anywhere, was where the foundations of an affluent, influential, upper-middle-class lay Protestant community were laid. And insofar as Tyndale had a notable part in their laying, it may well be that this was not the least part of his apostolic contribution to the creation of an ongoing Protestant tradition. It is significant that Foxe's apostolic citation refers not only to his achievement as a translator (which must be what is meant by 'hys paynefull travailes, and singular zeale to his countrey') but to personal qualities, moral, Christian and pastoral.⁷² Tyndale was, according to Foxe, a man of exceptional, exemplary and transparent goodness: an appraisal endorsed by More (initially), by Stephen Vaughan, by Thomas Poyntz, and by his very keepers at Vilvorde, who 'reported of him that if he were not a good christian man, they could not tell whom to trust': meant, no doubt, as an echo of the words of the centurion in Luke 23:47.⁷³

Consequently, special interest attaches to some further biographical material added by Foxe in the 1573 *Whole Workes* in the form of 'a few notes touching his private behaviour in dyet, study, and especially his charitable zeale, and tender releving of the poore'. Perhaps Thomas Poyntz, who died in 1562, had supplied this memoir. From it we learn of Tyndale's two weekly days of what he called 'pastime': Monday (the preacher's statutory holiday), which he devoted to visiting and relieving his fellow English exiles; and Saturday, spent on more general charitable work, which he financed from the large stipend he received from the English merchants. All the remainder of the week 'he gave hym wholy to his booke': except that on Sundays he was entertained at one or another of the merchants' houses, 'where came many other merchauntes', to whom he read and expounded the Scriptures, both before and after dinner. 'He was a man without any spot, or blemish of rancor, or malice, full of mercy and compassion.'⁷⁴

It may be that this partakes of imaginative and polemical invention. Other evidence suggests a rather different character, a quirky individualist with whom it would have been difficult to live. According to Professor Dickens's assessment, Tyndale 'lacked those endearing qualities which are fostered by human affections.'⁷⁵ But let us attach at least some credence to the Poyntz–Foxe character reference. Elsewhere,⁷⁶ I have argued that the impact of another apostle of the English Reformation, the German theologian Martin Bucer, was as much personal as theological and literary. I would say the same for Tyndale, although it must be said that Tyndale, unlike Bucer, was above all notable for

his capacity to write and consign to all posterity a pellucid, plain and forceful English prose which, over many generations to come, was necessarily to count for infinitely more than the man himself, who lived only briefly in the memories of those who had known him.

V

And so we arrive at the third and the most intransigent and contested of our three dimensions of Tyndale and the course of the English Reformation: the future constituency to which he communicated from beyond the stake and the ashes of Vilvorde. Abel being dead yet speaketh. But what did the dead Tyndale have to say? And (for this may not have been the same thing) what was he heard to say, as the Reformation process moved on from resistance to repressive ascendancy, from protest to establishment, throwing up along the way those secondary cross-currents of protest which we call Puritanism? For when the majority became at least formally Protestant, the Protestant minority turned Puritan.

It is impossible to connect Tyndale with any of the mature and formalized expressions of English Protestantism in the age of establishment, whether Anglican or Puritan. He was in the best sense too radical, the voice of one crying in the wilderness. Take, for example, a remarkable passage from his *Answer to More's Dialogue*. Responding to More's censure of his translation of 'presbyteros' as 'senior' or 'elder', Tyndale proposed the strictly legal possibility, in principle, of what we now call women priests. Just as there were recorded instances in primitive Christian history of women preaching, and an established practice of baptism by women in an emergency, so women could, if need be, preach and minister in Tyndale's own day:

If a woman were driven into some island, where Christ was never preached, might she there not preach him, if she had the gift thereto? Might she not also baptize? And why might she not, by the same reason, minister the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and teach them how to choose officers and ministers? O poor women, how despise ye them!?"

Or take the question of the Sabbath, a matter of consuming interest to all sections of the English Protestant community a hundred years after Tyndale's time: 'And as for the Saboth', wrote Tyndale against More,

a great matter, we be lords over the Saboth; and may yet change it into the Monday, or any other day, as we see need; or may make every tenth day holy day only, if we see cause why. We may make two every week, if it were expedient, and one not enough to teach the people."'

This was to take the doctrine of Christian liberty with respect to *adiaphora*, things indifferent, to unusual lengths, lengths not generally associated with the Puritanism of which Tyndale is supposed by some to have been the progenitor.

Over and above these particular issues, Tyndale's ecclesiology was so evangelically

pragmatic, so inchoate (very like the early Luther's doctrine of the Church), that it is impossible to predict what kind of a Church of England he would have constructed or legislated for if, like Cranmer, he had been given the opportunity; or, more realistically, if he had returned to England to a benefice and had died in his bed (he might have lived to be sixty-five at the time of the Elizabethan Settlement, ten years older than Archbishop Parker), in what kind of a church he would have been content to have lived and have had some public role. (And what kind of a role? A cathedral prebend might have suited him, as it did John Bale and Thomas Becon; a Durham prebend perhaps, where he would have had Cuthbert Tunstall for a neighbour.)

And so, since there was no career, no deathbed, only a voice and a martyrdom, the scholars have buried themselves in Tyndale's theology, and especially in what they have made of his theology of salvation, the soteriology to be derived or intelligently inferred from his prefaces and prologues, as well as from the more extended treatise such as *The Wicked Mammon*. Mistakes have been made in the course of this research, according to the sternest methodological canons of intellectual history. And perhaps there is something wrong with the enterprise itself: the enterprise, that is, of studying Tyndale as a theologian, or of constructing a descriptive analysis of something called his theology. Tyndale had only one message, a matter of instinctive and pragmatic response to the imperative of the biblical word. C.S. Lewis thought that he had to despatch it by a series of messengers, in the hope that at least one might get through. John Carey remarks that Tyndale has only one thing to say, and that the problem for the critic is how he manages to say it so often, and yet still conduct us forward, alert, through page after page.⁷⁹

What was that 'thing'? It was, of course, the Gospel, for Tyndale 'the pith of all that pertaineth to the christian faith'.⁸⁰ The question, in the book *England's Earliest Protestants* by William Clebsch, in the thesis and articles by John Yost, in Smeeton's *Lollard Themes in the Reformation Theology of William Tyndale*, is always the same. How far did Tyndale differ, even intentionally diverge, from Martin Luther in his understanding of what that 'pith' consisted of? Was it the doctrine of justification by faith alone or something else? And, secondarily, to what extent was that Tyndalian understanding of the Gospel so powerfully communicated to later generations of English Protestants that it laid the groundwork for that distinctively English, or Anglo-American, Protestantism which was Puritanism? Smeeton reads his answers to these questions into Tyndale, from a Wycliffite-Lollard source. Clebsch reads his out of Tyndale and into Puritanism.

Sir Thomas More called Tyndale Luther's 'confederate' but Tyndale denied it, raising a small question-mark over the ingenious identification of Tyndale with the name 'Dalticus' (an anagram with one consonant wrong) in the matriculation register at Wittenberg, made independently by Preserved Smith and J. F. Mozley.⁸¹ Whether or not our man was ever and in any capacity at Luther's university, Bishop Westcott in the nineteenth century pointed out that large passages in Tyndale's prefaces were straight translations from Luther, vehicles for Luther's *sola fide* doctrine in its most pristine form.⁸² Hence, in the Preface to the Epistle to the Romans, the telltale reference to 'the ground of the heart' (*Herzgrund*), the ringing definitions of what faith is and what faith does. 'Faith only justifieth.' 'Faith is a lively thing, mighty in working, valiant and strong, ever doing, ever fruitful.' 'Faith... is a lively and stedfast trust in the favour of God'; together with the claim that Romans contains 'whatsoever a christian man or woman ought to

know', 'the pith of all that pertaineth to the Christian faith'.⁴³

However, according to those who have laboured to detach Tyndale from Luther, to make him independent as a theologian, or dependent upon some other source of inspiration, either his thought drifted progressively away from its pristine Lutheran anchor in a direction actually subversive of the Lutheran *sola fide* position; or, a more sophisticated suggestion, Tyndale was making a convenience of Luther's writings on the subject, using the words of Luther to convey a meaning which was other than Luther's. To conflate these two interpretations would be to say that Tyndale ventriloquized for Luther for as long as it appeared advantageous to do so, only to cut loose when it became desirable, under fire from More and under threat from his royal master, to detach himself and his cause from the Lutheran connection. This is how minds and consciences function in high-risk ideological and political circumstances, and similar strategies could be extensively documented in the annals of both Protestants and Catholics in the sixteenth century. Either or any way, Tyndale is represented as pointing forward to a religious tradition yet to be born or thought of, as alien to pristine Lutheranism as Anglo-American Puritanism. Puritanism, for the sake of the projection in this argument, is understood as a religious code which stood four-square upon a covenant between God and man, shot through with conditionality and moral obligation: a conditional covenant indistinguishable from contract, a contract which demanded man's obedient response to God as the price to be paid for the enjoyment of his gracious favour. Was this Lutheran? Was it even Protestant?

These approaches to Tyndale have been influenced, one is tempted to say vitiated, by that never-ending pursuit of that Holy Grail which is the hunt to account for the origins of Puritanism, an enterprise doomed to a measure of failure in respect of Puritanism no less than of Tyndale, since it demands a reification of Puritanism which in itself entails misunderstanding.⁴⁴ Marshall Moon Knappen, in his 1939 classic, *Tudor Puritanism*, simply begins the story with Tyndale, as if it were self-evident that Tyndale was the first Puritan. But he had already argued the case in an article, drawing attention to such features as Tyndale's dependence on lay patrons, his self-imposed, authority-defying exile, his unauthorized biblical translations, all characteristics of later Puritan activity.⁴⁵ Leonard J. Trinterud, in an often cited but somewhat insubstantial article of 1959, 'The Origins of Puritanism', also drew attention to Tyndale as the proto-Puritan, but concentrated on the single issue of what he called Tyndale's 'whole-hearted and systematic adoption of the law-covenant scheme as the basis of his entire religious outlook'; a scheme, according to Trinterud, derived from the early Rhineland Protestant theologians, including Oecolampadius and Bucer, and transmitted to the first Puritans to be so designated.⁴⁶ And then, in 1964, in a much more ambitious study of book-length, William Clebsch argued that 'England's Earliest Protestants', all three of Foxe's 'principal teachers', Tyndale, Frith and Barnes, were collectively responsible for the conflation of justification by faith with a thorough-going moralism which built upon Luther but simultaneously repudiated him, and which 'empowered the Puritan force in English-speaking religion down to yesterday'.⁴⁷

As that quotation suggests, Clebsch was rather too fond of the stylish, not to say glib, one-liner. Thus, Tyndale's *Pathway Into the Holy Scripture* was called 'the magna carta of English Puritanism', its author 'the real if unacknowledged founder of the type of English-speaking Christianity that is commonly called Puritan'.⁴⁸ These claims must be

confronted, if only because they are repeated as gospel, for example by A.G. Dickens in the revised edition of his *English Reformation*, where Tyndale is called, on grounds proposed by Clebsch, 'among the many progenitors of that complex phenomenon: English Puritan theology'.⁸⁰

What Clebsch calls Tyndale's 'moralism' is not to be gainsaid. If it were not so liberally scattered through his writings, so many scholars would not have more or less independently picked it up and commented on it. There has to have been something there, something problematical, for David Broughton Knox, a learned historical theologian of evangelical persuasion without any interest in tracing the origins of Puritanism, to complain that Tyndale was in danger of 'overthrowing the whole basis of the Reformation': which is to say, justification by faith alone.⁸¹ There is no denying that in the Prologue to the 1534 New Testament, Tyndale wrote this: 'The general covenant, wherein all other are comprehended and included, is this: If we meek ourselves to God, to keep all his laws, after the example of Christ, then God hath bound himself unto us, to keep and make good all the mercies promised in Christ throughout all scriptures.'⁸²

But to read back into such a statement (in Clebsch's words) 'the theology upon which seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English-speaking Calvinists built Bible commonwealths'⁸³ is less than rigorous as intellectual history, shedding little light on either Bible commonwealths or Tyndale. Among Tyndale's biographers, the late C. H. Williams, who was not especially noted for rigorous intellectual history, made the essential point. Clebsch was peering down the wrong end of the telescope. It was as if we should say that Raphael Holinshed was the real if unacknowledged founder of the type of historical drama that is commonly called Shakespearean.⁸⁴ There are, of course, some advantages in looking down the telescope the wrong way. Christopher Hill, in the context of the Oxford International Tyndale Conference, told us that Tyndale was the father of Congregationalism, regardless of whether that was his intention. And there is truth in that.

But there is no more hard evidence that Puritan covenant theology was shaped by the thought of William Tyndale than that Tyndale himself was influenced by Wycliffite doctrine. The common dependence of all three on the same biblical words, tropes, paradigms and doctrines must make it nearly impossible to isolate 'influence', as if it were some electrical discharge, arcing over and above the biblical text. Since Clebsch wrote, and, for that matter, in the aftermath of the classic and much more celebrated writings of Perry Miller, there has grown up a considerable literature of a progressively brutal complexity on the subject of covenant, or federal, theology.⁸⁵ The key points of departure appear to be continental, not English: Heinrich Bullinger in the 1520s for the covenant idea (Bullinger may, in large part, account for Tyndale's interest in the matter), the covenant idea being simply 'one idea among many'; Zacharias Ursinus and other Heidelberg theologians of the 1560s for the adumbration of a fully-fledged covenant theology, presently taken up in England by Dudley Fenner and William Perkins with some help from Thomas Cartwright, who had spent time in Heidelberg. This new covenant theology, for the first time, gained 'a controlling influence in the systematic ordering of doctrine'. Its origins lay in dogmatics, not exegesis.⁸⁶

We leave questions of posthumous influence aside and return to Tyndale. Clebsch and some other commentators provide a dubious reading both of the development of Tyndale's religious thought and of its relation to Lutheranism. According to Clebsch,

Tyndale's thinking was progressive and passed through three distinct phases in order to reach a destination point where morality became the key to theology, the basis of Christianity. Tyndale was 'ever more blatantly interpreting Christianity as a system of rewards and punishments for moral actions'. This progression (or regression?) was accounted for by reference to Tyndale's pragmatism, the political necessity of avoiding those charges of antinomianism with which Protestants were for ever castigated; but rather more by his increasing absorption with the mental world of the Old Testament, the dominant themes of divine law and covenant. This happened as he engaged in the translation of the Pentateuch.*

There is much that is wrong with this analysis. Briefly stated, Tyndale's account of the relation of faith to works (the essence of the problem) fails to develop and alter in the schematic fashion proposed. From first to last, Tyndale insists that works, and love, love of God and neighbour, are the necessary, inevitable fruits of true faith, as unstoppable in the justified man as the necessity of making water. It is not the other way round. Sometimes, one is tempted to say, perversely, Tyndale does put it the other way round, reversing the apparent *ordo salutis*. We must resist the temptation to say that what led him to do so was a mischievous desire to confuse the authors of doctoral dissertations in the twentieth century. For an explanation, we need not confine our attention to the Old Testament. Some of the supporting texts are in the New Testament, and especially in the Beatitudes, where Tyndale read: 'Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy'; and in the Lord's Prayer with its petition: 'Forgive us our trespasses, even as we forgive our own trespassers.'⁹⁷ We say that the trees are green, and therefore summer is come; whereas of course we know that summer is come, and therefore the trees are green.⁹⁸ By the same token, Tyndale found in the supposedly legalistic Old Testament, even in Deuteronomy ('a book worthy to be read in day and night') 'a very pure gospel, that is to wit, a preaching of faith and love: deducing the love to God out of faith, and the love of a man's neighbour out of the love of God.' Here too was 'the pith of the scripture'.⁹⁹

Tyndale never shifted for more than a rhetorical line or two from a balanced doctrine of faith and works in which faith always led the way. In the commentary on Tracy's will (a late work), he wrote that 'true faith in Christ getteth power to love the lawe of God... Hast thou then no power to love the lawe? so hast thou no faith in Christis bloude.' But 'although when thou art reconcyled and restoryde to grace, woorkes be required, yet is not that reconcilyng and grace the benefite of the workes that follow: but cleane contrary that forgevenes of thy synnes and restoringe to favour deserve the workes that folow.' A king who pardons a criminal naturally requires him to keep his laws and he may now be wholly inclined to do so. But it was not the keeping of those laws which procured his pardon.¹⁰⁰

This was not legalism or even 'moralism', nor is the covenant in Tyndale's scheme of things equivalent to a bilateral contract or bargain. Nor were Tyndale's formulations so antithetical to Luther's understanding of Law and Gospel, Faith and Works, as has been made out. If Tyndale diverged from Luther's initially stark and vivid paradoxes, so did most Lutherans, and it would take many decades of theological infighting to establish a modicum of constrained consensus on these doctrines among what Shakespeare (in the play *Henry VIII*) called 'spleeny Lutherans'.

John Foxe would recommend Luther as a guide for afflicted consciences to the difference, and yet consonance, of Law and Gospel, 'repugnant and contrary', and yet

'howe they stand togither in Scripture and doctrine, and yet in doctrine no repugnance.'¹⁰¹ The index for Tyndale in the *Whole Works* of 1572–3 contains twenty-one entries under 'faith' and twenty-one under 'works', so implying a perfect balance not always to be found in his occasional writings, but less foreign to his consistent purposes than talk of Christianity as a system of rewards and punishments. There is a similar, carefully contrived, balance in the rhetorical artfulness of Archbishop Cranmer's Homilies of 1547: where the Homily of Faith is all about Works, and the Homily of Good Works all about faith.¹⁰² Luther's disparagement of the Epistle of James, which Tyndale (and the Lollards) highly valued, was a passing aberration. Subsequently everyone (with the exception of certain English 'free-willers', true heirs of the Lollards) was committed to the enterprise of reconciling Paul in the Roman to James, and vice versa.

In the most helpful contribution to this difficult subject, 'William Tyndale's Concept of Covenant', Michael McGiffert insists on Tyndale's bibliocentric piety rather than his legal moralism. The covenanted if/then was never a contract, not a bargain over salvation between equal and contracting parties. It was a way of articulating the mutuality of God and man in a communion of commitment. Piety, not legality, supplied the key. 'Not even when he most strongly affirmed the conditionality of covenant did [Tyndale] open the slightest chink to justification by works.'¹⁰³ So McGiffert can quote C. S. Lewis with approval: 'the whole purpose of "the gospel" for Tyndale is to deliver us from morality':¹⁰⁴ although, we are entitled to add, the purpose was equally to deliver us *for* morality. Carl Trueman's *Luther's Legacy* contains an extended review of Clebsch which confirms these judgements. Tyndale rarely spoke in terms of an *ordo salutis*, interested as he was in the existential effect of salvation. The shape of his doctrine was profoundly influenced by what he took to be the purpose of justification, that the believer should be made actually righteous. But his notion of Christian ethics was fundamentally at one with that of Luther. There is no substantial difference between his earlier and later writings in this respect, and his idea of covenant cannot be described as contractual.¹⁰⁵

VI

It has been said of Luther and can as well be said of Tyndale: it is one thing to determine what he was saying and another to be sure what he was heard to be saying. However, there is no denying the validity of what is virtually a truism, even a cliché: that religious understanding is inseparable from language (something no one knew better than Sir Thomas More) and that Tyndale provided the language in which the coming generations of English men and women would comprehend and articulate their religion. Gordon Jackson told the Oxford International Tyndale Conference: within the English-speaking world, the voice of Tyndale is the voice of Christ. Carsten Thiede assured us: his English was better (more faithful to the biblical text) than Erasmus's Greek. His instincts as a Hebrew scholar set him above his Wittenberg teachers. His was a language consistent with the language of the Bible and conditioned by Tyndale's own austere simplicity and unswerving honesty: a temperament which abhorred and often denounced all 'sophistry', and, in a particular sense remote from our sense of the word, 'poetry'.¹⁰⁶

The most recent clarifications of early-seventeenth-century English Protestant culture, a post-revisionist stage in our developing understanding of that huge subject, are

helping us to understand how there can have been a widespread response to a religion only partly new, and in which moral intensity outweighed doctrinal intricacy: in its presentation in sermons and catechisms, as well as in the essentially Tyndalian biblical texts; and in reception.¹⁰⁷ When we have said all, or what little, we can say, Tyndale's place in the course of the English Reformation can be reduced to this. The printed vernacular Bible, by an artificial, unusual and insular policy denied to the English people for two or three generations, was to explode in the consciousness and culture of the seventeenth century: in our greatest literature, as Barbara Lewalski has shown;¹⁰⁸ in politics, as we have learned from Christopher Hill;¹⁰⁹ and in the soul-searching, if not of ploughboys, of an itinerant mender of pots and pans in Bedfordshire.

In the 1630s, Ian Green tells us, ten times as many Bibles were printed in England as had been published in the 1570s; and it really does appear to have been the case that the production of Bibles, *per capita*, exceeded that in any other Protestant state of western Europe.¹¹⁰ Thus it was, in the words of another Green, J. R., that the English became the people of a book, and that book the Bible.¹¹¹ Not only was Tyndale the remote cause of that remarkable cultural moment and revolution. Given the persistent tenor of his biblical voice, he was the contingent, ongoing cause until just the other day: the author of all those unforgettable words and phrases which resonate within the heads of all of us who were reared on the Bible and who are more than forty years old. One has a sense of the last words of John's Gospel, which appeared in the Authorized Version of 1611 with only the most trivial of changes from Tyndale's version: 'There are also many other things which Jesus did: the which if they should be written every one I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written.' 'Even' and 'itself' are committee work. The rest is Tyndale.¹¹²

Notes

1. J. F. Mozley, *William Tyndale* (London, 1937), p. 4; Gordon Rupp, *Six Makers of English Religion 1500–1700* (London, 1957), pp. 16–17.
2. *The confutacyon of Tydales answere*, in *The Complete Works of St Thomas More*, VIII.i. (Louis A. Schuster et al., eds., New Haven and London, 1937) pp. 6–7.
3. David Daniell, *William Tyndale: A Biography* (New Haven and London, 1994) p. 111.
4. *Doctrinal Treatises and Introductions to Different Portions of the Holy Scriptures by William Tyndale, Martyr, 1536* (Henry Walter ed., The Parker Society, Cambridge, 1848), pp. 7–8.
5. John Foxe, *The first (second) volume of the ecclesiastical history contayning the actes and monuments. Newly recognised and enlarged* (London, 1570), pp. 1224–30. The account of Tyndale in the 1570 edition of Foxe (and, substantially, in subsequent editions) is the text to be found in *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe* (S. R. Cattley ed., V, London, 1838), pp. 114–29.
6. *Select Works of John Bale* (H. Christmas ed., The Parker Society, Cambridge, 1849), p. 138.
7. *The whole workes of W. Tyndall, Iohn Frith, and Doct. Barnes, three worthy*

Martyrs, and principall teachers of this Churche of England, collected and compiled in one Tome togither, beyng before scattered, and now in Print here exhibited to the Church. To the prayse of God and profit of all good Christian Readers (London, 1573), especially Foxe's Preface.

8. Thomas Fuller, *The Church History of Britain* (Oxford, 1845), III, pp. 162–3.
Fuller has a worthy successor in Stephen Greenblatt, who has noticed that Tyndale's prison request for warm clothing and a Hebrew Bible, grammar and dictionary (Mozley, *op. cit.*, pp. 333–5, the only surviving written thing in Tyndale's hand) parallels a request made by St Paul in 2 Timothy 4:13. (*Renaissance Self-Fashioning: from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, 1980), p108.)
9. *The Vocacyon of Johan Bale* (Peter Happe and John N. King eds., Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, Binghamton, N.Y., 1990).
10. Gilbert Burnet, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, revised by Nicolas Pocock (Oxford, 1865), I, 69, 262
11. John Foxe. *Actes and monuments of these latter and perillous dayes, touching matters of the church* (London, 1563), p. 513.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 520.
13. In 1859 the great Victorian editor John Gough Nichols (in his edition for the Camden Society of *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation*, drawn from Foxe's papers in the Harleian MSS) called for a scholarly (rather than polemical) modern edition of Foxe. For more than 130 years, his plea went unheeded. But in the early 1990s Professor David Loades has proposed, and the British Academy has adopted, the project of just such an edition, which will be expedited by electronic technology of which Nichols never dreamed.
14. Margaret Aston, *The King's Bedpost: Reformation and Iconography in a Tudor Group Portrait* (Cambridge, 1993), especially pp. 149–66, 'John Foxe and *The Acts and Monuments* of 1570'.
15. The reference in 1563 was sufficiently oblique: 'where one had altered it, otherwyse then maister Tyndall hadde translated it' (Foxe, *Actes and monuments*, p. 516). For similar suppressions of potentially scandalous material in the 1570 edition, see Patrick Collinson, 'Truth and Legend: the Veracity of John Foxe's Book of Martyrs', in A. C. Duke and C. A. Tamse, eds., *Clio's Mirror: Historiography in Britain and the Netherlands: Britain and the Netherlands*, VIII (Zutphen, 1985), pp. 31–54, reprinted in Patrick Collinson, *Elizabethan Essays* (London and Rio Grande, OH, 1994), pp. 151–77.
16. *The whole workes*, Preface.
17. *A commentarie of M. Doctor Martin Luther upon the Epistle of S. Paule to the Galathians* (London, 1575). The Prefatial Epistle, addressed to 'All Afflicted Consciences which grone for salvation and wrestle under the crosse for the kingdom of Christ' is not signed by Foxe, but given his publicly owned part in the other Vautrollier Luther editions (Revised Short-Title Catalogue numbers 16965–16969, 16975, 16975.5, 16989–16991, 16993, 16994), we may safely assume that he was the author.
18. *A commentarie upon the fiftene psalmes, called Psalmi Graduum... faithfully copied out of the Lectures of D. Martin Luther* (London, 1577), Epistle. The debate about 'bare' reading and preaching will be addressed in the forthcoming

- Cambridge doctoral thesis by Arnold Hunt.
19. Collinson, *Elizabethan Essays*, pp. 151–77; J. F. Mozley, *John Foxe and His Book* (London, 1940) pp. 105–7.
 20. Gavin Bone, ‘Tindale and the English Language’, in S. L. Greenslade ed., *The Work of William Tindale* (London and Glasgow, 1938) p. 63.
 21. *The Complete Works of St Thomas More*, VIII.i. 212.
 22. Daniell, *op. cit.*, pp. 87–90, 162–8, 247–9.
 23. This sentence is indebted to Professor Carsten Peter Thiede of the Institute für Wissenschaftstheoretische Grundlagenforschung, Paderborn and to his paper read to the Oxford International Tyndale Conference, Spetember 1994, ‘Tyndale’s European Years’.
 24. Carl S. Trueman, *Luther’s Legacy: Salvation and the English Reformers 1525–1556* (Oxford, 1994).
 25. Peter White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic: Conflict and Consensus in the English Church from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge, 1992). The index entry for John Tyndale (*sic*) occurs on p. 335.
 26. Alister McGrath, *Iustitia Dei: A History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification*, II: *From 1500 to the Present Day* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 98, 113.
 27. D. A. Weir, *The Origins of the Federal Theology in Sixteenth-Century Reformation Thought* (Oxford, 1990).
 28. *A defence of the Sincere and True Translations of the Holy Scriptures Into the English Tongue, Against the Cavils of Gregory Martin. By Williams Fulke, D.D.*, (C. H. Hartshorne ed., The Parker Society, Cambridge, 1843).
 29. John K. Yost, ‘The Christian Humanism of the English Reformers, 1525–1555: A Study in English Renaissance Humanism’ (unpublished Duke University Ph.D. thesis, 1965).
 30. Donald Dean Smeeton, *Lollard Themes in the Reformation Theology of William Tyndale*, Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, VI (Kirksville, MS, 1986).
 31. See J. F. Davis’s not altogether convincing attempt to fit Bilney into the (essentially Franco-Italian) category of pre-Reformation ‘Evangelism’, *Heresy and Reformation in the South-East of England, 1520–1559* (London, 1983), pp. 30–33 and Chapter 4, ‘Evangelism and Lollardy’.
 32. *Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, IV (London, 1837), pp. 648–51.
 33. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven and London, 1992).
 34. C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama* (Oxford, 1954), p. 214. Lewis was discussing the value and literary influence of the Authorized Version rather than Tyndale.
 35. Greenblatt, *op. cit.*, pp. 74–114.
 36. Mozley, *William Tyndale*, p. 34. Erasmus’s *utinam* had been expressed in the *Paraclesis* prefacing his New Testament, the *Novum Instrumentum*, of 1516, a figure which in its turn was an echo of the Epistles of St Jerome. For Erasmus, the New Testament and Jerome, see A. G. Dickens and Whitney R. D. Jones, *Erasmus the Reformer* (London, 1994); and Lisa Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters* (Princeton NJ, 1993).
 37. Lewis *op. cit.*, p. 182.

38. Mozley, *William Tyndale*, p. 198.
39. Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: the Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago and London, 1992) pp. 107–42. Philip Howard's phrase 'the forgotten ghost' appeared in *The Times*.
40. Quentin Skinner, 'Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas', *History and Theory*, VIII (1969), pp. 3–53. And see James Tully ed., *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and his Critics* (Oxford, 1988).
41. David Rollison, *The Local Origins of Modern Society: Gloucestershire 1500–1800* (London, 1992).
42. John Craig and Caroline Litzenberger, 'Wills as Religious Proaganda: the Testament of William Tracy', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, XLIV (1993) pp. 415–31; John T Day, 'William Tracy's Posthumous Legal Problems', *William Tyndale and the Law, Sixteenth-Century Essays & Studies*, XXV (John A. R. Dick and Anne Richardson eds., Ann Arbor, MI, 1994). While Day concentrates on the legal and political repercussions of the Tracy affair, making it clear that the chancellor was only technically at fault in having Tracy's body exhumed and burned, Craig and Litzenberger document the use of the Tracy will preamble by testators in other parts of England, and place the text in the context of the literary, satirical and polemical use of will preambles.
43. Daniell, *op. cit.*, p. 185; Caroline Litzenberger, 'Responses of the Laity of Changes in Official Religious Policy in Gloucestershire (1541–1580)' (unpublished Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, 1993) p. 79.
44. Rollison, *op. cit.*, pp. 90–92
45. Smeeton, *op. cit.*, pp. 41, 252.
46. Litzenberger, 'Responses of the Laity'.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 79, 233.
48. K. G. Powell, 'The Beginnings of Protestantism in Gloucesterhsire', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, XC (1971), pp. 141–57; K. G. Powell, 'The Scoial Background of the Reformation in Gloucestershire', *ibid.*, XCII (1973), pp. 96–120.
49. Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford, 1988).
50. See the unfavourable review (followed, curiously, by a favourable review) of Smeeton by Bryan Morris in *The Sixteenth-Century Journal*, XVIII (1987), pp. 451–3.
51. Smeeton, *op. cit.*, p. 251.
52. Gordon Rupp, *Just Men: Historical Pieces* (London, 1977), p 52.
53. Smeeton, *op. cit.*, pp. 259–61.
54. Hudson, *op. cit.*, *passim*, but especially pp. 5 and 508–17.
55. Derek Plumb, 'The Social and Economic Spread of Rural Lollardy: A Reappraisal', in W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood eds., *Voluntary Religion. Studies in Church History*, XXIII (Oxford, 1986); Derek Plumb, 'A Gathered Church?' Lollards and their Society', in Margaret Spufford ed., *The World of Rural Dissenters, 1530–1725* (Cambridge, 1995); Andrew Hope 'Lollardy: the Stone Which the Builders Rejected', in Peter Lake and Maria Dowling eds., *Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth-Century England* (London,

- 1987).
56. Smeeton, *op. cit.*, p. 251.
 57. Daniell, *op. cit.*, p. 56. Martha Skeeters states that at the time of the sermons on St Augustine's Green in Bristol, Tyndale was 'an Erasmian reformer'. (*Community and Clergy: Bristol and the Reformation c.1530 –1570* [Oxford, 1993], p. 31.) It is not clear what her evidence is.
 58. Davis, *Heresy and Reformation in the South-East of England*, pp. 48–53, 66–8.
 59. The original materials in Foxe's papers, BL, MS. Harley 421, were printed in John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials* (Oxford, 1822), I.ii.50–65. The Austin Friars cameo is included in A. G. Dickens and Dorothy Carr eds., *The Reformation in England to the Accession of Elizabeth I* (London, 1967), pp. 35–6.
 60. Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford, 1989).
 61. It may be that this *bon mot* depends upon oral/aural evidence. But see Rupp, *Studies in the Making of the English Protestant Tradition* (London, 1947), pp. 13–14.
 62. Davis, *Heresy and the Reformation*, p. 54; Craig and Litzenberger, 'Wills as Religious Propaganda, pp. 426–7. D. J. Peet, 'The Mid-Sixteenth Century Parish Clergy With Particular Consideration of the Dioceses of Norwich and York' (unpublished Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, 1980), pp. 210–17. Dr Peet was aware of the precocity of these will formulae, but not that they followed the Tracy text.
 63. Daniell, *op. cit.*, pp. 187–9.
 64. Margaret Aston, 'Lollardy and Literacy', in Aston, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion*, pp. 193–217.
 65. Duffy, *op. cit.*, pp. 215, 433; J. J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford, 1984), p. 136; Daniell, *op.cit.*, pp. 398–9.
 66. See Susan Brigden on the 500, and 200, hard-core evangelicals identified in 1540: *op. cit.*, pp. 320–21.
 67. See the evidence assembled in Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society Under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1993); and in Patrick Collinson, 'The English Reformation, 1945–1995', in Michael Bentley ed., *The Writing of History: A Companion to Historiography* (Routledge, forthcoming). There is now a revisionist account even of the Reformation in the supposedly precociously Protestant town of Hadleigh in Suffolk: J. S. Craig, 'Reformation, Politics and Polemics in Sixteenth Century East Anglian Market Towns' (unpublished Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, 1992) pp. 137–57.
 68. Janel Mueller, *The Native Tongue and the Word: Developments in English Prose Style, 1380–1580* (Chicago, 1984).
 69. A. G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York 1509–1538* (Oxford, 1959), pp. 131–5.
 70. Thomas More, *A dialogue concerning heresies*, *The Complete Works of St Thomas More*, VI.ii (Thomas M. C. Lawler *et al.* eds., New Haven and London, 1981) p. 448.
 71. D.N.B. 'Roper'; S. T. Bindoff, *The House of Commons 1509–1558* (London, 1982), III pp. 215–17.
 72. *Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, V, 114–34; *The whole workes*, Preface.
 73. *Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, V, 127.

74. *The whole workes*, sig. Biii.
75. A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation*, (London, 2nd edition, 1989), pp. 95–6.
76. Patrick Collinson, ‘The Reformer and the Archbishop: Martin Bucer and an English Bucerian’, in Collinson, *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London, 1983), pp. 19–44; Patrick Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal 1519–1583: the Struggle for a Reformed Church* (London, 1979), pp. 49–56.
77. *An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue... by William Tyndale, Martyr, 1536* (H. Walter ed., The Parker Society, Cambridge, 1850), p. 18. See the forthcoming, critical, edition of Tyndale’s *Answer: An Answere Vnto Sir Thomas Mores Dialogue*, Anne M. O’Donnell and Jared Wicks eds., *The Independent Works of William Tyndale* (Washington, DC, 1995). The point about women’s ministry is, of course, immediately qualified: ‘Notwithstanding, though God be under no law, and necessarily lawless: yet we be under a law, and ought to prefer the man before the woman, and age before youth, as nigh as we can’ (*An Answer*, p. 18).
78. *Ibid.*, pp. 97–8. See Patrick Collinson, ‘The Beginnings of English Sabbatarianism’, in Collinson, *Godly People*, pp. 429–43; Kenneth L. Parker, *The English Sabbath: A Study of Doctrine and Discipline from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge, 1988) pp. 32–6.
79. Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 182; John Carey, ‘Prose Before Elizabeth’, in Christopher Ricks ed., *English Poetry and Prose 1540–1674* (1986 edition), p. 336.
80. *Doctrinal Treatises by William Tyndale*, p. 507.
81. *The Complete Works of St Thomas More*. VI.i.288; *An Answer*, p. 147 (‘and when he saith “Tyndale was confederate with Luther”, that is not truth’). For their decipherings of the Wittenberg matriculation register, see Preserved Smith, ‘Englishmen at Wittenberg in the Sixteenth Century’, *English Historial Review*, XXXVI (1921), pp. 422–33; and Mozley, *William Tyndale*, pp. 51–3. Although Mozley wrote sixteen years after Smith’s article, it appears that he was ignorant of it.
82. Brooke Foss Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible* (London and Cambridge, 1868), pp. 192–211. In a sense there has been no progress since 1868. Westcott was no less sensitive to Tyndale’s independence of Luther than to the textual derivation from Luther of much of the matter in the prefaces.
83. *Doctrinal Treatises by William Tyndale*, pp. 485, 489, 493, 507.
84. For some recent contributions to a long-running discussion, see Patrick Collinson, *The Puritan Character: Polemics and Polarities in Early Seventeenth-Century English Culture* (William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, Los Angeles, CA, 1989); Peter Lake, ‘Defining Puritanism – Again?’, in Francis J. Bremer ed. *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives on a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Faith* (Boston, MA, 1993).
85. M. M. Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism* (Chicago, 1939), Chapter 1, ‘Tyndale and the Continental Background’; M. M. Knappen, ‘William Tindale – the First English Puritan’, *Church History*, V (1936), pp. 201–15.
86. Leonard J. Trinterud, ‘The Origins of Puritanism’, *Church History*, XX (1951), pp. 37–57.
87. William A. Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants 1520–1535* (New Haven and London, 1964) p. vii.

88. *Ibid.*, pp. 167, 9.
89. Dickens *op. cit.*, p. 97. Still more recently, Clebesch has been endorsed as providing ‘a full and carefully argued analysis of Tyndale’s development through the 1530s towards a theology of contract’ (Gerald Hammond, ‘Law and Love in Deuteronomy’, in *William Tyndale and the Law*, pp. 51–8).
90. David Broughton Knox, *The Doctrine of Faith in the Reign of Henry VIII* (London, 1961), p. 6. Smeeton (*op. cit.*, pp. 123–4) quotes this remark out of context. In fact, Knox provided one of the most sensitive and knowledgeable accounts of Tyndale’s soteriology, and certainly did not conclude from his investigation of the matter that Tyndale had fundamentally subverted the title-deeds of the Reformation.
91. *Doctrinal Treatises by William Tyndale*, p. 470. The Parker society editor, Henry Walter, was mistaken in giving this piece the title of ‘Prologue Upon the Gospel of St Matthew’, an error repeated in the reprinting (for the most part) of Parker Society texts in *The Work of William Tyndale*, Gervase Duffield ed., Courtenay Library of Reformation Classics, I (Appleford, Abingdon, 1964).
92. Clebsch, *op. cit.*, p. 203.
93. C. H. Williams, *William Tyndale* (London, 1969), pp. 133–4.
94. Weir, *op. cit.*, is remorselessly annotated, rendering further references unnecessary.
95. Weir, *op. cit.*, pp. 9–10, 62, 115, 118, 144, 158.
96. Clebsch, *op. cit.*, Chapter 10, ‘Tyndale’s Rediscovery of the Law 1530–1532’, Chapter 11, ‘Tyndale’s Theology of Contract’.
97. *Doctrinal Treatises by William Tyndale*, pp. 469–70.
98. *An Answer*, pp. 198–9.
99. *Doctrinal Treatises by William Tyndale*, pp. 441–4.
100. *The Testament of master Wylliam Tracie esquier expounded both by Wylliam Tindall and Jhō Frith* (Antwerp, 1535), Sig. Avi.
101. Luther, *A commentarie upon the fiftene psalms*, John Foxe’s Epistle.
102. *The whole workes*, Index to Tyndale’s works; T. H. L. Parker ed., *English Reformers*, Library of Christian Classics, XXVI (London, 1966), pp. 253–86.
103. Michael McGiffert, ‘William Tyndale’s Concept of Covenant’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, XXXII (1981), pp. 167–84.
104. Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 187.
105. Trueman, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 93, 107.
106. Somewhat notoriously, in one of the best essays ever written on Tyndale, Gavin Bone wrote: ‘The truth is that Tindale hated literature. Next to a papist he hated a poet’ (*The Work of William Tindale* (S. L. Greenslade ed., London and Glasgow, 1938, p. 67). C. S. Lewis was only one of several commentators to point out that the remark was liable to mislead, ‘poetry’ in this sense (as in Sir Philip Sidney’s) meaning fictions, such as the ballads of Robin Hood or of Bevis of Southampton; but also *Utopia* (Lewis, *op. cit.*, pp. 185–6).
107. Among post-revisionist studies, I single out for mention Alexandra Walsham, ‘Aspects of Providentialism in Early Modern England’ (unpublished Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, 1995); and Ian Green’s forthcoming studies of the catechetical tradition in post-Reformation England, beginning with *The Christian’s ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England c.1530–1740*.

108. Barbara Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton NJ, 1979).
109. Christopher Hill, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution* (London, 1993).
110. Information communicated by Dr Green at a Reformation Studies Coloquium held at the University of Sheffield, April 1990, and in correspondence; an unpublished paper by Dr Green, 'Developpement et declin de la production des Bibles en Angleterre entre 1530 et 1740 environ': all foreshadowing a forthcoming major study, the successor to *The Christian's ABC*.
111. J. R. Green, *A Short History of the English People* (London, 1874) p. 447.
112. Daniell, *op. cit.*, Gerald Hammond, *The Making of the English Bible* (Manchester, 1982).

Tyndale and His Successors

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TProfessor Daniell's biography has started us all thinking afresh about Tyndale. Such English history as I know is limited to the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but I have been very impressed by the presence of ideas deriving from Tyndale in this later period; he seems to have anticipated much subsequent radical protestant thinking.

That Tyndale was a Gloucestershire man is important. Gloucestershire was a county in which Lollardy survived; and it was a clothing county. Contemporaries noted the connection between clothing and heresy. Some historians have attributed this connection to the sedentary nature of cloth-making, giving time for introspection and meditation. I suspect the opposite was the case. Clothiers from the nature of their occupation were extremely mobile – first in collecting wool, then selling the finished products. They had close contacts with London – Gloucestershire clothiers in particular. The Tyndale family had London connections. London brought together people from all parts of the kingdom to exchange goods and ideas. And London was the centre of the English reformation. Many Gloucestershire men established themselves there, some of whom gave Tyndale financial support.

The Vale of Berkeley was an interesting area. First, because there is a long history of Lollard heresy there, and secondly because the traditional feudal power of the hitherto dominant Berkeley family had collapsed, leaving no successors. Power fell naturally into the hands of lesser gentry and yeomanry, already involved in the clothing industry.¹ Wood-pasture areas like Gloucestershire could not sustain large numbers of agricultural labourers. As population increased, industry was the only resort for the growing number of landless peasants. Rollison suggests that 'the individual-centredness of protestantism' met the needs of rural masterless men. 'Possession of a pure conscience became more important than the possession of land'. Tyndale's theology, he insists, was in practice 'meritocratic'. The collapse of the Berkeley family left the area open to a precocious development of capitalism and its ideas. There was to be no Pilgrimage of Grace in Gloucestershire, Rollison remarks. On the contrary: under the Marian persecution the majority of those burnt in Gloucestershire were cloth workers and heretics in the Lollard tradition. The gentry of this area protected Tyndale when the ecclesiastical authorities began to smell his heresies; in London and in exile he was financed by merchants of Gloucestershire origin.

Tyndale was not unique. Simon Fish came from Bristol. Hugh Latimer won fame by his heretical preaching in Bristol. This revolutionary–heretical tradition continued down to the seventeenth-century English Revolution. There were antinomians, Brownists and enclosure riots in Gloucestershire in the 1630s, 1640s and 1650s. There was a Digger colony; later there were Ranters.² The anti-Trinitarians John Bidle and John Knowles were Gloucestershire men. Levellers and Quakers found their greatest support in south-

ern England outside London in Bristol. Economics and politics in a county like Gloucestershire meant that the gentry and yeomen looked to London.

Tyndale thus had deep roots in a county where feudal landlords had almost ceased to exist. In the absence of feudal overlordship village communities dominated by better-off farmers took over – in Tyndale's terms congregations with elders. Tyndale's family were well-to-do farmers, yeomen verging on gentry. He spent time at Oxford and Cambridge, each of which was infected by Lutheranism. When he had to go into exile to translate the Bible he was largely financed and protected by London merchants of Gloucestershire origin, some of them perhaps Lollards.³ Tyndale personifies the new England, county communities linked to the capital by trade, by-passing the traditional feudal rulers and the authority of the international church. Hence the significance of Tyndale's translating '*ekklesia*' as 'congregation', not 'church', and '*presbuteros*' as 'elder', not 'priest'. 'The church' by the sixteenth century meant not the local communities which we meet with in the New Testament, but a great power structure, stretching out over the whole of Christendom, whose personification in England was Cardinal Wolsey. When the separatist John Greenwood in March 1589 told his interrogators that 'the whole commonwealth is not a church'⁴ he was following Tyndale, whether he knew it or not. The logic that Tyndale used against the international papal church could be turned against a state church. Tyndale was the father of congregational independency, whether or not that was his intention.

Tyndale's translation of these words, to which Sir Thomas More so fiercely objected, had social roots as well as being linguistically accurate. He was always concerned not only to reproduce the sense of the original correctly but also to ensure that his translation made sense, including social sense. The congregation was the village community. 'Elders' were those laymen whom Tyndale saw as enjoying recognized authority in the community. They were not 'priests' appointed by some outside authority or lay patron over whom the congregation had no control. 'Charity' had not yet acquired its association with the poor law, but it was not the same as Tyndale's 'love', which should unite the members of the congregation. 'Love' or social solidarity was a more appropriate word for relations between a congregation of equals. Social relations in Tyndale's society more closely corresponded to those of Palestine in the first century AD than they had done in the Middle Ages. Above the congregations was now not a feudal hierarchy but the King and London, symbols of the national unity which became increasingly necessary for a mobile market economy.⁵

When Convocation argued in 1606 that by the words 'Tell it unto the church' (Matthew 18:17) Christ had authorized church courts such as had survived in the Church of England,⁶ they were rejecting Tyndale's view of the church: by then it was held by separatists only. The gloss on this text in Tomson's version of the Geneva Bible (which so largely derives from Tyndale) is relevant: Christ 'had regard to order used in those days [of the primitive church] at what time the elders had the judgment of church matters in their hands'. That suggests Tyndale as the father of presbyterianism too.

Tyndale had a historical theory which blamed most of England's ills on papal politics. The Pope incited the Norman Conquest, sending William Duke of Normandy 'a banner to go and conquer England', promising 'forgiveness of sins to all in the invading army'. Tyndale associates himself fully with the popular legend of the Norman Yoke, which attributed all evils to the Norman Conquest of the free Anglo-Saxons. 'What blood did

that conquest cost England, through which...the Normans became rulers, and all the laws were changed into French! But what careth the holy father for shedding of laymen's blood?"⁷ Tyndale was not original in using the Norman Yoke theory; but his addition of an anti-papal element added to the popularity of the old myth among English radicals – down to Paine, Spence and the Chartists.

Tyndale depicts King John as a patriot who would have brought about 'a good and godly reformation' in England, forbidding appeals to Rome and denying papal authority over kings. The Pope sent 'also unto the King of France remission of his sins to go and conquer King John's realm'. In Richard II's reign the bishops incited an Irish rebellion 'against King Richard as before against King John'. The Pope slew in England 'many a thousand' Lollard heretics, and slew the true King (Richard) and set up a false (Henry IV). The wars of the Roses followed.⁸

So Tyndale linked the fifteenth-century anarchy to papal interference in English politics. 'The bishops sent King Henry V out to conquer France. The cause was, saith the chronicles, that the King was about to take their temporalities from them, and therefore, to occupy his mind and bring the King into another imagination, they monied him and sent him to France'. Some may remember encountering this idea before. Inciting Henry V to invade France lest he agree to Parliament's proposal to confiscate church lands is the starting-point of Shakespeare's *Henry V*.

I am not putting forward Tyndale as a hitherto unrecognized author of Shakespeare's plays. Shakespeare might have read any one of the many historians who had incorporated Tyndale's view of the fifteenth century – starting from numerous works by Bale and from Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*,¹⁰ and including Hall's Union of the *Two Noble Houses of Lancaster and York* (1548), Holinshed's *Chronicle* (1678) and many others who took over Tyndale's protestant interpretation of English history. But ultimately I think Shakespeare's history derives from Tyndale, who first popularized it in print.

In *The Obedience of a Christian Man* Tyndale summed up what he saw as the lessons of English history: 'the King ought to count what he hath spent in the Pope's quarrel since he was king'. Tyndale estimated the sum at £400,000 or £500,000. 'The King ought to make them pay this money every farthing', as well as 'look into the chronicles, what the Popes have done in time past, and make them restore it also' including 'their lands which they have gotten with their false prayers'. Indeed a book for all kings to read.

Scholars disagree as to the relative importance of Lollardy or Luther in the formation of Tyndale's ideas. I think this is a question *mal posée*. Of course Tyndale was influenced by Luther's translation of the Bible into the vernacular, and he frequently quotes Luther's works verbatim. But his theology is not just Luther's: it is Tyndale's own. It makes much better sense to suppose that he was predisposed to agree with Luther by growing up amongst Lollard ideas in his native county and in his own family. These ideas offered solutions to what he saw as the urgent politico-religious problems of his own day. Luther's most important contribution was to demonstrate the power of the newly-invented printing press to give mass circulation to the Bible in the vernacular.

Lollards had their own manuscript copies of Wyclif's translation, transcribed by hand, and therefore rare and expensive, which was read out and discussed in secret groups. The causes of the demand for a vernacular Bible were the same in England as in Germany: it was not invented by Luther or by Tyndale. Luther's example made the old Lollard ideal of mass Bible-reading possible of realization; the printing press opened up the possibili-

ty of preaching to a far wider audience than the few who attended furtive underground meetings of the faithful. Tyndale used the printing press to great effect, broadcasting ideas which Lollards could spread only orally and at great risk to themselves. Foxe thought that the coincidence in time of the invention of printing and the reformation was a divine miracle. To import and circulate Tyndale's illegal publications must have called for a large-scale organization.

Tyndale's support certainly derived in large part from former Lollards, for whom his translations and theological writings, published in small and pocketable editions, far cheaper than the clandestinely circulated manuscript copies of Wyclif's writings, gave a new confidence; and they proved acceptable to far wider circles. The official protestant *Institution of a Christian Man* (1537) and the Elizabethan *Homily on Disobedience and Wilful Rebellion* (1571) drew much from Tyndale's *The Obedience of a Christian Man*.¹² England was ready for Tyndale. Nowhere else in Europe was the Bible in the vernacular prohibited.¹³

Tyndale is frequently remembered only for writing *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (1527–8). Perhaps the most important action of Anne Boleyn's hectic career (apart from producing the future Queen Elizabeth) was giving this book to Henry VIII after she had marked in the margin passages which she thought it especially important for him to read. Her selections emphasized the absolute power of kings, and made Henry think it 'a book for all kings to read'. If the King had been a more careful reader he would have noticed Tyndale's many qualifications to the absolute power of kings, and might have regarded the book less favourably. But Anne knew her man.

Tyndale emphasizes that we must always obey God rather than man. 'No king, lord, master, or what ruler he be, hath absolute power in this world'. 'The authority of kings is but a limited power, which when they transgress they sin against their brethren'. 'The most despised person in his realm is the king's brother, and fellow-member with him, and equal with him in the kingdom of God and of Christ'. 'Though every man's body and goods be under the king, do he right or wrong; yet is the authority of God's word free, and above the king; so that the worst in the realm may tell the king, if he do him wrong, that he doth naught, and otherwise than God commanded him'. "When men say a king's word must stand, that is truth, if his oath or promise be lawful *and expedient*". Who decides what is expedient? In his *The Practice of Prelates* (1530) Tyndale warned kings against priestly hypocrites who put them 'in fear of the rising of your commons against you'. 'If ye fear your commons, so testify ye against yourselves, that ye are tyrants. For if your conscience accused you not of evil doing, what need ye fear your commons? What commons were ever so evil that they rose against their heads for well-doing?'¹⁴

In papal theology 'obey God rather than man' meant obey the Pope and the church rather than secular authority, when they clashed. But Tyndale's object was to *reject* the political power of the church, personified in the Pope and Cardinal Wolsey, the effective ruler of England. Papal political power could be overthrown in England only with and through the power of the king. *The Obedience of a Christian Man* was adapted to the occasion – no doubt with the intention that Henry should read it. So long as Wolsey remained in office there was no hope for any of the reforms which Tyndale wished to see realized. Only the king could overthrow Wolsey, or the king in alliance with Parliament. The clergy asserted that translation of the Bible into the vernacular 'causeth insurrection and teacheth the people to disobey their heads and governors'. They claimed that 'these

heretics would have us down first, and then you [king and lords], to make all common'. Henry had to be convinced, for only with his full support could the Pope be got rid of without social upheaval; and Tyndale thought that "it is better to suffer one tyrant than many".¹⁴

So the elevation of monarchical power in *The Obedience* had a specific and limited objective; for anyone who reads the treatise more carefully than Henry did, royal authority is balanced by repeated reminders that we must obey God rather than man. Worldly powers are to be obeyed only so far as their commands 'repugn not against the commandments of God'. 'Though the rulers which God hath set over us command us against God', we still must not resist, 'remitting the vengeance unto God...until the hour be come'. God hath 'all tyrants in his hand, and letteth them not do whatsoever they would, but as much only as he appointeth them to do, and as far forth as it is necessary for us. If they enforce to persecute us any further', Scripture examples shew us that 'then God destroyed them utterly'.¹⁵ But Tyndale left undetermined the question of who is to decide what God wishes. Anybody? Or only the elect? How do we know who they are?

Above all, Tyndale insisted, kings must exclude the clergy from political rule. Churchmen are subordinate to the King. Their duty concerns the next world, not this. 'No king hath power to grant them such liberty' as the church has assumed, and kings will be 'damned for the giving, as well as they for their false preaching'. All ecclesiastical jurisdiction and liberties should forthwith be abolished and taken over by the secular power. Until that is done 'the Emperor and kings are nothing nowadays but even hangmen unto the Pope and bishops'.¹⁶

I have often wondered whether, if Tyndale had survived until Edward VI's reign, he would have become a bishop. He was the most eminent English protestant theologian. He might have thought it his duty to rally to Edward VI's church, but he would have had to swallow a great many rude words about bishops and liturgies, about tithes and a state church. In the 1590s Francis Johnson, preacher to English merchants at Middelburg, cited Wyclif and Lollards, Tyndale and the martyr John Frith, to demonstrate that bishops were antichristian.¹⁷ As for liturgies, Tyndale thought that prayer was talking to God, which could not be done satisfactorily by repeating words composed by others. Tithes 'were ordained at the beginning to find [finance] preachers and the poor people who now go a-begging'. Tithes should be confiscated, and divided between the poor and a fund for preachers (with no settled parish minister). There would not have been much left of the sixteenth-century Church of England if there were no bishops, no tithes, no liturgy, no church courts, no national organization of the church, no resident parochial clergy. Churches, Tyndale said, were for preaching in, not for singing or processions. Again Tyndale appears as the father of dissent rather than Anglicanism.

For Tyndale, obeying God rather than man meant obeying God's commandments in the Bible rather than the traditions of the church. But here inevitably a subjective element entered in. Who is to interpret the Bible? The Roman church preferred to keep the Bible in a tongue unknown to most subjects and leave its interpretation to the church under the authority of its hierarchy. How right it was! Tyndale's agreeable hope that a ploughman might understand the Scriptures translated into English as well as (or better than) the learned had wide implications. How did the ploughman know he was right? Might he perhaps run the state more efficiently than some prelates? Shakespeare's plebeian rebels in *Henry VI, Part II*, drew this conclusion; so did Hamlet, and King Lear seemed to agree

with them.

Tyndale sometimes has difficulty in distinguishing between the priesthood of all believers and of all men. He said that a kitchen page who washes his master's dishes and an apostle who preaches the word of God are equal in God's sight. 'The love that springeth out of Christ excludeth no man, neither putteth difference between one and another'. This anticipates George Herbert's 'A servant with this clause/ Makes drudgery divine'. For Tyndale all men are God's sons; even though 'they be not under the everlasting testament of God in Christ, as few of us who are called Christians be,...yet are they under the testament of the law natural'. 'If the whole world were thine, yet hath every brother his right in thy goods' when in need.¹⁸

'Christ is a priest for ever; and all we priests through him, and need no more of any such priests on earth to be a mean for us unto God'. So there is no need for a priesthood. 'As good is the prayer of a cobbler as of a cardinal...' Milton's 'the laity, as priests call them', and Oliver Cromwell's 'so Antichristian a term as clergy and laity' – and the 'mechanic preachers' of the seventeenth-century revolution¹⁹ – follow in Tyndale's footsteps. Tyndale criticizes the rich and insists on equality among believers. All the commandments can be reduced to 'love God and love thy neighbour', and in effect that means that they can be reduced to one commandment, for 'We have God dwelling in us...if we love one the other'.²⁰

Tyndale anticipates not so much the religion of the English state church as of Puritans and separatist congregationalists. He was martyred before religious 'sects' existed, but his influence extends to Milton and Bunyan. Like Milton, he had not much use for bishops or tithes or liturgies: he was always rather a doubtful Anglican saint, which is perhaps why his significance has been under-estimated.

The covenant theology is often seen as the hallmark of Puritanism. All the best books and articles on the covenant theology start from Tyndale, who appears to have introduced it to England.²¹ As developed by later Puritans like Perkins, Preston, Ames and Sibbes, the covenant theology looks like an attempt to smuggle works back into predestinarian protestantism. God covenants with the elect to give them eternal salvation in return for faith in Christ's sacrifice on the cross, by which he redeemed those who believe in him. The elect are not saved by their good works; and they cannot be known on earth. The only way one can *know* that he is one of the elect is by a strong but humble inner conviction of union with Christ. A formal, legal and irrevocable act for our justification has been 'passed and enrolled in that court of heaven between Christ and God'. It is a 'conditional covenant' into which men can enter freely. The elect believe because they are saved, justified by Christ's imputed righteousness, 'even then when himself knows nothing thereof'.²² No man can be a member of the church unless he believes himself to be one of the predestined elect. Tyndale's ideas profoundly affected this tradition within English protestantism. The covenant theology was developed fully by Preston, Ames and Sibbes, who coincided in time with a new emphasis on contracts in political theory and with new attitudes towards contract among business men and lawyers. The appeal to the business classes reached caricature form in Jeremiah Burroughs, who said that the covenant is 'God's insurance office', at which we pay no premium. 'You may be sure of his bond written and sealed, and he cannot deny it'. Man is born in debt to God because of Adam's sin: Christ has obtained easier terms for his clients.²³ As the Shorter Catechism of 1647 had it, 'God must punish all sin, either in the sinner or in Christ the surety'.

The protestant emphasis on faith as against works goes with rejection of external aids to salvation, of sacraments as vehicles of grace. There is a direct relationship between each individual and God, with an emphasis on God's promises in the Bible, on mutual covenants between the two parties. So the inner state of mind of the Christian becomes all-important, not his external actions. There are no saints mediating between man and God.²⁴

Tyndale's description of the covenant was accepted by many later theologians. God receiveth men 'to be his sons and maketh a covenant with them, to bear their weakness for Christ's sake, till they be waxen stronger; and how often they fall, yet to forgive them if they will turn again'. 'Though forgiveness of sin be promised unto thee, yet challenge it not by thy merits but by the merits of Christ's blood'. 'When such things being before impossible...now are easy and natural, we feel and are sure that we be altered, and [have become] a new creature, shapen in righteousness after the image of Christ'. The sins of the elect are evidence of weakness, not of evil motive: hence they may remain assured of salvation. 'So long as thou findest any consent in thine heart unto the law of God, that it is righteous and good, and also displeasure that thou canst not fulfil it, despair not; neither doubt but that God's Spirit is in thee, and that thou art chosen for Christ's sake to the inheritance of eternal life'. 'The Spirit of Christ hath written the lively law of love in their hearts; which driveth them to work of their own accord freely and willingly, for the great love's sake only which they see in Christ, and therefore need they no law to compel them'. We are not saved because of our works; our works are the consequence of our salvation. 'The deed is good because of the man, and not the man good because of his deed'. Works without faith are no better than ceremonies.²⁵

'Without a promise there can be no faith', Tyndale declared. 'All the promises throughout the whole scripture do include a covenant: that is, God bindeth himself to fulfil that mercy unto thee only if thou wilt endeavour thyself to keep his law, and consenteth that it is righteous and good, and fain would do it....Let love interpret the law, that thou understand this to be the final end of the law, and the whole cause why the law was given; even to bring thee to the knowledge of God,...that thou mightest love him again with all thine heart, and thy neighbour as thyself, and as Christ loved thee: because thy neighbour is a son of God also...' This is 'a freedom to do good only with lust, and to live well without compulsion of the law'. 'Therefore is this no wild fleshly liberty, that should do nought, but that doth all things and is free from the craving and debt of the law'.²⁶

This is treacherous territory. It is easy to confuse true salvation issuing in good works with a desire for salvation accompanied by good works. 'Beware of thy good intent, good mind, good affection, or zeal, as they call it', Tyndale warned. Good works do not earn salvation: they testify to it. As Perkins famously put it, God accepts the will for the deed from his elect. But Tyndale did not go so far as Preston in telling us to 'oppress the promises', to demand salvation from God. On the other hand, the covenant helped to liberate those who believed themselves to be the elect from the constraints of a traditional status society. If they could demand their rights from God, how much more so from princes? If God could be held to his contract with his elect, why not the King with his subjects? So the High Court of Justice which condemned Charles I to death became for his prosecutor (and for Milton and many others) a 'resemblance and representation of the great day of judgment when the saints shall judge all worldly powers'.

'Natural man', St Paul had said, 'understandeth not the things of God, but the Spirit of God only', without which such understanding is impossible. Tyndale said that 'to steal, rob and murder are no holy works before worldly people; but unto them that have their trust in God they are holy when God commandeth them'. So it is important to be absolutely certain how we know when God has commanded something, and when he has not. How can we know with absolute certainty? 'Faith in thine own works can never quiet thy conscience'.²⁷ Sir Simonds D'Ewes, a cautious man, calculated that he had got assurance from sixty-four signs or marks from several graces; but he admitted to himself that the assurance 'is but conditional'.²⁸ Fasting for one day a week, Tyndale insisted, or at fixed times, is neither here nor there, nor is 'saying of the gospel to the corn in the field in the procession week, that it should the better grow', nor 'a false kind of praying, wherein the tongue and lips labour...but the heart talketh not with God'. The passionate anger as well as the wit present in such remarks is one of Tyndale's most attractive strengths. Things, not words, are what matter: 'as a man rehearseth a tale of another man's mouth, and wotteth not whether it be so or no as he saith, nor hath any experience of the thing itself'.²⁹

The transition from a religion of ceremonies to a religion lodged in the conscience of the individual believer is a transition from a static to a dynamic theology. Ceremonies are fixed by custom and authority; the society in which they are all-important ticks over in a changeless routine. The appeal to the individual conscience opens up wide possibilities of disagreement. We might paraphrase Marx: 'previous theologians had explained the world; Tyndale's point however was to change it'. 'If thou dost not act thou dost nothing', as Gerrard Winstanley was to say.

There was a paradox in protestantism: preaching was the way to produce a new creature, free to cooperate with God; and yet when he found God, he knew that this was God's doing, irrespective of his apparently free decision to acknowledge it. Predestinarian theology produced activist believers, who strove to carry out God's will in whatever calling they found themselves.

We must love our fellow-men, Tyndale tells us, since loving our neighbour is equivalent to loving God. It is no doubt relatively easy to love fellow sons of God but should we love *all* our neighbours? How should we treat the reprobate? At one moment Tyndale tells us that we should pray for their destruction.³⁰ But he also tells us that many reprobates may receive God's grace at a late stage of their careers, to the edification of their fellows.

Tyndale's high line on predestination opened up the risk of antinomianism. Once a man became aware that he was one of the elect through his faith in Christ, he became 'a new creature, shapen in righteousness after the image of Christ and God our Father'. A new creature will 'live a new life after the will of God, and not of the flesh'. 'Now he loveth that which he before hated, and hateth that which before he loved'. Right faith 'maketh us the sons of God'. 'New creature' and 'sons of God' became catch-phrases among radical protestants down to Milton.³¹

Lord Brooke may have been recalling Tyndale in the opening words of his *Discourse Opening the Nature of that Episcopacie which is Exercised in England* (1641): 'I aim not at Words, but at Things'. 'True experience of Christ', the Puritan Thomas Taylor wrote over a century after Tyndale's death, 'is experimental'. It is not acquired 'out of books or relations...but by experience of himself'. 'Honour thy father and thy mother', Tyndale

explained, ‘is not to be understood in bowing the knee and putting off the cap only, but that thou love them with all thine heart’.¹²

Tyndale himself deliberately broke the law by publishing the Bible in English. ‘Right freedom, and liberty from sin and from the law’, he wrote, following Luther, ‘is a freedom to do good only with lust, and to live well without compulsion of the law’...‘The understanding of all commandments stands so greatly in love, that the very commandments of God bind not where love and need require’. Milton shared that spirit when he wrote ‘the practice of the saints interprets the commandments’.¹³ Bunyan’s *Justification by an Imputed Righteousness* (published posthumously in 1692) is a longer treatise on the same theme. ‘Take heed that thy conscience be not entangled by the law’.

Sin...will make a law where God hath made man free
And break through laws by which men bounded be.¹⁴

We can see how easily this doctrine could slip over into antinomianism.

Antinomians hold that the elect cannot sin, are not bound by divine laws.¹⁵ When Tyndale wrote ‘to steal, rob and murder...are holy when God commandeth them’, I presume he was thinking of various patriarchs and others in the Old Testament who committed such sins. But today – how are we to know what God commands us to do? The covenant theology offered no outward test of a man’s sense that he was acting according to God’s will. Yet Tyndale warned that ‘to follow one’s own lusts is not freedom but bondage’.¹⁶

A few quotations may illustrate my point: ‘He that loveth his neighbour in God and Christ fulfils all the commandments’ (*New Testament*, p. 4). ‘All inferior laws are to be kept *as long as* they are servants to faith and love; and *then* to be broken immediately, *if* through any occasion they hurt either the faith which we should have to Godward...or the love which we owe to our neighbours for Christ’s sake’ (my italics). Tyndale puts it strongly in *Obedience*: ‘A Christian man is the temple of God and of the Holy Ghost, and hallowed in Christ’s blood’. He is ‘holy in himself by reason of the Spirit that dwelleth in him’. ‘Let love interpret the law....Thy neighbour is the son of God also and created unto his likeness as thou art, and bought with as dear blood as thou art....Love is the light of the law, to understand it by’. Tyndale never tells us how we should behave towards those who are not sons of God, apart from saying that idolaters should be slain.¹⁷ But apart from them, we cannot be sure who are the elect and who not. The greatest reprobate may receive God’s grace, at any time.

In the free discussion of the revolutionary decades of the seventeenth century those whom we call Ranters raised exactly this question. Laurence Clarkson said that at one time or another God had told him to break all ten commandments except the sixth – ‘thou shalt do no murder’. He wondered innocently whether God might not one day tell him to break that one too. (Tyndale, we recall, had said that ‘to steal, rob and murder are holy when God commandeth them’.) Clarkson added ‘what act soever is done by thee in light and love, is light and lovely, though it be that act called adultery....No matter what scripture, saints or churches say, if that within thee do not condemn thee, thou shalt not be condemned’. Not only Tyndale: Clarkson is almost quoting Luther, who said ‘whatsoever thou shalt observe upon liberty and of love, is godly; but if thou observe anything of necessity, it is ungodly’. ‘If an adultery could be committed in the faith’, Luther added,

'it would no longer be a sin'. Or take Calvin: 'the consciences of believers may rise above the law, and may forget the whole righteousness of the law'. Milton believed that the elect were 'released from the decalogue'. Seventeenth-century Ranters on principle rose above 'the whole righteousness of the law' in respect of adultery. Clarkson taught that 'no man could be freed from sin till he had acted that so-called sin as no sin....Till you can lie with all women as one woman, and not judge it as sin, you can do nothing but sin'.³⁸

I am not suggesting that Tyndale sponsored any such ideas: he went out of his way to reject them. But doctrines which he did preach opened wide doors, through which many passed during the freedom of the 1640s and 1650s. Tyndale might be regarded as the father of antinomianism as well as of congregational independency.

Tyndale early committed himself to saying that the Pope was 'that very Antichrist' – a declaration of war. 'It is impossible to preach Christ', he declared flatly in *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (1528), 'except thou preach against Antichrist'.³⁹ Persecution and failure to preach are the marks of Antichrist. In the *Answer to More* Tyndale devotes many pages to establishing that the Pope is Antichrist: 'As M. More feeleth that the Pope is holy church. I feel that he is Antichrist'.⁴⁰ But Tyndale also makes a point which later protestants developed: Antichrist is not 'a man that should suddenly appear with wonders....Antichrist is a spiritual thing,...one that preacheth false doctrine'. He has existed in many forms.⁴¹

Among other heresies which Tyndale shared is soul-sleeping, the doctrine that the soul has no conscious existence between death and the final resurrection.⁴² He no doubt got the doctrine from Lollards as well as from the early Luther. In defending Luther's soul-sleeping against Sir Thomas More Tyndale said boldly, 'Christ and his disciples taught no other'. The doctrine came as part of a rejection of the Roman doctrine of purgatory, which Tyndale thought destroyed 'the arguments wherewith Christ and Paul prove the resurrection'.⁴³

There is evidence for the doctrine's fairly widespread existence in England. The forty-two Articles of the Church of England condemned soul-sleeping in 1553, though this clause was dropped in the 39 Articles of 1563. There is evidence for soul-sleeping beliefs in Bristol, Kent, Sussex, Lancashire, Cheshire, London and elsewhere.⁴⁴ The heretics Francis Kett and Edward Wightman, burnt respectively in 1589 and 1612, had been soul-sleepers. The heresy spread to New England, where Mrs Hutchinson claimed to have arrived at the idea independently.⁴⁵ The doctrine was attributed to Thomas Hariot; Sir Thomas Browne flirted shame-facedly with it for a time.⁴⁶ Richard Overton's *Man's Mortalitie* appeared in the freedom of 1643, a serious defence of the sleep of the soul. Muggletonians and some Ranters were mortalists, and some Quakers were alleged to be. The greatest of the mortalists were Milton and Hobbes,⁴⁷ polar opposites in so many other respects.

We should not attribute too much to Tyndale in handing on the mortalist heresy. He may only have given theological respectability and the dignity of print to ideas long current in the Lollard underground. But Tyndale clearly attached theological importance to the subject, and his words must have contributed to discussions among radical sectaries.

Tyndale insists that 'the scripture hath but one sense, which is the literal sense....That which the proverb, similitude, riddle or allegory signifieth is ever the literal sense, which thou must seek out diligently'. Understanding scripture is a matter involving textual crit-

icism, not inventing ‘tropological’ and ‘anagogical’ senses.⁴⁸ That is why all men must have access to the Bible in the vernacular. ‘How shall I know whether ye are that Against-Christ, or false prophets, or no, seeing you will not let me see how ye allege the scriptures?’ This opens up the Bible to discussion by laymen of the meaning, the literal sense as against allegories; textual criticism and rational discussion against mysteries and analogies and against the authority of an institutional church.⁴⁹

Tyndale was not unaware of class conflict. His favourites are the godly middling sort rather than the lowest classes. ‘The rich (as James saith) persecute the true believers. The rich will never stand forth openly for the word of God’. ‘Woe be to you rich’, saith Christ’.⁵⁰ ‘Prosperity is a right curse, and a thing that God giveth to his enemies....’ But God ‘will come upon them as a thief in the night ... and destroy them utterly’. This last image of God as a thief was used by the Ranter Abiezer Coppe in 1649.⁵¹

In *The Wicked Mammon* Tyndale lays down the economic obligations of property-owners in a way that Sir Thomas More particularly disliked. He told landlords to protect their tenants; not to rack rents or fines, not to oppress tenants by imposing new customs. They should not enclose to make parks or pastures of whole parishes, ‘for God gave the earth to man to inhabit, and not to sheep and wild deer’ – another Biblical sentiment often echoed later.⁵² William Dell cited Tyndale’s criticism of the universities and their reliance on Aristotle; he also quoted *The Plow-mans Complaint* (probably published by Tyndale) attacking divinity degrees.⁵³ ‘Man’s wisdom is plain idolatry’, wrote Tyndale in the Preface to his *Obedience of a Christian Man*.⁵⁴

Others of Tyndale’s ideas were picked up by seventeenth-century radicals, e.g. abolition of tithes, which Milton thought essential to religious liberty. Tyndale laid himself open to the accusation that he justified expropriating the rich. ‘Christ is Lord over all; and every Christian is heir annexed with Christ, and therefore lord over all; and every one lord of whatsoever another hath. If thy brother or neighbour therefore need, and thou have to help him and yet shewest not mercy but withdrawest thy hands from him, then robbest thou him of his own and art a thief’.⁵⁵ Ranters and Diggers took this up in the 1640s.

Tyndale’s writings remind us of an aspect of pre-Reformation life which we often forget, and that we are encouraged to forget by a recent school of historians who wish to persuade us that everybody loved the pre-Reformation church, and that reformation was forced on an unwilling populace from above. Tyndale reminds us of the fear in which many people lived – ‘fear lest [the saints] should be displeased and angry with us, and plague us or hurt us; as who is no afraid of St Laurence? Who dare deny St Anthony a fleece of wool for fear of his terrible fire, or lest he send the pox among our sheep?’ The church of course got the propitiatory offering to the saint. The lesser clergy were terrorized too: if the priest failed to make all the right gestures in the mass, ‘or make not his crosses aright, now trembleth he! How feareth he! What an horrible sin is committed!’ Tyndale insisted that these fears were used to extort money. The clergy ‘compel...all men to buy redemption and forgiveness of sins. The people’s sins they eat, and thereof wax fat. The more wicked the people are, the more prosperous is their commonwealth’.⁵⁶

Time does not permit to give more than one example of Tyndale’s wit; but there is plenty of it to enliven his writings. The Pope ‘taketh authority also to bind and loose in purgatory. That permit I unto him; for it [purgatory] is a creature of his own making. He also bindeth angels: for we read of popes that have commanded the angels to put divers

out of purgatory. However I am not yet certified whether they obeyed or no'.⁵⁷

I give a few further examples of quotations from or echoes of Tyndale which I have come across.

John (later Bishop) *Bale's King Johan* was not printed until 1838, but it was probably written towards the end of Henry VIII's reign, with later additions. It derives from Tyndale's *Obedience of a Christian Man*.

John Hall's very popular *The Court of Virtue* (1565) also follows *Obedience*. (See pp. 101–102 above.) Hall insists that there must be no revolt against royal authority; but the godly can contemplate with some satisfaction the 'right hard judgment' and 'sore punishment' which will befall kings who rule unrighteously.

Patrick Collinson, speaking of Bishop John Jewel's *Apologia pro Ecclesia Anglicana* (1562), says 'the whole burden of Jewel's defence of the course taken by his church' goes back to Tyndale (*Godly People: Essays on Protestantism and Puritanism*, 1983, p. 160). The title of the anonymous *The unlawful practices of prelates* (1585) echoes Tyndale's *The Practice of Prelates* (1530).

Alexander Leighton, *An Appeal to the Parliament, or Sion's Plea against the Prelacie* (1628), quotes Tyndale's remark that you cannot preach against sin without beginning with bishops.

William Prynne, in *A Breviate of the Prelates Intolerable Usurpations* (1637), quotes the same passage.

Lord Brooke, in his *Discourse Opening the Nature of that Episcopacie which is Exercised in England* (1641) follows Tyndale closely in equating 'presbuteros' with elder. He was as fiercely opposed to bishops as Tyndale, and like him thought the Pope was Antichrist. His opening words were 'I aim not at words but at things' (cf. p. 105 above). He thought that ministers should be elected, and insisted (also with Tyndale) that 'every master of a family may and must read, pray, catechize and the like in his own family, if he have none that can do it better himself.'

William Dowsing the iconoclast possessed a copy of Tyndale's *Obedience*.⁵⁸

Bunyan, in discussing Psalm 51, quotes and criticizes 'Tyndale's translation' (though it is not in fact Tyndale's). Like Tyndale Bunyan heavily emphasizes 'claiming the promises', 'acceptance of grace'. It is difficult to think that Tyndale does not underlie passages like 'It is God that worketh in thee to will and to come to Jesus Christ...Bless God for slaying the enmity of thy mind; had he not done it thou wouldest, as yet, have hated thine own salvation'."

I have referred, semi-seriously, to Tyndale as the father of presbyterianism, congregational independency, and antinomianism. My point is that he represents primitive protestantism, before it had split up into squabbling sects. Tyndale had only one enemy, the

political and ideological power of the Roman church. His lively mind ranged actively over alternative possibilities for God's people. Charles II astutely perpetuated sectarian divisions by granting 'indulgence' only to congregations which accepted a sectarian label and a named minister. Interestingly enough Bunyan and his congregation had great difficulty in deciding whether to call themselves Baptists or Congregationalists. Tyndale would have sympathized with their difficulty, and with their rejection of a state church.

The Bible is a huge palimpsest, incorporating ideas from different individuals, different communities, different historical epochs. During the English Revolution radicals like William Erbery, William Walwyn, Gerrard Winstanley, Laurence Clarkson and Samuel Fisher were to point out that the Bible contained contradictions.⁶⁰ Rome had solved this problem by resort to 'the traditions of the church', of which it was the sole custodian. Protestants had no such cure-all, and this led ultimately to its fragmentation into different sects emphasizing different Biblical ideas and emphases. Tyndale antedates sectarianism, and he combines ideas which his successors were to find incompatible. He reproduces the full riches of the Biblical text by sacrificing strict consistency. For this among other reasons he has not been sufficiently appreciated, either by Anglicans or dissenters – or literary critics. But he more than any single individual made English men and women 'the people of the Book'. Thanks to David Daniell, we can now begin to study seriously his place in history.

Notes

1. K. G. Powell, 'The Social Background to the Reformation in Gloucestershire', *Trans. of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Soc.*, 92 (1973), pp. 115–19; Rollison, *The Local Origins of Modern Society: Gloucestershire* (1992), pp. 86–96.
2. See S. E. Lehmberg, *The Reformation Parliament* (Cambridge U.P., 1970), p. 117, 145; my 'From Lollards to Levellers' in *Rebels and their Causes: Essays in honour of A. L. Morton* (ed. M. Cornforth, 1978), pp. 54–8; M. R. Watts, *The Dissenters from the Reformation to the French Revolution* (Oxford U.P., 1978), pp. 84, 355.
3. Foxe, *Acts and Monuments of the Christian Church* (ed. J. Pratt, n.d.), IV, pp. 617–19; E. G. Rupp, *Studies in the Making of the English Protestant Tradition* (1949), p. 11.
4. *The Writings of John Greenwood, 1587–1590* (ed. L. H. Carlson, 1962), pp. 22–9.
5. Rollison, *op. cit.*, pp. 5–7, 94.
6. *Bishop Overall's Convocation Book* (1689), pp. 130–31; cf. p. 137.
7. *The Practice of Prelates, in Expositions of Scripture and Notes on...The Holy Scriptures...* (ed. Henry Walter, The Parker Society, 1849), pp. 294–5.
8. *The Obedience of a Christian Man, in Doctrinal Treatises and Introductions to Different Portions of the Holy Scripture* (ed. Henry Walter, The Parker Society, 1848), pp. 185–6, 339; *The Practice of Prelates*, p. 295; *An Exposition upon the V, VI, VII Chapters of Matthew*, p. 19.
9. *Practice of Prelates*, pp. 302–3.
10. Margaret Aston, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval*

- Religion* (Hambledon Press, 1984), pp. 278–93.
11. Tyndale, *Old Testament*, p. xxiii; H.C. White, *Social Criticism and Popular Literature of the 16th century* (New York, 1944), pp. 136–7.
 12. Daniell, *William Tyndale: A Biography* (Yale U.P., 1994), p. 94.
 13. *Obedience of a Christian Man*, pp. 202–4, 332–4; italics mine; *Practice of Prelates*, pp. 243–4.
 14. *Obedience*, pp. 165, 247, 178–80.
 15. *Ibid.*, pp. 140–42.
 16. *Ibid.*, p. 242.
 17. In *The Writings of John Greenwood and Henry Barrow, 1591–1593* (ed. L H. Carlson, 1970), pp. 458–66.
 18. *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, in *Doctrinal Treatises*, pp. 99–101; *Obedience*, p. 204. For natural law see also *Obedience*, p. 204.
 19. *Obedience*, pp. 255–8; cf. Milton, *Complete Prose Works*, VI, p. 571; Cromwell, *Writings and Speeches* (ed. W.C. Abbott, Harvard U.P., 1937–47), II, p. 197.
 20. Tyndale, *The New Testament*, p. 4.
 21. See esp. J. G. Moller, ‘The Beginnings of Puritan Covenant Theology’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 14 (1963) and M. McGiffert, ‘William Tyndale’s Conception of Covenant’, *ibid.*, 32 (1981).
 22. See my ‘Covenant Theology and the Concept of “A Public Person”’ in *People and Ideas in 17th-century England*, Chapter 14. The last phrase is from Bunyan’s *Discourse upon the Pharisee and the Publicane* (1685), in *Miscellaneous Works*, X (Oxford U.P., 1988), p. 194.
 23. Burroughs, *The Rare Jewel of Christian Contentment* (1964), pp. 79–80, 201; first published 1648.
 24. Tyndale, *Obedience*, pp. 252–3; cf. *The Wicked Mammon*, p. 93.
 25. Tyndale, *Expositions of Scripture*, pp. 9, 76, 90–91; cf. pp. 87, 96; *An Answer to...More...* (ed. Henry Walter, The Parker Society, 1850), pp. 32–3, 114, 202–5; cf. p. 273; *Wicked Mammon*, p. 49; cf. pp. 54, 79, 86; *Obedience*, pp. 196–202, 297, 332–4, 401.
 26. *Obedience*, p. 276; *Expositions*, p. 403. This heavy emphasis on the promises was repeated by Bunyan: see my *A Turbulent, Seditious and Factious People* (Oxford U.P., 1988), pp. 172–3.
 27. *Doctrinal Treatises*, pp. 88, 407, 509.
 28. D’Ewes, *Autobiography and Correspondence*, I (ed. J. O. Halliwell, 1845), p. 369.
 29. *The Wicked Mammon*, pp. 75, 55–6; *Answer to More*, p. 62; cf. pp. 6–9, 74–6, 88, 114, 273; *Expositions*, p. 80.
 30. Cf. Milton, who was sure that all bishops, ex officio, were condemned to everlasting damnation.
 31. Tyndale, *Expositions*, p. 91; *Doctrinal Treatises*, pp. 53–6, 418, 510, 493–6.
 32. Thomas Taylor, *Works* (1653), p. 411; Tyndale, *Obedience*, p. 168; cf. pp. 170–1, 181–5, 192–3, 206–7, 243, 252–3, 264; cf. *Expositions*, pp. 80–1, 94, 194, 214–18, 221, 325; my *The World Turned Upside Down* (Pelican, 1975), p. 369.
 33. Tyndale, *Doctrinal Treatises*, p. 501; *Expositions*, p. 234; cf. Milton, *Complete Prose* (Yale U.P.), VI, p. 368.
 34. Bunyan, *op. cit.*, in *Miscellaneous Works* (Oxford U.P.), XII, pp. 322–36; *Poems*,

- ibid.*, VI, p. 179.
35. I discuss antinomianism at greater length in Chapter 10 of my *Religion and Politics in 17th-century England* (Brighton, 1986).
 36. *Doctrinal Treatises*, pp. 407; *Obedience*, pp. 182–5.
 37. Tyndale, *Old Testament*, pp. 85, 10–11; cf. p. 190; *New Testament*, p. 358; Milton, *Prose*, VI, p. 191.
 38. Clarkson, *A Single Eye* (1650), pp. 8–12, 16; Luther, *Thirty-Four Sermons* (trans. William Grace, 1747), p. 281; Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion* (trans. H. Beveridge, 1949), II, pp. 135, 683.
 39. *Obedience*, pp. 185–8; pp. 232–52 discuss the Pope as Antichrist.
 40. *Answer to More*, pp. 143–4, 232–52; cf. pp. 102–10, 174; *Expositions*, pp. 181–90, 196–8, 281, 294–9.
 41. *The Wicked Mammon*, pp. 41–3; cf. *Obedience*, pp. 147–8, 224, 264, 283, 286–7, 295–6.
 42. N. T. Burns, *Christian Mortalism from Tyndale to Milton* (Harvard U.P., 1972), pp. 100–101; Tyndale, *Doctrinal Treatises*, p. lxii-iii.
 43. Burns, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 31–2, 100, 106–11; Tyndale, *Answer to More*, pp. 180–81, 188–9.
 44. See my *Milton and the English Revolution* (Penguin, 1979). pp. 318–19; Burns, *op. cit.*, pp. 118–20.
 45. *Milton and the English Revolution*, p. 74; P. F. Gura, *A Glimpse of Sion's Glory*, pp. 90–91, 260–63, 350.
 46. My *The World Turned Upside Down*, p. 174; Burns, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–5, 10, 151.
 47. *Milton and the English Revolution* (1977), Chapter 25; Burns, *op. cit.*, pp. 183–91.
 48. *Obedience*, pp. 303–6, 343.
 49. *Ibid.*, pp. 146–7, 304.
 50. Tyndale, *Expositions*, p. 179.
 51. *Obedience*, pp. 138–42; cf. p. 135. In *Doctrinal Treatises* (p. 122) Tyndale gives a list of sins which seem specifically capitalist offences.
 52. *Obedience*, pp. 201–2, 251.
 53. Dell, *Several Sermons and Discourses* (1709), pp. 591–2, 619–20. First published 1652.
 54. *Obedience*, p. 160.
 55. *Doctrinal Treatises*, p. 97.
 56. *Expositions*, p. 165; *Obedience*, p. 248. cf. K. V. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971), pp. 27, 36.
 57. *Obedience*, p. 269; cf. *Answer to More*, pp. 287–8.
 58. John Morrill, 'William Dowsing, the Bureaucratic Puritan', in *Public Duty and Private Conscience in Seventeenth-century England: Essays presented to G. E. Aylmer* (ed. Morrill, Paul Slack and Daniel Woolf, Oxford U.P., 1993), p. 179.
 59. Bunyan, *The Acceptable Sacrifice* (1689), in *Miscellaneous Works*, XII, p. 27; cf. p. 426; *Come, and Welcome, to Jesus Christ* (1685), *ibid.*, VIII, pp. 391–2.
 60. See my *The English Bible and the Seventeenth Century Revolution* (Allen Lane, 1993), Chapter 8.

The Bristol 1526 Tyndale Testament – its Origin and its History

Morris West

On 13 July 1782 Andrew Gifford, minister of the Baptist Chapel in Eagle Street, London and sub-librarian of the British Museum, made a will in the following terms:

Whereas I have been earnestly requested not to destroy my manuscripts as I thought. I hereby desire that the said Messrs Ryland and Robinson will look over them and preserve those which they shall think proper (and destroy the rest) which I hereby give and bequeath to the Society of Baptists of Bristol together with my books, library, pictures and also my curiosities, natural history and the rest of my museum. I hereby give to the aforesaid Baptist Academy or Museum at Bristol.¹

Andrew Gifford preached his final sermon on 2 June 1784 at the age of eighty-four. He was in very great weakness and before the month was out he had died. He was buried in Bunhill Fields early on the morning of 2 July.

The Bristol Baptist Academy report for 1784 records that the terms of the will had been followed and a vast collection of books and curiosities had arrived in Bristol. The whole collection was valued then at over £1,000 but in the 210 years since it may be said that the actual financial benefit to the Bristol Baptist College must be recorded as well over a thousand times that eighteenth-century valuation.

Gifford's intention in such a generous bequest was to advance educational facilities for Baptist ministers. The Bristol Baptist College dates its foundation as 1679 and is the oldest surviving Free Church college in the world. In 1770 it had been further developed as the Bristol Education Society, the foundation deed of which makes the case for an educated ministry in these words:

The importance of a liberal education more especially to candidates for the Christian Ministry is so exceedingly obvious that one might almost think it impossible any considerate, intelligent person should fail to be convinced of it. Yet, as is well known, there are some very worthy people who from a mistaken view of things not only call in question the importance of such education but even seem to imagine it rather prejudicial than useful.²

The intent of the Society was that churches might be more effectually supplied 'with a succession of able and evangelical ministers'. Gifford had himself in 1780 made a gift of £100 to the College in order that, so the college report says:

There may be erected over the library a new room for a museum which room is 30' x 14' x 18' and is designed to be the repository of the valuable library, pictures and busts of the generous founder of it as well as such other articles as may be added to the collection by the friends and benefactors of the institution.³

It was into this new room that there arrived late in 1784 Gifford's remarkable bequest. It consisted first, of a natural history collection, of mosses, seaweed, fossils and rocks. Secondly, there came the remnant of his coin collection, for Gifford was an expert numismatist. Indeed, an eighteenth-century learned volume of coins in the British Library contains numerous handwritten notes signed A.G., or Andrew Gifford.⁴ The main part of Gifford's coin collection was later purchased by George II. Thirdly, and most importantly, his collection of manuscripts and books, including many Bibles, arrived at Bristol. The manuscripts included four Vulgates, an illuminated Psalter and a fifteenth-century French Book of Hours. The printed works included four Caxtons. Of particular value was a second edition of *The Mirror of the World* with its original leather binding. The most extraordinary of all of the bequests in the collection were the printed Bibles. These included a first edition of a Tyndale 1526 New Testament, Tyndale's 1530 Pentateuch, his 1534 New Testament, Coverdale's Bible of 1535, a first edition of the Great Bible, the Geneva Bible, the Douai version and two Authorized Versions from 1611, one a so-called He Bible and the other a so-called She Bible.

Gifford's skill as a collector of books was remarkable. No doubt his link with the British Museum kept him informed of sales. We have a record of one such sale namely that of

the curiosities and truly valuable library of the late James West Esquire, President of the Royal Society, deceased...sold by auction by Messrs Langford at Mr West's late dwelling house in King Street, Covent Garden on Monday 29th March 1773 and the 23 following days (Sundays excepted) to begin each day precisely at half past eleven.⁵

There were 4,653 lots in the sale by auction and they realised £2,927 1 s. 0 d. A. S. Langley, writing in 1921, records that he has before him a copy of this catalogue, which contains in red ink the price given for each lot. Dr Gifford attended on three different days and made thirteen purchases at the total cost of £7 13 s. 6 d., including £2 4 s. 0 d. for Tyndale's 1534 New Testament and 1 guinea for a 1546 New Testament published by Grafton.⁶ If it be asked how Gifford could afford to indulge his love and skill as a collector the answer is certainly not by his stipend from the Eagle Street Baptist Church, nor, one suspects, from whatever the British Museum paid him. There is strong evidence to suggest that his second wife, aptly named Grace, brought with her into the marriage what was then a considerable fortune of about £6,000.

Interestingly enough, the dispersal of Gifford's benefaction by the college in Bristol began within a few years of his death, when duplicates of books already in the college library were gifted to the Baptist College, Rhode Island. The chief founder of this college was a former Bristol student, Morgan Edwards. It was that original Baptist College at Rhode Island which has now developed into the modern Brown University.⁷

Clearly, the outstanding printed book in Gifford's benefaction was the 1526 Tyndale

published in Worms. It is a complete copy – apart from the title page – and is illuminated throughout. Its present binding is almost certainly eighteenth-century. On the inside front page there is a handwritten comment, probably eighteenth-century, which says: ‘For proof of its being a 1st edition see a note at the end of his Address to the Reader, wherein he writes “This is the fyrist tyme”.’

Tyndale’s actual quotation from the Address to the Reader says:

Of a pure intent, singularly and faithfully I have interpreted it as far forth as God gave me the gift of knowledge and understanding that the rudeness of the work now at the first time offend them not but that they consider that I had no man to counterfeit neither was helped with English of any that had interpreted the same or such like thing in the Scripture before time...

The pre-history of this copy we cannot trace back beyond the first half of the eighteenth century. Of course we may speculate on its survival, but we can only guess.⁴ Experts suggest that the illumination dates from the sixteenth century. If this be so, it may be that the Gifford copy belonged to an English merchant living on the Continent who was sympathetic to Protestantism and who bought it for his own use and arranged for it to be illuminated. It could then have come to England in a later decade of the sixteenth century.

That we are on surer ground by the third decade of the eighteenth century is evidenced from two sources. First in the Bristol Tyndale Bible itself, there is a newspaper cutting from May 1760 attached inside the front cover which reads as follows:

On Tuesday evening at Mr Langford’s sale of Mr Ames’ books a copy of the translation of the New Testament by Tyndale and supposed to be the only one remaining which escaped the flames was sold for 14 guineas and a half. This very book was picked up by one of the late Lord Oxford’s collectors and was esteemed so valuable a purchase by his Lordship that he settled £20 per annum for life upon the person who procured it: his Lordship’s library being afterwards purchased by Mr Osborne of Grays Inn, he marked it at 15s for which price Mr Ames bought it.

A further inscription in the Bristol Tyndale reads thus:

NB This choice book was purchased at Mr Langford’s sale on 13th May 1760 by Mr John White and upon 13th May 1776 I sold it to Dr Gifford for 20 guineas which was the price paid for it by the Lord Oxford.

Signed Jn. White.

The second source is a letter from Mr Ames to Mr George Ballard dated Wapping, 30 June 1743. Mr Ames writes:

I cannot forbear telling you of my good success in buying at Lord Oxford’s sale a Phoenix of the whole library I mean the first English Testament that ever was printed in the year 1526. It has been thought that no perfect one was left from the flames. My Lord was so pleased in being in possession of it that he gave the

person (Mr John Murrey) he had it of 10 guineas and settled an annuity of £20 a year for life.'

Incidentally, it is said of Joseph Ames that he had a propensity for tearing out the title pages of his books, and this could account for the missing title page of Gifford's Tyndale.¹⁰ It is possible that he wrote the inside cover note which points to the Address to the Reader as evidence for it being a first edition – having first removed the title page.

Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford was of course a highly significant collector of books and manuscripts and added to his father's (Robert, 1st Earl of Oxford) collection of books – the Harleian Collection. The 1st Earl of Oxford was known to spend large sums on the binding of his books. His son Edward was known to be generous to a fault. This may be seen perhaps in the rewarding of Mr Murrey so generously for the purchase of the book. It is possible, also, that the Tyndale was therefore rebound whilst in the possession of the Oxfords.

When the 2nd Earl of Oxford died in 1741, his books were sold by auction in March 1742 and presumably were bought by Thomas Osborne. While Ames claims he bought it at Lord Oxford's sale, our other source suggests that in fact he bought it from Osborne. The explanation presumably is that it was Osborne who sold Oxford's collection of books anyway.

Thus a known chronology for the Bristol Tyndale is:

?1730s: Murrey buys the Tyndale from an unknown vendor on behalf of Lord Oxford

March 1742: Osborne purchases it from the Oxford sale

1743: Ames purchases it for 15s.

13 May 1760: John White purchases it at the sale of Ames's books for £15 4 s. 6 d.

13 May 1776: White sells it for 20 guineas to Gifford

Autumn 1784: the Tyndale comes with the Gifford bequest to Bristol Baptist College

21 April 1994: a sale is agreed between the Bristol Baptist College and the British Library

In the judgement of the Bristol College Committee, such a sale to the British Library was entirely within the intent and wishes of Andrew Gifford. He was an honoured and willing servant of the British Museum. What is more, the sale enhances still further the work of educating men and women for the Christian ministry which was so dear to Gifford's heart. Finally, its presence in the British Library will enable the beauty and tradition of the Tyndale 1526 Testament with its illumination to be shared openly in perpetuity. Truly it may be said of Tyndale, as he himself translates in Hebrews 11: 'He being dead, yet speaketh.'

Notes

1. L. G. Champion, *Farthing Rushlight* (Carey Kingsgate Press, 1961), p. 89.
2. Printed first in *Annual Account of the Bristol Education Society for 1770* (W. Brine, Wine Street, Bristol). Reprinted in N. S. Moon, *Education for Ministry: Bristol Baptist College 1679–1979* (Bristol Baptist College, 1979), Appendix A, p. 129.
3. *An account of the Bristol Education Society for 1780* (Bristol, 1781), p. 5.
4. Martin Folkes, *A Table of English Silver Coins from the Norman Conquest to the Present Time* (printed for the Society of Antiquaries, 1745) is the book in question. See L. G. Champion, op. cit., p. 92, n. 10, for fuller details. Champion also gives fuller details of Gifford's various interests on p. 85ff.
5. A. S. Langley, 'Andrew Gifford's Gifts to Bristol', *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society*, VII (1921), pp. 240–43.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 241.
7. There is some evidence to suggest that at one time Gifford had intended to leave the whole of his library to Rhode Island College – at least so Morgan Edwards thought. See Hywel Davies, 'The American Revolution and the Baptist Atlantic', *Baptist Quarterly*, 36, No. 3 (July 1995), pp. 132–49, esp. 140–41.
8. An oral tradition associated with the Bristol Tyndale suggests that it once belonged to Anne Boleyn, who was thought to have some sympathy with Protestantism, and that she arranged for its illumination. The present writer is unaware of any firm evidence for this tradition.
9. Letter quoted in Henry Cotton, *A List of Editions of the Bible and parts thereof* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1821), p. 1.
10. *DNB*, Joseph Ames (1689–1759).

The Temporal and Spiritual Kingdoms: Tyndale's Doctrine and its Practice

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Scholarship on Tyndale's political thought has pursued two commonplaces: Tyndale follows Luther in erecting a separation between the temporal and spiritual kingdoms,¹ and Tyndale's thought encouraged the royal supremacy, caesaro-papism, erastianism.² These two views, however, seem to conflict. How could a distinction of temporal and spiritual government motivate the state to subsume the Church? How does a theoretical separation of Church and state entail their practical union? Tyndale's texts open this and other gaps; establish separations and then cross them, in many ways; deconstruct oppositions upon which they are predicated, yet those moves do not disable the text but rather generate its authority and its historical impact.

What do we do when Tyndale's writings as transmitted, explained or glossed by his commentators pose such a paradox and halt us with such an aporia? We might try doing what Tyndale recommends in his *Exposition of Matthew* when a gap opens between situation and doctrine: 'I answer: Behold the text diligently.' *Diligence* – the word is a rich one. It comes from *diligere*, and so calls us to read with rigour and love, interpreting in charity (as Augustine urged); and etymologically it calls up a method of reading as *dis-legere* (*dis* = away from; *legere* = to collect, gather, pick; wander through, follow, trace the footsteps; look at, read). The word *diligence* is etymologically cognate with *deconstruction* (*de* = from; *construere* = to heap together, to construct, to arrange; *constructio* = putting together, proper connection of words). But this construing will be a diligent reading, in the spirit of the later Derrida, who finds that gaps in textual logic open spaces where history enters a text and where texts enter and influence history: 'My own conviction is that we must maintain two contradictory affirmations at the same time. On the one hand, we affirm the existence of ruptures in history, and on the other we affirm that these ruptures produce gaps or faults in which the most hidden and forgotten archives can emerge and constantly recur and work through history.'³

I believe this evocation of di(s)lignant reading follows in the footsteps of and traces the spirit of Tyndale's reading, which also seeks to open a text for a brightness which erupts and may blind. His Prologue to the *Exposition of Matthew V, VI and VII* opens with a series of analogies and metaphors for Christ's reading and commentary on the scripture, as exemplified in his Sermon on the Mount. Christ's exegetical method was to dig again the stopped-up wells, to open the locked gate, to restore the key, to pluck away the veil, to weed and clear the path. These he does by restoring a right understanding of the law, and the law is a key which opens (PS II, 3). The law makes an incongruity in our lives, a gap through which grace shines (PS II, 4). Thus Christ 'plucketh away from the face of Moses the veil which the scribes and Pharisees had spread thereon' so that we again can 'perceive the brightness of his countenance'. Good reading is to find an opening, a gap.

Bad reading, false glosses, clog and fill and tangle and obfuscate and lock so that the power cannot shine through.'

So, to behold the text diligently, we can read for the gap, absence or incongruity through which we may glimpse the power behind Tyndale's writing. We may wander in the direction of the arrangement, look at the order of the examples and trace the foot-steps, look for who is absent but implied, follow the one who is present by absence.

Tyndale's clearest delineation of the roles of temporal and spiritual government comes in his exposition of the Sermon on the Mount. Thompson says it is the 'largely unknown' yet 'important' explication of his ideas on the two regiments.'

In the Prologue Tyndale sets up a problem, that the clergy 'have so ruffled and tangled the temporal and spiritual regiment together, and made thereof such confusion, that no man can know the one from the other' (PS I, 6). When in the body of the exposition Tyndale turns to an elaboration of the doctrine of the two regiments, he does so in response to a particular question raised by the Sermon on the Mount's admonition that Christians not withstand wrong but turn the other cheek. The distinction of the two regiments arose as a solution to a problem: whether Christians may participate in secular rule, since secular rule employs force and violence, whereas Christians are admonished neither to inflict violence nor to resist evil.

Tyndale explains, 'Ye must understand that there be two states or degrees in this world: the kingdom of heaven, which is the regiment of the gospel; and the kingdom of this world, which is the temporal regiment. In the first state there is' no hierarchy, but equality of persons before Christ. 'Neither is there any other thing to do, or other law, save to love one another as Christ loved us.' On the other hand, 'In the temporal regiment' hierarchy is the rule (PS II, 60).

In the spiritual regiment, each person is an individual, free to deny him or herself so as to serve or to suffer, and free to love others. In the temporal regiment, each is 'a person in respect of other,' and is defined by a relation and an office, such as 'husband, father, mother, master, mistress, lord, ruler,...servant, subject, &c' (PS II, 60–61).

As to the question of resisting or using violence, says Tyndale, 'I say nay, in the first state, where thou art a person for thyself alone...There thou must love...yea, and suffer all things (as Christ did) to make peace...But in the worldly state, where thou art no private man, but a person in respect of other, thou not only mayest, but also must, and art bound under pain of damnation to execute thine office,' and so to punish or even slay evildoers (PS II, 61).

In *The Practice of Prelates* Tyndale summarizes what this means: 'Thus ye may see, that Christ's kingdom is altogether spiritual; and the bearing of rule in it is clean contrary unto the bearing of rule temporally. Wherefore none that beareth rule in it may have any temporal jurisdiction, or minister any temporal office that requireth violence to compel withal' (PS II, 249).

Thus far Tyndale's doctrine is wholly Lutheran. Luther's insistent separation of spiritual and temporal functions, as has been noted before (most fully in Thompson), is implicit in all the cases and instances Tyndale discusses. All but one, that is. The separation of Christian and worldly tasks covers all cases but Tyndale's own, or Luther's own. Here the absence opens. For each of them the main political issue was the separation of secular and spiritual authority. Each condemned popes and bishops for asserting temporal jurisdiction, and Luther moreover castigated princes for attempting to hold sway over

souls. Yet Luther's teachings on Church and state led some, notably the peasants, to radicalism and rebellion; some claimed direct authority from God and Scripture to reform or overthrow secular authority. And Tyndale's teachings encouraged Henry VIII not only to restrict the temporal power and holdings of the Church, but also to subsume them. Most interesting, because most immediately paradoxical, is Tyndale's or Luther's own situations: speaking out to challenge and admonish both bishop and prince. What authorizes them to cross the divide?

Luther acknowledges the anomaly of his situation, so he addresses it with irony. Opening his appeal to the nobles, he confesses, 'I know that I shall not escape the criticism that I presume too much, in that I, an unimportant and inferior person, dare to address such a high and responsible class of society on very special and important subjects.' Moreover, he is ironically aware of exemplifying what he condemns, as he fulfils the proverbial role of a monk dabbling in worldly affairs. His whole rhetorical endeavour is, he says, an 'act of folly', and so he comes to play the 'Court fool'.⁴ In the later tract on 'Secular Authority,' however, where he is most explicit about religious and political distinctions, he offers no explanation of his own practice; rather he drops the former persona, instead regards the rulers as the fools, and often calls them such. Luther's embarrassment, irony and silence emphasize the absence.

No less embarrassing should be Tyndale's self-appointment as spiritual-political advisor to the realm. What outrages Tyndale throughout *The Practice of Prelates* is not only the use of coercive force by spiritual men in temporal or ecclesiastical offices, but the subtle and sometimes even gentle means by which they achieve such power, and the fact that they make themselves counsellors and advisors to princes:

And to see how our holy father came up, mark the ensample of an ivy tree: first it springeth out of the earth, and then awhile creepeth along by the ground till it find a great tree. Then it joineth itself beneath alow unto the body of the tree, and creepeth up a little and a little, fair and softly....Even so the bishop of Rome, now called pope, at the beginning crope along upon the earth; and every man trod upon him in this world. But as soon as there came a christian emperor, he joined himself unto his feet and kissed them, and crope up a little with begging now this privilege, now that....And thus, with flattering and feigning, and vain superstition, under the name of St Peter, he crept up and fastened his roots in the heart of the emperor, and with his sword clamb up above all his fellow-bishops, and brought them under his feet. (PS II, 270-1)

This is also the model followed by Wolsey, or Wolfsee, whom Tyndale notes not only for his worldliness and policy, but also for his eloquence – and dissembling: 'utterly appointed to semble and dissemble, to have one thing in the heart and another in the mouth, being thereto as eloquent as subtle, and able to persuade what he lusted to them that were unexpert;...this wily wolf, I say,...shewed himself pleasant and calm at the first...,came unto the king's grace, and waited upon him, and was no man so obsequious and serviceable' (PS II, 307).

When it is so condemnable for the spirituality to climb into positions of political counsel through their religious motives and authority and rhetorical gifts, what enables Tyndale to advise and admonish king and commonwealth? The most significant absence

from Luther's account and from the usual scholarly ones is Tyndale's own case, his own rhetorical practice. Here Tyndale occupies another position than that of the workaday christian living in both the temporal and spiritual realms. In the *spiritual* realm he is functioning *not* as an individual, but as the holder of an *office* which he feels compelled to execute. As teacher he advises the ruler as well as obeys him. That requires a certain authority. Did Tyndale indeed seek to exercise a rhetorical authority over temporal laws? If so, how did he assume this authority?

Immediately prior to his discussion of the two regiments doctrine, Tyndale is engaged in his characteristic yet to us aporetic practice of spiritual-temporal admonition: 'The office of the preacher is to preach the ten commandments, which are the law natural; and to promise them which submit themselves to keep them...everlasting life...; and to threaten the disobedient with everlasting pain in hell.' Yet it is positive and temporal as well as natural or Gospel law about which he preaches and warns: 'Let the temporal sword take heed to their charge therefore', for there are 'temporal blessings...if we keep our temporal laws' and 'curses...if we break our temporal laws' (PS II, 52–53). 'And let the spirituality take heed' as well, he warns (PS II, 54). But, in the meantime, 'Verily, the rulers ought to make a law'; 'Let, I say, the governors take heed how they let sin be unpunished'; 'And the temporality ought to make laws to bridle the unruly party' (PS II, 54–5). He is exercising an authority, not a coercive, but a rhetorical and spiritual authority, which calls for legislation and provokes execution of the laws. How he may do so is implied by the structure of the argument, which rises to its conclusion and then, rather than concludes, opens into a new practice.

Tyndale builds towards a severe doctrine of non-resistance and of the monarch's supreme authority, then shortly afterwards abrogates that doctrine with a justification for his particular practice, as he places the supreme temporal authority under the spiritual authority of any preacher who can obtain the king's ear. Turning to the question of whether individual Christians may exercise the sword, Tyndale justifies temporal rule, including punishment, by those who hold any temporal office. As his examples accrue, his direction, priorities and an unremarked hierarchy become clear. He discusses those in private houses given authority by the father to discipline members of the household; those in domestic society given authority by masters or magistrates; soldiers at war authorized and commanded to fight by the prince. In all these cases, the Christian is to act out of love, but in accordance with the authority and direction, to restrain wrong or even to slay (PS II, 62–4).⁷ Then he turns to the right which the prince and others have over our worldly goods,⁸ and, penultimately, the obligation to suffer injustice rather than assume temporal authority on one's own: if, rather than bestow authority, rulers inflict injustice; if 'the law is unjustly ministered, and the governors and judges corrupt,' then, Tyndale admonishes his readers, 'there be patient, and ready to suffer ever as much more, whatsoever unright be done thee, rather than of impatience thou shouldest avenge thyself on thy neighbour, or rail, or make insurrection against the superiors which God hath set over thee. For to rise against them is to rebel against God' (PS II, 64). Vengeance must be left to higher officers, and the putting down of rulers must be left only to God. Authority does not reside in the people; 'The authority of the king is [derives from, is bestowed by] the authority of God' (PS II, 65). Tyndale reminds us, 'if thou mark well the difference of these two states and regiments, thou mayest soil all like doubts that shall be laid against thee' (PS II, 67).

This apparent conclusion gives way to additional, final cases, where he discusses authorities which the development of the argument suggests are higher than the temporal hierarchy. Here, immediately upon reiterating the difference between temporal and spiritual, Tyndale re-opens the connections. The difference is a conceptual separation rather than a practical one. In practice each individual functions in both worlds; each is subject to both kinds of authority, 'is under both the regiments, and is both a spiritual person and also a temporal, and under the officers of both the regiments' (PS II, 67). It is 'damnable' for the spiritual officer to 'withdraw himself from under the king's correction, if he teach false, or sin against any temporal law' (PS II, 67). Note how the king's jurisdiction extends over the spirituality 'if he sin against his neighbour, or teach false doctrine' (PS II, 67). Tyndale gives the king jurisdiction over doctrine – part of the *potes-tas jurisdictionis*. Most notably, not only is a poor beggar subject to everyone, but also even 'the king is as deep under the spiritual officer, to hear out of God's word what he ought to believe, and how to live, and *how to rule*' (PS II, 67; emphasis mine). This is a remarkable claim. Thompson has pointed out how the two regiments provide for Christians to use temporal force in their offices. We now can describe how the two regiments provide for preachers to prescribe to political rulers. The two regiments doctrine does not separate the spheres in practice, but only in concept. It empowers individuals to exercise violence when it is proper to their office, and it empowers preachers to direct how kingdoms should be ruled. It also grants licence to rebuke, to 'spare no degree, but tell all men, high and low, their faults' (PS II, 68). Of course, the doctrine does not guarantee that magistrates will like such rebuke. Through this opening for the prophetic authority of the preacher shines an authority which blinds but also angers rulers: Christ's preachers 'shine in the weak and feeble eyes of the world...[so] accustomed to darkness, that without great pain they can behold no light....Now such schoolmasters shall find small favour and friendship with the rulers of this world, or defence in their laws' (PS II, 67–8). These preachers should come prepared to suffer violence, but never 'in that state, come with a sword' (PS II, 68).

With the two authorities Tyndale subjugates the conservative clergy who claimed autonomy and exemption from civil law, and he also subjugates the magistrate – not to those clergy, for their failure to submit marks them as already outside the kingdom of the Gospel (PS II, 60), but rather he subjugates the rulers to himself and to the Protestant preachers who follow his and Luther's teachings on justification and on the two regiments. For individual Christians seeking to reconcile religious and social practice, this doctrine makes good sense; for the preacher it makes for political authority. In a practical and political sense, submission to the Gospel enlarges the Lutheran freedom of a Christian into rhetorical licence; as Tyndale had urged earlier, obedience grants authority. The Christian preacher is entitled to speak out and to direct even princes.

The authority Tyndale exercises is consistent with his view of the regiments; it emerges not from a contradiction but from a gap, an unarticulated breach in what we now call the wall between Church and state. The authority is not coercive; it is of the same nature as Tyndale's creation of it is, namely, rhetorical.

It appears that Tyndale has returned the spirituality to the position it held under the papalist apologists of the investiture controversy. They held that spiritual ends are superior to temporal ends, and therefore the pope should be held superior in political authority to secular rulers. The papalists acknowledged a distinction in powers, but one which

worked to the advantage and greater authority of the papacy. They distinguished two aspects of power: control (*auctoritas, imperium, directio*) and execution (*executio*). The pope held the authority and control, the direction of affairs, and the secular ruler carried out the execution of affairs.⁹ So in Tyndale's treatment of the two powers, it appears that the spiritual advisor directs the monarch in how to rule. But Tyndale's treatment differs in important respects. He indeed re-enlarges spiritual authority, but he emphasizes strongly the corresponding subjection of the Church under the monarch with respect to all temporal laws and temporal goods. More significant is a subtler shift by which Tyndale presents implicitly an alternative not only to the papalist arguments but also to the arguments of the precursors of secular supremacy and caesaro-papism: John of Paris, Dante, Marsilio of Padua. All these precursors focus on the allocation of authority and power to institutions. Tyndale, like Luther, addresses the question on an individual level: in doctrine, to what extent are individuals under the regiments of Church and state, and to what extent can an individual Christian be justified in exercising temporal power, and, in practice, to what extent may an individual assume spiritual authority to prescribe to princes? The authority which Tyndale himself assumes, prescribing laws and directing rulers as well as subjects, he derived not from any institution – we have no record of his being ordained to any office higher than subdeacon. He leaves open the inference that any individual may assume the role of preacher, and he thereby leaves open to each of them, as occasion calls, authority to tell kings 'how to rule'.

This series of oppositions – spiritual and temporal government, rhetoric and violence, individual and institution – elaborates the distinction of spirit and body, which Tyndale, like Luther, expresses through the primary distinction, law and Gospel. This opposition, in turn, Tyndale regularly treats in terms of a simpler analogy: of inner and outer, the outward and apparent as opposed to what is deeply within, in 'the ground and low bottom of the heart'.¹⁰ In all these cases, the separation (to the extent that there is one) rests on the soteriological distinction between acts of faith and acts without faith, i.e., one way of distinguishing faith and works. Tyndale, however, like Luther, always stresses that faith and true works are not separate. Tyndale's earliest text reminds us,

Moreover, the law and the gospel may never be separate....For all that I do (be I never so perfect) is yet damnable sin, when it is compared to the law, which requireth the ground and bottom of mine heart. I must therefore have always the law in my sight, that I may be meek in the spirit, and give God all the laud and praise, ascribing to him all righteousness, and to myself all unrighteousness and sin. I must also have the promises before mine eyes, that I despair not...(*Pathway, PS I, 11–12*)

The distinction of faith and works is not a separation; it is resolved in a movement – the opposition of inner and outer is in fact a movement from inner to outer; the state of the inner determines the outer. Therefore, if the heart is right, the deeds are holy. The heart cannot make itself right, but is made so by faith, and faith comes by hearing the word preached. (Remembering that 'such a new heart and lusty courage unto the law-ward, canst thou never come by of the [sic] thine own strength and enforcement, but by the operation and working of the spirit'.¹¹) 'Now is the spirit none otherwise given, than by faith only,...And as the spirit cometh by faith only, even so faith cometh by hearing the

word or glad tidings of God.'¹²

Before hearers are transformed by such preaching, even God seems a tyrant to them (*Pathway*, PS I, 18; *Mammon*, PS I, 83). But ‘when the evangelion is preached, the Spirit of God entereth into them which God hath ordained and appointed unto eternal life; and openeth their inward eyes, and worketh such belief in them’ (*Pathway*, PS I, 19). The inner state is transformed through an irruption of spirit.

If the inner state can be transformed and if thereby outer works can be redeemed, then by extension the outer state, the temporal realm, might be redeemed, if its ‘heart’ could be infused with spirit via preaching. If the inside, the heart or core, of temporal government could only be sanctified, then the outer realm, the temporal realm itself, could become a kingdom of God. Throughout *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, Tyndale addresses the word of God to the king, the heart of temporal government. ‘Oh that our kings were so nurtured nowadays’ says his Preface, that like David of Israel God would harry the king to transform the inner man, ‘to meek him, to kill his lusts; to make him feel other men’s diseases; to make him merciful; to make him understand that he was made king to minister and to serve his brethren, and that he should not think that his subjects were made to minister unto his lusts, and that it were lawful for him to take away from them life and goods at his pleasure’ (PS I, 136). And at some point, perhaps soon, Tyndale assures his readers, God will indeed transform the tyrants: ‘And though it seem never so unlikely, or never so impossible unto natural reason, yet believe steadfastly that he will do it: and then shall he (according to his old use) change the course of the world, even in the twinkling of an eye, and come suddenly upon our giants,’ that is, tyrants (PS I, 142).

Tyndale’s distinction of temporal and spiritual authority reveals a breach: the doctrine separates them; his practice bridges them, while the most basic elements of his doctrine prepare for and justify that bridge from doctrine to practice; and it is that breach in the separation which enables him to exercise a certain authority even over the king.

Of course, anyone can speak out, if they are prepared to suffer repression. As Hotspur tells Glendower, who can call spirits from the vasty deep, ‘Why, so can I, or so can any man; But will they come when you do call for them?’ (Henry IV 3.i.52–4) Elizabeth Barton, the Nun of Kent, spoke out before Henry VIII as well, but she suffered death, and her words, though they likely gave Henry and his counsellors pause, finally went unheeded and were dismissed as a conspiracy of her confessor. Tyndale exercised the authority to direct, but did king or parliament hear or respond to his instruction?

A diligent reading of Tyndale’s text and of the authority he assumes cannot, then, stop with the works themselves, but must ‘read-away’ (dis-legere), must persist into the traces of his text left in the authoritative texts of his time. I propose we follow a path leading toward Acts of Parliament.

An intermediate text between Tyndale and Acts of Parliament is Simon Fish’s *Supplication for the Beggars*. Fish, who ‘fled over the sea to Tyndale’¹³ and then smuggled Tyndale’s New Testaments into England, followed Tyndale closely when he wrote the *Supplication*. The famous and outrageous list of charges in his opening paragraph is a digest of several pages from Tyndale’s *Obedience* (near the beginning of the section on Antichrist).¹⁴ In addition, Fish follows Tyndale in his claims:

- that the spirituality have devised a separate counter-kingdom encroaching on

the monarchy (*Obedience*, PS I, 147, 191; *Supplication*, 3);

– that the clergy have robbed realms not only of God's word but of wealth, peace and obedience to rulers (*Obedience*, PS I, 191; *Supplication*, 6 and *passim*);

– that they have beggared the realm and made the laymen 'viler than dogs' (*Obedience*, PS I, 191; *Supplication*, 3);

– that they hale off to Church courts, to Arches, and to prison any who resist their fees, and they accuse them of heresy (*Obedience*, PS I, 234–5, 250; *Supplication*, 4, 9, 10, 11);

– that the clergy seek honour, riches, authority, and to obey no one (*Obedience*, PS I, 147; *Supplication*, *passim*);

– that the clergy have sapped authority from kings and emperors, have displaced them, and rule in their stead, robbing them of land, authority, honour and due obedience (*Obedience*, PS I, 213, 247; *Supplication*, 6–7, 9–10);

– that they carry on this diversion of wealth under the colour of freeing souls from purgatory (*Obedience*, PS I, 243–4; *Supplication*, 10);

– that even Christ submitted to the temporal sword and paid tribute to Caesar (*Obedience*, PS I, 188–9; *Supplication*, 10–11);

– that the cause that the people may not have the Old and New Testaments in the mother tongue is fear that clerical hypocrisy will become apparent (*Obedience*, PS I, 144–5, 215; *Supplication*, 11).¹⁵

And both seek not only to restore obedience and authority to kings, but to declare England free of allegiance to any foreign power.¹⁶

Professors Elton and Scarisbrick observe that it was in the summer of 1530 when Henry VIII began voicing his own claims to imperial status and England's claims to national autonomy; up until then, Elton notes, Henry was at a loss, 'at wit's end', suffering a 'bankruptcy of ideas' how to proceed in his own case with Rome.¹⁷

It was also in 1530 that Cromwell wrote to Wolsey that he had been reading Tyndale, and Fish's *Supplication*.¹⁸ Cromwell may have been reading Fish late in 1529, if it is true that the *Supplication* was scattered in the streets as Parliament opened on 3 November.¹⁹ (And Cardinal Campeggio suggests the books were circulating at court in April of 1529.)²⁰ It was during this parliament that Cromwell, in drafting the first version of what would become the *Supplication of the Commons against the Ordinaries*, wrote, and then struck out, what would have been the first official reference to Henry's imperial status: 'this your most excellent realm ~~and empyre~~'.²¹

The *Supplication of the Commons* includes verbal echoes of Tyndale and Fish in its references to clergy as 'ravenous wolves,'²² and it attacks church courts and canons at length, but Elton argues that what caught Cromwell's attention and what he foregrounded in his drafts to ensure the king's attention, was the clergy's encroachment on the royal regiment, expressed as the popular grievance that the ordinaries make laws without the king's assent, which affect not only lay subjects, but 'extend in certain cases to your excellent person, your liberty and prerogative royal, and to the interdiction of your lands and possession'. This attention-getter was followed by a second complaint that subjects too were vexed and troubled to peril of their lives, shames, costs, and expenses.²³ Cromwell covered his tracks with references to the nation's orthodoxy and abhorrence of

spreading heresy,²⁴ but the most inflammatory political material comes from Tyndale and Fish.

Over the next three years the *Collectanea Satis Copiosa* assembled evidences to support these first intimations of imperial authority, then, after the Supplication of the Commons, passing through Parliament in 1532, inaugurated an official reformation, it was followed in 1533 by the parliamentary statute which finally severed all legal ties between England and Rome, and which opened its preamble with the claim that would guide England for four centuries: 'this realm of England is an empire.'²⁵

When Cromwell and parliament turned anti-papal sentiment into law, they followed Tyndale's strategy. The year of Tyndale's execution, parliament passed 'An Act Extinguishing the Authority of the Bishop of Rome'. The preamble states that 'the pretended power and usurped authority of the bishop of Rome' rests on the fact that he 'did obfuscate and wrest God's holy word and testament' so as to exclude Christ from the rule of souls and to exclude kings and princes from their dominion over bodies and goods.²⁶ Tyndale's strategy to undermine the Church's political strength and to exalt the king in temporal rule became law within his lifetime.

In crossing the breach of temporal and spiritual regiments, did Tyndale exert an authoritative influence in temporal politics? He not only helped motivate the Reformation parliament; in a very circumscribed sense, it could be said that he launched the English empire.

Notes

1. Joan Lockwood O'Donovan, *Theology of Law and Authority in the English Reformation* (Scholars Press, Atlanta, GA, 1991), finds an 'unflinching Lutheran dualism' in Tyndale's treatment of the two authorities: 'The office of priest or elder is simply and exhaustively to preach the law and the gospel of god. The office is "spiritual" and not "carnal," entailing no coercive jurisdiction or mediatorial power.' And 'the civil magistrate possesses the authority of the sword, the monopoly of coercive judgment', p. 63. Although she elsewhere notes the 'continuity' of natural and revealed, and of divine and human law for Tyndale, p. 60, she entertains no possibility that the separate spheres of spiritual and temporal authority may be breached. Yet she too calls Tyndale's position Erastian, p. 67.

Bruce Boehrer, 'Tyndale's Practyse of Prelates: Reformation Doctrine and the Royal Supremacy', *Renaissance and Reformation*, New Series, 10 (1986), pp. 257–76, appears alone to have noticed the paradox. He reviews how 'it has long been popular to credit Tyndale with laying the groundwork for the Royal Supremacy', pp. 260, 273–4) yet argues himself that Tyndale 'insists upon an explicit and strict separation of church and state' p. 261. The 'wrenching' which made him an advocate for caesaro-papism was, Boehrer suggests, simply mistaken, p. 260. Yet Boehrer's article regularly ignores Tyndale's equally explicit statements that reform of clerical behaviour and even oversight of doctrine are princely functions (for example, *Obedience*, PS I:250, *Exposition upon Matthew*, PS II, 67).

2. See W. D. J. Cargill Thompson, 'The Two Regiments: The Continental Setting of William Tyndale's Political Thought', in *Reform and Reformation: England and the*

- Continent, c.1500– c.1750* (ed. Derek Baker, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1979), p. 18, who surveys the scholarship previous to his own. See also Boehrer (pp. 260 and 273–4, no. 15), who cites additional sources. J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (U. California P., Berkeley, 1968), calls *Obedience* ‘the first thorough-going apologia of Caesaro-papism’, p. 247.
3. ‘Interview with Richard Kearney,’ in Richard Kearney, ed., *Dialogues with Contemporary Continental Thinkers* (Manchester U.P., Manchester, 1984), p. 113. For an earlier discussion, see Jacques Derrida, ‘Signature Event Context’ (1972) and ‘Limited Inc a b c...’ (1977) in *Limited Inc* (Northwestern UP, Evanston, IL, 1988), p. 59, where Derrida discusses ‘dehiscence. As in the realm of botany, from which it draws its metaphorical value, this word marks emphatically that the divided opening, in the growth of a plant, is also what, in a positive sense, makes production, reproduction, development possible.’ For an extended example, see Jacques Derrida, *Of Spirit: Heidegger and the Question*, trans. Geoffrey Bennington and Rachel Bowlby (U. Chicago P., Chicago, 1989), where Derrida finds the multiple richnesses of spirit erupting, breaking through, flashing out of the texts of modern philosophy despite many of the latter’s efforts to contain, avoid, control or repress any notion of spirit. In his reading of spirit Derrida finds that the theologians are, after all, more aware than modern philosophers that language reaches for what it may not touch, that language and its repetitions evoke ‘the event of a promise that has already taken place’, p.112.
 4. The face of Moses and its blinding brightness is a common metaphor in Tyndale’s writings; e.g., *Obedience*, PS I, 181, and *Pathway*, PS I, 12, 28.
 5. Thompson, ‘The Two Regiments’, pp. 19–20.
 6. Martin Luther, ‘An Appeal to the Ruling Class,’ in John Dillenberger ed., *Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings* (Anchor, Garden City, NY, 1961), p. 404.
 7. Tyndale rejects the claim of Catholic commentators who said the Sermon on the Mount contained non-binding counsels which applied primarily to apostles (for example, PS II, 5–6); does Tyndale follow a similar tack in saying the law of Moses counselling punishments pertained only to the rulers (PS II, 58)?
 8. In the case of worldly goods, each is to give and lend all one can; if others invade or take one’s goods by force, one is to love and find mediators to resolve the disagreement, and only if that fails, go to the law. Goods, like life, belong to the king and are managed by subjects to maintain family, city, and realm (PS II, 66–7).
 9. Brian Tierney, *The Crisis of Church and State, 1050–1300* (Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1964); Alan Gewirth, ‘Introduction’, Marsilius of Padua, *Defensor Pacis* (trans. Gewirth, U. Toronto P., Toronto, 1980), p. xlvii.
 10. ‘A Prologue to the Epistle of Paul to the Romans,’ *Tyndale’s New Testament* (ed. David Daniell, Yale U.P., New Haven, 1989), p. 207; cf. ‘inwardly in thine heart’ p. 208; ‘from the bottom of the heart’ p. 209, etc.
 11. *Tyndale’s New Testament*, p. 209.
 12. *Ibid.*, p. 210.
 13. John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, (ed. George Townsend, AMS, New York, 1965), IV, 657.
 14. Simon Fish, *A Supplication for the Beggars* (ed. Edward Arber, English Scholar’s Library 4, Unwin, London, 1878), pp. 3–4; *Obedience*, PS I, 236–9.

15. For further similarities of Fish to Tyndale, see Steven W. Haas, 'Simon Fish, William Tyndale, and Sir Thomas More's "Lutheran Conspiracy"', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 23 (1972), pp. 127–32.
16. Richard Duerden, *Scripture as Scepter: Text and Power in Reformation England*, (University of Chicago Ph.D. dissertation, 1989), Chapter 1.
17. G. R. Elton, *Reform and Reformation: England, 1509–1558* (Harvard U.P., Cambridge, MA, 1977), pp. 131–2, 135; Scarisbrick, p. 268.
18. Haas, 'Simon Fish, William Tyndale and Sir Thomas More', p. 133n.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 126.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 135–6.
21. G. R. Elton, 'The Commons' Supplication of 1532: Parliamentary Manoeuvres in the Reign of Henry VIII,' *English Historical Review* 66 (1951): p. 522 and n.
22. Elton, 'Commons' Supplication,' p. 517; cf. Supplication, pp. 3, 8.
23. Elton, 'Commons' Supplication,' pp. 522, 526, 528–9.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 529, 534.
25. G. R. Elton, ed., *The Tudor Constitution* (Cambridge U.P., Cambridge, 1972), p. 344.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 356.

Buttons and ribbons, hartgoats and
hedgehogs, soleams and stellios: a wayward
courtesy lecture for laborious fainty
snoutnosed runagates on some words in
Tyndale's Old Testament but missing from the
Authorized Version

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Translated into the words of the Authorized Version (A.V.), my title reads, 'taches and fringes, wild goats and ferrets, bald-locusts and chameleons: a heavy little reading for servile faint fugitives with flat noses'.¹ This may not properly describe either lecture or audience, but it does give a sample of my subject: words Tyndale used in translating the Old Testament which are either not to be found, or not found in the same sense or use, anywhere in the Authorized Version. No theory lies behind this choice of subject. Simply I was working on the Old Testament and had a hunch that these words would provide a manageable and illuminating sample of Tyndale's language. Illuminating they certainly are, but hardly manageable: I am far from learning all they have to teach, and this paper is no more than an introduction to them.

One might well expect a high proportion of archaism or obsolescence to emerge, and therefore that there would be a good deal of overlap with the vocabulary of the Wycliffite versions. To deal with this latter point first: only thirty-one of these words are also found in the Wycliffite versions. Tyndale's declaration of independence is verified: he indeed was not helped 'with English of any that had interpreted the same or such like thing in the Scripture beforetime'.²

As for archaism, at most sixty-five of these 414 words were no longer usable by the time of the making of the A.V.³ Half of these sixty-five are not recorded outside Tyndale's work, yet they include readily understood coinages or oral uses not found elsewhere in written English, such as 'firstbornship', 'headbald', 'light-brained' and 'squaring-line'. The other half, words last cited by the *OED* no later than 1611, also includes readily understood words such as 'clouden' or 'famishment'. Now, as with most of my points, a fair degree of caution is needed. Citations in the *OED* are only generally indicative of currency. Except with coinages, they necessarily misrepresent currency because they give the first written usage the compilers could find, and because written usage can continue long after a word has ceased to have general currency.⁴

Tyndale's 'the king of Egypt...merced the land in an hundred talents of silver' (2 Chronicles 36:3) affords an example of the difficulties of lists based on citations (and also of the degree to which speculation is involved in a study of these words).⁵ The *OED*

cites ‘merce’ from 1483–1661, so one would say any of the subsequent translators could have adopted it from Tyndale. Yet Coverdale, Geneva and the A.V. all read ‘condemned the land in an hundred talents of silver’. The Geneva translators recognize that this is vague, unsatisfactory English, so they add in the margin, ‘to pay this as a yeerely tribute’. The A.V. notes against ‘condemned’, ‘*Hebr. mulcted*’. ‘Mulct’ is first cited from 1591. Here I think the probability is that ‘merce’ was no longer sufficiently current for the A.V. translators to use it, and that ‘mulct’ had yet to become current enough for them to risk changing the received reading.⁹

On a longer historical view of these words’ currency, about two-fifths (153 out of 414) are still current English and are used by Tyndale much as we would use them. Some are as homely as ‘hedgehogs’, while some of those no longer current are as obscure as ‘soleam’ or ‘stellio’. All three are creatures. The problem the various translators had with creatures was simple: they did not know what they were. The Geneva Bible is candid enough to admit this in its note on ‘solean’ (*Leviticus 11: 22*): ‘these were certaine kindes of grashoppers, which are not now properly knownen.’) Sometimes Tyndale resorted to what is, for him, a rare expedient, and transliterated, whence ‘arb’, ‘hargol’ and ‘soleam’. Sometimes he hazarded a guess, usually with a common or garden result, though ‘stellio’ and ‘taxus’ are exceptions.¹⁰ Later translators often thought they knew better, but they were still guessing. ‘Hedgehog’, for instance, becomes ‘rat’ and, finally, ‘ferret’. Obviously the translators could vary from each other not through considerations of English but because they disagreed about the meaning of the original. Such variations are not of special interest here. What I will concentrate on are the changes that seem to involve questions of English vocabulary.

‘Buttons’, used for part of the furnishing of the tabernacle in Exodus 26, involves curious questions of vocabulary. It is obviously current English, and is attested from c.1340. By contrast, the A.V.’s ‘taches’, introduced by the Geneva Bible and meaning some sort of fastening device, never had the same currency.¹¹ Why the change? Did the Geneva translators, knowing that they were a recent invention, take ‘buttons’ as an anachronism? Or did they, perhaps, object to the implications of vain frippery, since buttons were first used as decorations?¹² Motives rather of this kind may have led them to remove Tyndale’s references to luck, for luck is no part of a divinely ordered world. So ‘it fortuned that’, ‘misfortune’, ‘luck’, ‘luckily’ and ‘lucky’ all disappear, as does ‘for a wager’. However, I suspect such motives did not apply here. The subject is the precious decoration of the ark, and the *OED*’s citations for ‘tache’ associate the word with gold, silver and rubies.

I think a third explanation more probable. First, Strong notes that the Hebrew word means ‘a knob or belaying-pin (from its swelling form)’. This is also the basic meaning of ‘button’ before such knobs became fastening devices. But the context also demands the sense of fastening, for these knobs are used to couple the curtains together. I suggest that Tyndale used ‘buttons’ in spite of the dangers of anachronism and frippery because it best rendered the two meanings of the Hebrew demanded by the context. This shows a sharp lexical awareness and a willingness to play with the meaning of English words.

The Geneva translators, still possibly troubled by those dangers, had a further reason for changing the word, especially if they were less sensitive to its double meaning. Their image of the covering of the tabernacle, as represented in the diagram inherited from their French predecessors, makes it difficult to visualise buttons as the method of fixing

the curtains together because the curtains are draped over a rectangular framework, and some of the taches are shown as being on the angle of the framework. 'Taches', which had the generalized meaning found in the New English Bible's 'fasteners', avoids the possibilities of an incongruous image while keeping the sense demanded by the context and the connotations of preciousness. It is also general enough not to deny the implication of the Hebrew word that some sort of knob was involved. The marginal alternative, also found in the key to the diagram, 'hooks', confirms that they thought carefully about how the curtains were fixed. I suggest that they relegated 'hooks' to the margin, although it was an easier word for their readers, because it went against the full sense of the Hebrew word, was too precise as to the manner of fixing, and lacked the precious associations.

If there is a grain of truth in this, it shows both Tyndale and the Geneva translators considering the exact meaning of their words with care and sensitivity. Moreover, it suggests a special talent on Tyndale's part for finding, on occasion, English words that sharply matched the range of meaning of the Hebrew.

Another of the words on the list leads to similar suggestions, though the element of speculation is still greater. It is a word one might never have spotted but for Daniell's editorial care, 'plage'. Had he modernized the spelling and not glossed it as a 'blow, stroke or wound', an obsolete sense of 'plague', it would have been taken as meaning 'pestilence'. Now, it comes in a context where translators have frequently differed, Deuteronomy 17:8: three problems of judging are specified, in the words of Coverdale and the A.V., 'between blood and blood, between plea and plea, and between stroke and stroke'. This makes sense: cases of 'murder, legal rights or assault' (Jerusalem Bible). Instead of 'stroke and stroke', Tyndale reads 'plage and plague', which Daniell and the *OED* invite us to read in the same sense as 'stroke'. Geneva also reads 'plague and plague', but spelt in the modern way, as if the meaning is 'pestilence'. There are two problems here. The first lies in the Hebrew: Strong tells us it means a 'blow' and implies a 'plague', and few translators can avoid making a choice between these meanings.

The second problem lies in the limitations of historical lexicography already noted. According to the *OED*, 'plague' meaning 'stroke' originates with the Wycliffite version of Ezekiel 24:16, which comes directly from Jerome's use of 'plaga', 'a blow, stroke or wound' (Lewis and Short). It was last used in 1538. Since both senses of 'plague' were current in Tyndale's time, I suggest that he is doing as he did with 'buttons', reflecting the lexical range of the Hebrew. In short, he is punning (and surely he had no objection to the consequent alliteration).¹¹ Coverdale felt obliged to differ: he settled for one sense only and simple English to render it, 'stroke'. Do we couple this with the *OED*'s evidence and conclude that 'plague' as 'stroke' was losing its currency when Tyndale used it? If so, the Geneva Bible understands the Hebrew differently and is using 'plague' in the sense of 'pestilence'.¹² Consequently, if the Geneva translators are following Tyndale, they misunderstood him.

There is an alternative: 'plague', 'stroke', was still possible English in 1560; more sensitive to English vocabulary and to the nuances of the Hebrew than Coverdale, the Geneva translators restored Tyndale's pun. If this is so, the *OED* must be modified because, as often happens, the English Bible tells us more about the history of English than has been so far recognized. Moreover, we have another insight into Tyndale's sensitivity to Hebrew and English words, a sensitivity that the Geneva translators were intel-

ligent enough to recognize. By the time of the A.V. translators, the pun had become impossible. They, perforce, had to adopt Coverdale's rendering.

At least one more of these words seems to be used punningly, this time without reflecting multiple possibilities in the original. The A.V. reads simply and literally: 'carie downe the man a Present, a litle balme, and a litle honie' (Genesis 43:11). Tyndale uses 'curtesie' for 'little'. The idea of courteousness suggested by what is really a form of 'curtsy' is obviously apt and fits with Tyndale's 'according to the courtesy showed him' (2 Chronicles 32:25). But Tyndale underlines the pun by varying the grammar: 'a curte-sie bawlme, and a curtesie of honey'. He has drawn on colloquial usage (which is what I guess 'curtesie' meaning 'little' is) to produce English that reveals his full imaginative engagement with his text. He had no intention of making a literary translation by his or his age's standards, but here, as so often, he produces English his successors do not match. He is, as perhaps only Thomas More of his contemporaries recognized, one of the great writers of English.¹³

One of the most notable of Tyndale's words rejected by later translators is 'arses' in 1 Samuel 6. This was not deleted for reasons of propriety.¹⁴ The two Hebrew words involved mean tumours, swellings or boils. Tyndale's 'five golden arses with emerods' is therefore, in Hammond's phrase, 'a sophistication of the original' (p. 23) that makes full English sense of it, again revealing a full imaginative engagement with the original; elsewhere the sense does not demand this addition, so he gives 'emerods' without elaboration. Geneva (and the A.V. after it) sticks to the literal sense of the original, 'fiae golden Emerods'. This makes Daniell's point that Tyndale 'is determined to be clear whenever it is possible' (p. xiv), whereas his successors are more likely to be literal at the expense of clarity, a point that any comparison of obscurities in the A.V. with Tyndale's renderings will bear out. But what interests me as much here is what the inclusion of a word such as 'arses' tells us about Tyndale's biblical English. It is indeed an English for ploughboys. They know what arses are just as they recognize a hedgehog when they see one. A substantial number of Tyndale's vanished words belong with 'arses' as what we might call basic English.

Let me put the point the other way round before proceeding. About sixty, that is, one in seven, of this selection of words is of Latin origin. Of these no more than ten, at the outside, date from the sixteenth century. In short, there is almost no sign in his Old Testament work of Tyndale resorting to Latin coinages or inkhorn terms.¹⁵ Rather, his coinages are either like 'firstbornship', made from native English words, or transcriptions from Hebrew. Tyndale's linguistic resourcefulness lay not in ransacking Latin but in marshalling the contemporary, often oral and dialect, resources of English.¹⁶

In general terms, here lies Tyndale's most important contribution to the history of the English language and literature: he made what became the most-read of all English books into a repository of native English, giving that part of the English language an importance and legitimacy it might otherwise have lacked. He hints at what he was doing when he writes, 'which was a watch word as we say' in the 'Prologue to Jonas' (Daniell, p. 634): constantly he draws on 'what we say'.¹⁷ Now, this is essentially a familiar point, but a concentration on these words which did not survive through to the A.V. brings it out with special force because so many of them draw on common English.

But it is worth finishing with two more specific considerations. First, this group of little more than 400 words, few of them occurring very frequently, nevertheless con-

tributes substantially to Tyndale's attractiveness for modern readers. Many of these words have a fresh, energetic quality that is lost in the later versions. Take, for instance, his colloquial 'and for a wager we get the better of them' (1 Kings 20:25). This, made up of two phrases from the list, is obviously more lively than the A.V.'s 'and surely wee shall be stronger then they'. 'For a wager' again renders the spirit of the text, not the very letter. 'Get the better of them' has the authentic ring of spoken English missing from 'wee shall be stronger then they'.

Rachel is given a similar idiom after the birth of Naphtali. She says: 'God is turned, and I haue made a chaunge with my sister, & haue gotē y' vpper hāde' (Genesis 30:8). The obscurity of the first part of this is clarified by the A.V., following Geneva's lead: noting in the margin that 'Naphtali' means '*my wrastling*', it reads, 'with great wrastlings have I wrastled with my sister'. But then the A.V. makes a change of its own, 'and I haue preuailed'. This loses the colloquial energy of 'haue gotē y' vpper hāde'. I suspect that the reason for the change is that 'gotten the upper hand' was judged to give an image not found in the Hebrew, which is a verb meaning 'to be able'. 'I have prevailed' is therefore a closer translation. What is more, it is Tyndale and the A.V.'s usual translation for this Hebrew word in this sense. Nowhere else does Tyndale use 'gotten the upper hand', so we need to look at what is special to this context. There are three things. Because the phrase has a verb and an object, 'gotten the upper hand' can only be used where the original verb was intransitive, and preferably where that verb was not followed by a phrase ('prevayle agaynst him' [Genesis 32:25] is surely preferable to 'get the upper hand against him'). Second, 'get the upper hand' can only be used in the context of ongoing struggle, whereas 'prevail' is often used in a context of completed victory, as in 'thou hast wrastled with God and with men ād hast preuayled' (Genesis 32:28). Here the implicit wrestling image of getting the upper hand would have been thoroughly apt but for the sense that the wrestling is finished. Third, 'gotten the upper hand' is especially suitable to a colloquial context. Rachel's words are almost the only context where all three conditions are met. The one other possibility is Exodus 17: 11, but there an impossible play on 'hand' would have been created: 'when Moses helde vp his hande, Israel *got the upper hand*'. In short, this and the previous example not only show Tyndale's liking and ear for colloquialism where direct speech is involved, but also his sensitivity to contextual meaning. The other versions miss the distinction between continuing and completed struggle. In passing, there is one other difference between Tyndale and the A.V. here that is redolent of Tyndale. His omission of 'I' – 'and have gotten' – increases the concision and therefore, in this case, the spoken directness of the statement.

As well as this occasional energy of colloquialism, Tyndale's version has something of the energy of a dialect version.¹¹ I guess that dialect is responsible for 'the ryuer shall scrale with frogges' (Exodus 8:3), and that the A.V. revised this because it was not their London dialect, standard English (there was no need to revise for accuracy: the Hebrew is a single verb, not a phrase). An adverb is left to do the job of the unfamiliar yet effective verb, and the force is lost: 'and the riuier shall bring foorth frogges abundantly'.

Second, though there is no evidence of contemporary popular response to Tyndale's language, I suggest that Tyndale gave his common readers the best possible service by using their language rather than the resources of educated, written English. These words really do suggest not just an English for ploughboys but an English *of* ploughboys. Now, Tyndale was a remarkable student of language, whereas many of his readers were bare-

ly literate. Yet nowhere does he seem to be writing down to his audience. I suggest that colloquial, native English was his natural medium and that this contrasts with, particularly, the A.V. translators. A quick scan of the AV's chapter summaries, to say nothing of a reading of its Preface, would reveal a preference for Latinate subordination and vocabulary when the translators are not constrained by the original and by the example of their predecessors. Not so with Tyndale: his Prefaces to his translations have the same colloquial energy and urgency as his translation. No Bible translator's normal prose is more like his translation prose. And yet that translation prose was usually a good literal rendering of the Hebrew.¹⁹ No wonder he thought that the Hebrew and English 'manner of speakynge is both one': for him, but for few other translators, it was.²⁰

(David Norton's Appendixes appear on pp. 289–344.)

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Abbreviations

a.	Ante
A.V.	Authorized Version (or King James Bible)
B.	Bishops' Bible
C.	Coverdale, century
G.	Geneva Bible, 1560
G 1599	Geneva Bible, 1599
Gt	First and second Great Bible
Gt ¹	First Great Bible, 1539
Gt ²	Second Great Bible, April 1540
LXX	Septuagint
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
T.	Tyndale
W.	Both Wyclif versions, Wyclif
W ¹	Wyclif Early Version, c.1382
W ²	Wyclif Later Version, c.1388

Notes

1. 'Reading' is the only New Testament word here (Acts 13:15).
2. 'To the Reader', New Testament, 1526, in *Doctrinal Treatises* (Henry Walter ed., The Parker Society, Cambridge, 1848), p. 390. These words are given as group 6 of Appendix 2. That some come from one version, some from the other, further proves Tyndale's independence.
3. Appendix I pretends to be a complete list of these words but there are bound to be omissions. Equally, I have included some words which others may judge should have been omitted. Particularly rough is the tagging of words as obsolete or archaic in relation to modern English, but I have attempted it since it helps to focus attention.
4. Monumental achievement as it is, the *OED* is incomplete in its work on the English Bible. Perhaps its most serious limitation is its failure to deal properly with Tyndale, especially with his Old Testament work. Tyndale's Pentateuch and the Matthew Bible of 1537 are rarely referred to; the 1551 edition of the Matthew Bible receives more attention without recognition that it repeats both of these. Daniell discusses some of the *OED*'s failings with regard to Tyndale, p. xxi.

A simple example of the general limitation is the phrase 'in heat' used of animals. The *OED*'s first citation is from George Washington in 1768: 'Music was also in heat and served promiscuously by all the Dogs' ('heat' sb. 13). Yet, 208 years earlier there is this in the Geneva Bible: 'the sheepe were in heate before the rods' (Genesis 30:39). Historical lexicographers are at the mercy of the written evidence they happen to find. Here Washington was the first writer they found using a phrase that was evidently hundreds of years old. I doubt if the Geneva Bible invented the phrase: probably it had already existed for years, perhaps centuries, in spoken English. The Bible not only gives English new words and phras-

es; it also draws valuably on the oral founts of English. The most substantial antedating among the words and phrases on my list is ‘wipe out’: the *OED*’s first citation is a. 1842.

5. Quotations from Tyndale’s Pentateuch are taken from Mombert’s old-spelling edition, quotations from the Matthew Bible from Daniell’s modern-spelling edition.
6. Tyndale uses ‘merce’ elsewhere. At Deuteronomy 22:19 the A.V., unprompted by Coverdale or Geneva, reverts almost exactly to Tyndale, reading, ‘they shall amearse him in an hundred *shekels* of siluer’. The *OED* cites ‘amerce’ ('to punish by an arbitrary fine; to fine, mulct [a person]') from c.1375 to 1863, and from 1500 ‘with the penalty or amount expressed’. This verse from the A.V. is cited as the first example of a subgroup using ‘in’, though the A.V. is following Tyndale’s ‘merce him in’. Perhaps the distinctions involved here are so fine that the first Westminster group of the A.V. translators, working on Deuteronomy, found ‘merce’ acceptable in its adjusted form, ‘amerce’, whereas the first Cambridge group, working on 2 Chronicles, found it unacceptable.
7. The vegetable world was similarly problematic. The Bishops’ Bible notes of ‘mandragoras’, ‘what kynd of fruite this was, it is not certayne’ (Genesis 30:14, marg.).
8. The Wyclif translators took ‘stellio’ straight from the Vulgate; they explain it as ‘a werme depeyntid as with sterres’, and as ‘a worm that hath many brigt iemmes in the bak’ (Leviticus 11:30). ‘Taxus’ (badger) is medieval Latin, ‘formerly sometimes used in English’ (*OED*).
9. *OED* cites ‘taches’ from the fifteenth century to 1668, and then in 1867 with direct reference to the Bible.
10. The *OED*’s first unambiguous citation for ‘buttons’ as fastenings rather than as ornaments is from *King Lear*, ‘pray you undo this button’.
11. Hammond, who describes Tyndale’s ‘greatest quality’ as ‘his matching of simple and direct English to a care for the essential meaning of the original text’ (p. 38), gives a number of examples that support this line of argument (e.g., pp. 38–9, 54 and note); among them he notes a pun, also on ‘plague’ (p. 39). A notable example of Tyndale’s liking for alliteration, revealed by this list of words, is ‘the pagiantes which I haue played in Egipite’ (Exodus 10:2).
12. This is the sense found in both the Vulgate and the Wyclif Bibles, which have ‘lepram’ and ‘lepre’.
13. ‘These wordes walke lo very goodly by the herers eare, & they make a man amased in a manner & somewhat to studye and muse’ (*The Confutation of Tyndale’s Answer* [1532, 1533]; *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More* [New Haven and London, Yale U.P., 1963 etc.], VIII, 725).
14. Although the Bishops’ Bible translators were instructed ‘that all such wordes as soundeth in the Olde Translacion to any offence of Lightnes or obscenitie be expressed with more convenient termes and phrases’ (Pollard, p. 126), all the translators placed fidelity to the original ahead of propriety wherever this might be an issue. The Wycliffite versions are especially open to the charge of obscenity in view of later refinements of English. For instance at Deuteronomy 28:27, W1 bluntly writes: ‘the paart of the bodi bi the which toordis ben sheten out’; W2 may perhaps show ‘more convenient termes’: ‘the part of the bodi wherbi ordures ben

voyded'. Among the later translators, 'piss' is not deleted even though Coverdale, not knowing what Tyndale had written, offered his successors the alternatives of 'maketh water' (1 Samuel 25:22 etc.) and 'stale' (2 Kings 18:27, Isaiah 36:12). Geneva introduces 'buggerers' (1 Corinthians 6:9). Tyndale's 'siege', for which Coverdale offers the alternative of 'preuy house', is changed to 'jakes', and finally to 'draughthouse' (2 Kings 10:27); it would take a fine scholar to distinguish degrees of euphemism here. I have discussed later attempts to euphemize the Bible in 'The Wicked Bible and the Lexicographer' (*Of Pavlova, Poetry and Paradigms: Essays in Honour of Harry Orsman*, [Laurie Bauer and Christine Franzen eds., Victoria U.P., Wellington, 1993], pp. 50–69).

15. I have suggested elsewhere that, for mid-sixteenth-century readers, 'the English of the Bible, in spite of Tyndale's desire to be understood by ploughboys, had a real element of the inkhorn in it' (*A History of the Bible as Literature*, I: *From Antiquity to 1700* [Cambridge U. P., Cambridge, 1993], p. 106). This is not a point to be pressed where Tyndale's vocabulary is concerned. In general terms, the people did have difficulties with the language of the Bible, but few of the specific difficulties with Latinisms can be ascribed to Tyndale.

The following words of Latin origin are those most likely to have had an inkhorn flavour: 'abstainer', 'adjuration', 'excommunicate', 'executer', 'inclosers', 'interpretate' and 'uninhabited'. I have not included in Appendix II a list of Latinisms since too many fine etymological judgements are needed to determine whether a word is taken directly from Latin, particularly to determine whether a word of Latin origin had not already become a familiar English word.

16. A. C. Partridge notes Tyndale's use of the dialect 'loweth' for 'low-lying country' (*English Biblical Translation* [Deutsch, London, 1973], p. 48). This comes among a number of valuable observations on Tyndale's vocabulary; see also pp. 55–6.
17. Unsurprisingly, the *OED*'s first citation of 'watchword' in Tyndale's sense of a cautionary word or speech dates from his lifetime, c.1475.
18. I discuss dialect versions and show some of their attractions in *A History of the Bible as Literature*, II: *From 1700 to the Present Day* (Cambridge U. P., Cambridge, 1993), pp. 256–61.
19. The extent and nature of Tyndale's fidelity to the Hebrew is finely explored the Hammond's first two chapters. My general point here is hinted at, pp. 25–6.
20. *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (1528); facsimile (Scolar, Menston, 1970), fol. xxv.

The Decline in the Use of Latin for Will- and Testament-making in Early Sixteenth-century Bedfordshire

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In recent years historians have placed increasing emphasis on the importance of understanding the contexts in which the 'reforms, reactions and reversals' of the reformation process were enacted.¹ A stimulus to (and sometimes a product of) the development of the contextual approach to Reformation history has been a growing awareness of the significance of the beliefs and attitudes of ordinary members of sixteenth-century society. Scholars have become preoccupied with the question of whether the 'English Reformation' was the result of authoritative action from above or whether it was brought about by popular demand from below.² In order to illuminate further this central question of Reformation dynamics it may be valuable to examine some of the linguistic contexts of Tyndale's great work of translating the Bible into English. Was the vulgar tongue accepted in non-scriptural ecclesiastical documents? Or did the pre-Reformation Church attempt to maintain its authority and separateness by insistence on the universal application of Latin for Church activities? If so, how successful was the Church in that attempt and what pressures were there from the populace for change? One early-sixteenth-century ecclesiastical document which survives in sufficient numbers to be of value to the historian and which may provide some answer to these questions is the canonical will. The formalized character of late medieval wills has made their utility for historians limited and problematical, particularly where the evaluation of patterns of individual belief is concerned.³ However, the formal style of wills and testaments, reflecting as it does the complex mixture of canon law, common law and the principles of equity which characterized the medieval law of succession, does provide valuable evidence for the study of the tensions and changing relations between Church and laity. This paper will examine the evidence provided by the eight hundred wills and testaments recorded in the first three surviving probate registers of the court of the Archdeacon of Bedford.⁴

Will- and testament-making developed from the teaching of the early Christian Church that a dying man should make atonement for his sins by devoting a portion of his worldly goods to the relief of the poor and other pious purposes.⁵ Thus, the 'will' or 'testament' began as a form of charity which provided a motive for the right of bequest and which was closely associated with the last confession.⁶ So close was this association that an individual who died intestate was suspected of dying without the ministrations of the Church.⁷ During the medieval period the Church developed laws and institutions, administered by the Church courts, that supervised and saw to the enforcement of testamentary bequests and thus the Church became involved in the law of succession.⁸ The jurisdiction

of the ecclesiastical courts over bequests of personal goods (that is, chattels), of which the testament was composed, was firmly established by the end of the twelfth century and personal bequests were enacted by the executor of the will, who was regarded as the testator's representative on earth.⁹ The ecclesiastical judge (normally the judge ordinary) enjoyed considerable and practical authority over the executor of a testament. He could compel the executor to render account at the end of a specified period and, if the executor were negligent or guilty of misconduct, the ordinary could set him aside and commit the administration of the testament to another.¹⁰ The Church's jurisdiction over bequests of real property (land and most buildings) was a less straightforward matter. From at least the thirteenth century real property was expected to descend according to the rule of primogeniture, by which the entire estate passed to the eldest son.¹¹ Although a landowner could alienate property during his lifetime, he could not, under common law rules, dispose of land at death.¹² There were few exceptions to this rule and where exceptions existed (some burgage tenements for example, were regarded as quasi chattels and were devisable by custom), the Church did not enjoy undisputed authority over wills of land disposing of such property.¹³ For most individuals, good works and obligations to offspring and relatives other than the heir at common law had, therefore, to be financed by personal goods and the Church courts were in theory denied any involvement in the disposition of most categories of tenure.¹⁴

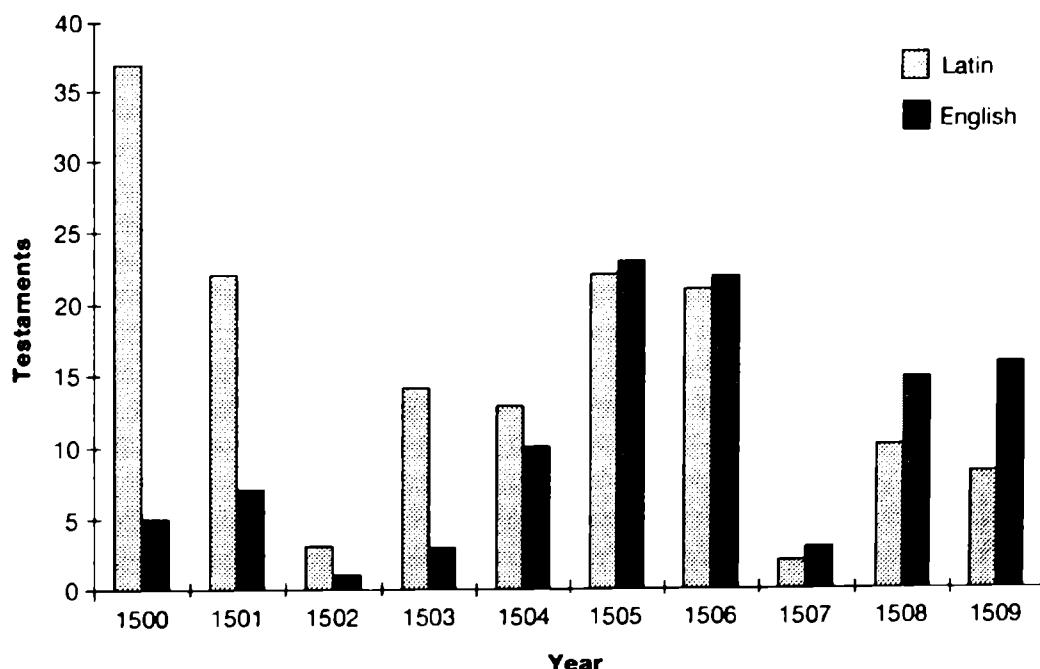
The strength of the desire of many medieval landholders to enjoy greater control over the disposition of their property and to achieve a more wholehearted good end, in both the pious and the mundane sense, is demonstrated by the development during the medieval period of a device known as the 'use'.¹⁵ By this device, which was a form of trust, a landowner (the *feoffor*), could transfer the title to his or her property to an intermediary or group of intermediaries known as *feoffees to uses*, who would hold that property to the use, or benefit of, the feoffor, or to a third party (known as the *cestui que use*). The feoffor retained the beneficial enjoyment of the property if he so desired. The role of the feoffees was an entirely passive one, except where they were instructed to reconvey the title to a third party.¹⁶ Uses could be declared orally or in writing at the time of feoffment, or they could be declared in the feoffor's last will, thereby allowing an individual's ownership of land to survive through the directions given to the intermediaries during his lifetime.¹⁷ It is clear that the medieval use considerably diminished the importance of the common law rules governing the descent of property because it restored the right of devise to landowners. The right to 'bequeath' real property at death is considered by historians of the law to be the single most important reason for the popularity of the use during the medieval period.¹⁸ Through this device a landowner could provide for sons and daughters who would not inherit under common law rules, as well as use his real property to provide for the welfare of his own and others' souls. The outcry after the abolition of uses by the Statute of Uses of 1536, which effectively brought a return to compulsory primogeniture, was sufficient to ensure that the right of devise was quickly restored.¹⁹ The Statute of Wills of 1540 allowed the individual who held lands in socage 'full and free liberty, power and authority to give, dispose, will and devise...all his hereditaments at his free will and pleasure'.²⁰ Prior to 1536 uses declared in a last will were recorded in ecclesiastical probate registers along with the testator's instructions for the disposition of his personal goods.

At the opening of the sixteenth century there were four styles of testaments and last

wills being recorded in the Bedfordshire probate registers. There are testaments written in Latin, which consist entirely of bequests of personal items. There are also documents, entirely testamentary in character, written wholly in English (or with only the formal declarations of name, parish and mental fitness of the testator recorded in Latin). A third group consists of documents that are clearly separate 'testaments' and 'last wills', in which the bequests of personal goods are set out first in a section that normally concludes with the name(s) of the executor(s). The bequests of land are set out in a second section, beginning: 'This is the last will of me...' In these separate documents testament and will might be written in the same language (usually in English, but occasionally in Latin). In the fourth style the testament might be recorded in Latin and the will of lands in English.

This physical separation, as well as the difference in language, may reflect the state of law, outlined above, governing the succession to personal and to real property in the later medieval period. Those bequests that fell unequivocally within the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts (personal goods) are recorded, at the opening of the century, predominantly in the language of the Church. Bequests of real property, which theoretically fell outside the Church's jurisdiction, and which, more importantly, had not enjoyed an unbroken tradition of association with the last confession and the achievement of a good end, are sometimes recorded in the vernacular. This division was not new. The tradition of using English for the recording of bequests of real property was well established by the period under study and was employed for bequests of land of various tenure, although it may have originated in order to separate bequests of property which were quasi chattels but which sometimes fell outside the jurisdiction of the Church courts from wholly testamentary (ecclesiastically administered) bequests.²¹

Graph 1. Distribution of Latin and English Testaments in the Probate Registers of the court of the Archdeacon of Bedford in the years 1500 to 1509.



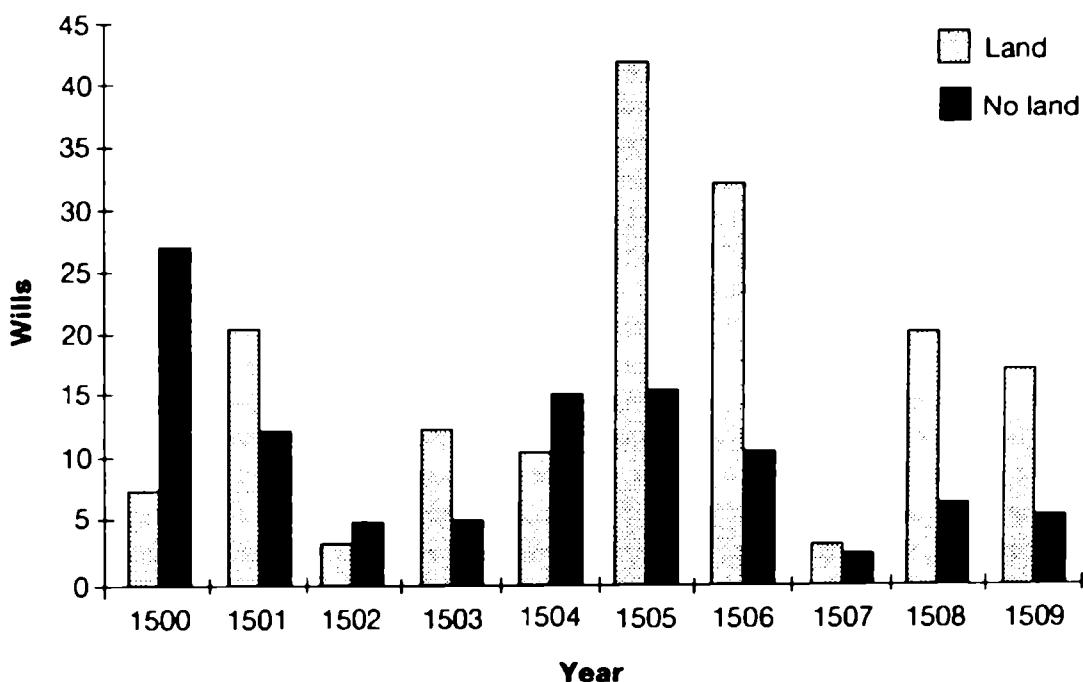
During the early years of the sixteenth century changes took place in the distribution of these different styles of document. Most notable was an increase in the utilization of English for the recording of all sections of a testator's last wishes.²² Graph 1 shows that, at the opening of the sixteenth century, testaments were written predominantly in Latin, although testamentary bequests written in English were clearly acceptable to the Church courts at this time.²³ After 1500 the use of Latin for testaments declined rapidly, so that by 1505 English testaments formed the majority of those recorded. After 1509 the number of Latin testaments declined steeply and the last Latin bequest to be recorded in the Bedfordshire probate registers appears in a will drawn up in 1519. These statistics are not entirely straightforward. The uneven annual distribution of wills may distort the pattern of change to some degree. Furthermore, if earlier probate registers had survived in the archdeaconry, they might have indicated that the progress of change was more pedestrian than is suggested by these figures. Using these registers, it is impossible to establish when the use of Latin started to decline. However, the wills registered between 1500 and 1519 clearly demonstrate the trend away from the use of Latin for testament-making and the speed with which Latin became obsolete for this purpose.

This change must surely have been of considerable significance for the balance of power, authority and knowledge between Church and laity.²⁴ The executors named in the Bedfordshire wills were frequently close relatives of the testator, and therefore of a similar social standing. It is impossible to identify the occupation or rank of all the Bedfordshire testators, but they included husbandmen, horse-dealers and, possibly, villeins, individuals who were unlikely to be Latinate.²⁵ Even if a vernacular copy of the will were made for the executors, the copy recorded in the probate register, to which the ecclesiastical judge would refer, was at the opening of the sixteenth century likely to be in a language that was not understood by the executor or the beneficiaries of the will (other than the Church and its personnel). To have all existing copies of a testament recorded in a language that could be understood by everyone concerned must have been of immense advantage to the testator's representatives and family.

Why did this change occur? There is information in the Bedfordshire wills to indicate at least some of the determinants in this matter. As far as the archdeaconry of Bedford was concerned, there is no indication that the distribution of English wills varied between town and country, or between one particular parish and another. The pattern of distribution is overwhelmingly linked to the date of the writing of the will, which may indicate that changes taking place in the rules and customs governing the devise of property had some effect on the form and character of wills and testaments. During the medieval period limitations on the disposal of personal property were imposed by the customary practice of *legitim*, which survived in some areas of the province of Canterbury until the reign of Elizabeth and which obtained in the northern province until the early seventeenth century.²⁶ According to this rule, only a man who left neither wife nor children could dispose of his chattels as he wished. If he left a wife but no child (or offspring but no wife), his personal goods, after his debts had been paid, had to be divided into two halves. One half constituted the 'souls' half and could be disposed of by the testator as he wished; the other went to his wife or children.²⁷ If the testator was survived by both wife and offspring, his personal property would be divided into three parts accordingly. There is evidence in the Bedfordshire wills to indicate that this custom had not entirely died out in that county at the opening of the sixteenth century. John Browne of the parish of

Knotting, for example, who made his will on 11 June 1504, asked that all his goods be divided into three equal parts, one of which was to be kept to fulfil his testament; the second part was to go to his wife; the third to his sons and daughters.²⁸ Such references occur in only a few wills and cease to appear after the year 1505; it is possible, therefore, that *legitim* became obsolete in the archdeaconry of Bedford in the early years of the century. The decline in the custom of *legitim* may have provided testators and their scribes with greater freedom where both the content and the form of the will were concerned. In surviving medieval will-formularies the tripartite division of chattels is set out, in Latin, and allowed little opportunity for individual taste or style.²⁹ With the decline in the heavily structured disposition of personal property, it is possible that testators, as well as their scribes and advisors, felt able to impose their own style upon the will. This may have facilitated the greater integration of bequests of personal and real property evident in the Bedfordshire wills, as well as the increasing use of the vernacular for all sections of the will and testament.³⁰ Since *legitim* apparently pertained in some areas of the province of York after English had become the dominant language of will- and testament-making, the effect of its obsolescence should not be pressed too far; but it is possible that the decline in this custom did have some effect on the style and content of early-sixteenth-century wills.

Graph 2. Distribution of wills containing bequests of land recorded in the Probate Registers of the court of the Archdeacon of Bedford in the years 1500 to 1509.



The Bedfordshire registers indicate that other factors were influential in the decline in the use of Latin for testament-making. Graph 2 shows that during the same period in which Latin declined rapidly towards obsolescence, Bedfordshire testators were increasingly likely to include bequests of land in their wills. The use of English for will-making apparently received stimulus from the growing desire of testators to include, in their last

wishes, a type of bequest which had traditionally been recorded in that language. The disposition of land by will became, during the early sixteenth century, an important factor in the achievement of a good end. This trend, combined with the lessening influence of medieval will-formularies may have been sufficient to ensure the declining importance of the Latin language for the recording of pious intentions.

An unknown proportion of the bequests of land in the Bedfordshire wills may refer to property which was devisable by custom: the Bedfordshire testators were not scrupulous about recording the tenure of the property they bequeathed. There are, however, enough references to feoffees, to 'per' lands (that is, lands held through the use), and to property held in 'fee simple' to indicate that the increasing incidence of wills of land reflects a growing tendency of testators to declare uses in a last will.³¹ It is possible that one reason for this trend was the greater degree of security enjoyed by the feoffor who employed this method. The extent of the Church's jurisdiction over such declarations is a matter of conjecture. R. H. Helmholz has found that Act books of the ecclesiastical courts of Rochester and Canterbury contain many cases involving feoffments to uses, in cases where the feoffor was dead, although such cases ceased to appear after the middle third of the fifteenth century.³² Helmholz suggests that the Church's authority may have diminished as a result of the development of a body of equitable principles, governing uses, by the courts of chancery.³³ By the later fourteenth century a disgruntled feoffor or beneficiary of a use could appeal to the courts of chancery with good hopes of success and there would seem to have been little need for the Church to continue to be involved in the implementation of uses.³⁴ The Bedfordshire wills indicate, however, that the declaration of uses in a last will may sometimes have created overlapping boundaries, and at other times complementary interaction between the executor of a testament and the feoffees to uses, which resulted in the Church courts maintaining some form of jurisdiction over the device.³⁵ The Bedfordshire testators frequently asked for their executors to be involved in some measure in the implementation of a bequest of land and it is clear that the executors of a will were sometimes coterminous with the feoffees to uses.³⁶ It is equally clear, however, that a group of executors was not necessarily coterminous with a group of feoffees and that executorial authority over bequests of real property cannot be explained entirely in these terms. For example, John Hardynge of the parish of Harlington, who made his will on 12 April 1523, declared that his executors were to have the 'rule and governing' of two tenements left to his son William, but that they were to 'make every year a true accompt before my feoffees on saint Katharine's day in the Church of our blessed lady of Harlington'.³⁷ The executors' authority over the subject of such bequests was therefore as the feoffor's testamentary representative. The possible extent of an executors powers over the entire contents of a last will and testament is exemplified in the English will of Thomas Walcot of the Bedfordshire parish of Sandy (dated 20 September 1505), which consists of bequests of both personal items and land. Thomas Walcot declared at the conclusion of his will that 'Yt shalbe leful to myne executors and to Alow or otherwyze change here after any passell of this my last will iff it bethought by them to be for a better purpose for the profet of my wyffe or childern or for the exoneracion of my conciens'.³⁸ Thomas Walcot's confident declaration of what was 'leful' concerning the disposition of his property, a declaration made by other Bedfordshire testators, reflects the wide-ranging powers enjoyed by a feoffor to uses. By vesting the executor, whether or not he or she was also a feoffee, with power to control the descent

of real property, feoffors could bring the full authority of the ecclesiastical judge to bear on the enforcement of a use.³⁹ The Bedfordshire wills show that there were many different forms and levels of interaction between executors and feoffees which cannot be defined within any firm parameters.⁴⁰ Declaring uses in a last will may have ensured that recourse to the courts of chancery to settle disputes resulting from the use was a last resort for disgruntled feoffors or their beneficiaries. Appealing to chancery was probably time-consuming and expensive.⁴¹ A feoffor who declared uses in a last will could feel satisfied that he had done all he could to discharge his earthly and spiritual responsibilities in a relatively straightforward and inexpensive manner.

If, as the Bedfordshire wills indicate, the ecclesiastical courts were involved in the enforcement of uses, they were actively supporting the individual landowner in his or her recourse to the use in order to enjoy a far-reaching and widely ranging control over real property. It is probably significant that the increase in the declaration of uses in a last will coincided with a surge of activity and discussion by common lawyers and the legislature concerning the device. A statute of 1484 had enabled the *cestui que use* to make a feoffment binding in law, whereas until that point the view of the common law courts had been that uses were nothing in law and functioned on an entirely moral basis.⁴² This act had the effect of familiarizing the common law courts with titles to land traced through uses, but there was disagreement among common lawyers in the early sixteenth century about the position and desirability of the device. Some argued that uses should be fully recognized at common law, while others viewed the use as a fraudulent device which should be abolished since it allowed the evasion of feudal dues.⁴³ The freedom to make a will of lands which the use provided was cited as an important determinant in the abolition of the device, in its medieval form, by the Statute of Uses. Feudal rights and questions of freedom and authority were therefore central to discussions of the legal position of the use which was, by that time, employed by a very broad spectrum of society. The extent to which the use had become a truly popular device is indicated by an Act of 1504, which limited the powers of villeins as feoffees by vesting the villeins' equitable interest in the lord. The act declared that 'if a bondman conveyed lands acquired by him to feoffees to his use, his lord was to have any right to enter them that would have been his if the bondman had been seised [that is, still possessed the legal title to that property]'.⁴⁴ The Church was apparently supporting and facilitating the freedom of the individual to control the descent of real property; a situation that was perceived as a threat to the sphere of control, as well as to the income, of most other forms of sixteenth-century authority – notably to the rules of common law and the vestiges of feudalism.

A financial motive may have played a significant role in the Church's interest in uses: it was not only the common lawyers and feudal lords who were concerned with the fiscal implications of the device. The flexibility of the use meant that land could be used to finance a variety of pious intentions, and bequests of real property could be made conditional upon the fulfilment of such intentions.⁴⁵ In the Bedfordshire wills 32 per cent of all testators who made a will of lands between 1500 and 1533 included specific bequests of real property, or profits from real property, to the Church, and this is undoubtedly a minimum.⁴⁶ Some declarations of uses were set out in detail in a deed or indenture that accompanied but was not included in the will (and was not normally recorded in the probate register).⁴⁷ Thus sometimes only the broad intentions of a testator were included in his or her will; and bequests made to some beneficiaries may have been subject to pious

conditions set out in a separate document, or the subject of a verbal understanding with feoffees and beneficiaries. In such cases the declarations of uses in a last will may have set the moral seal on the uses as well as providing the means by which an ecclesiastical judge could compel their implementation. In 1530 an attempt was made by the legislature to curtail the freedom of the individual over the disposition of real property on the grounds that such freedom was injurious to the state. An Act was passed which limited the rights of those who wanted to leave land to certain religious bodies. Gifts of real property made for a period of longer than twenty years, either for obits, or for the perpetual service of priests, or to churches, chapels or guilds 'erected or made of devotion' without corporation were prohibited.⁴⁹ The passing of such an Act is clearly an indication of the attitude of the legislature towards the provision of land for pious purposes, and one which would not have been passed if such a practice had not been widespread.

The Bedfordshire wills indicate how an apparently secularizing trend could be encouraged to develop within a traditionally pious sphere, where material as well as spiritual gains were involved. Although it must be emphasized that the ability to devise real property may have been considered by testators as a means by which they could achieve a good end – and this had pious as well as mundane implications. The division between the sacred and the secular was a fine one, and the character of the wills under study is a reminder that secularizing trends during the early sixteenth century are not easily defined. The use, being a moral rather than a wholly legal device in the later medieval period, lent itself quite readily not only to association with will- and testament-making but also to the supervision, in some form, of the Church courts. The decline in the use of Latin for the canonical will may therefore have been, at least in part, a result of the medieval laity's desire to control and safeguard their entire property and to ensure that their wishes concerning that property would be fulfilled. The Church apparently found the growing incidence of uses declared in wills to be advantageous and supported, and possibly encouraged, the practice. In this respect Church and laity were acting for mutual advantage. The practice of declaring uses in last wills, which operated on a potentially pious as well as secular level, was clearly a matter of concern for the secular courts. The tensions between one authority and another, between Church, state and individual, are clearly evident in the history of the early-sixteenth-century will. The increasing use of English for this document, which was of immense importance to sixteenth-century individuals, was perhaps a double-edged sword, representing, as it did, a diminution of ecclesiastical separateness, but for purposes that may have been perceived as safeguarding the sphere of authority of the ecclesiastical courts. The Statute of Wills theoretically brought the devise of real property firmly and fully within the sphere of common law and such authority as the Church courts may have enjoyed prior to 1536 was ended. The landowner no longer needed to use intermediaries in order to bequeath real property, and his beneficiaires had recourse to the courts of common law if such bequests were not properly implemented. In practice, the influence of the Church over the disposition of real property may not have died out immediately.⁵⁰ The courts of common law may have seemed to most ordinary sixteenth-century landowners just as remote and problematic as those of chancery, and there is evidence to indicate that some individuals were still presenting wills of land to the Church courts in the middle of the century.⁵¹ Where the medieval law of succession was concerned, theory and practice were not always united.

Notes

1. Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1993), provides a persuasive argument for the necessity of considering 'contexts'.
2. For example, E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400 to c.1500* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1992), and Eric Carlson, *Marriage and the English Reformation* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1994).
3. Judith Ford, 'A study of wills and will-making in the period 1500–1533 with special reference to copy wills in the probate registers of the court of the Archdeacon of Bedford, 1500–1533' (unpublished Open University Ph.D thesis, 1991), treats the problems and limitations of wills and testaments as sources of evidence.
4. *Archdeaconry of Bedford Probate Registers* (Bedfordshire County Record Office ABP/R1, 2 and 3). These registers contain a few wills made in the closing years of the fifteenth century. This paper will make reference to those made between 1500 and 1533.
5. M. M. Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England* (Toronto, 1963), pp. 11–12, 16–17; Henry Swinburne, *A Brief Treatise on Testaments and Last Wills* (London, 1590).
6. Sheehan, *op. cit.*, p. 3. To some extent the terms 'will' and 'testament' were interchangeable. The 'testament' normally consisted of pious bequests of personal property, although a declaration of pious bequests shortly before death might also be of a testamentary character but could be called a 'last will'. Where bequests of both personality and realty were included, the bequests of personal property were usually contained in the part of the document identified as the 'testament' and bequests of land were recorded in the 'last will' or *ultima voluntas*.
7. W S. Holdsworth, *A History of English Law* (Methuen, London, 7th edition, 16 Vols., 1956), III, p. 535.
8. Sheehan, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
9. (Sir) F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland, *The History of English Law Before the Time of Edward I* (Cambridge University Press, reprint of 2nd edition of 1898, 2 Vols., 1968), II, p.336; Sheehan, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
10. Pollock and Maitland, *op. cit.*, II, p. 343.
11. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 420–28.
12. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 308, 327–8.
13. Some boroughs established the principle that the ordinary would have nothing to do with bequests of land which was devisable by custom. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 330–31.
14. Clive Burgess, 'A Fond Thing Vainly Invented: Purgatory and Pious Motive in Later Medieval England', in *Parish, Church and People* (S. Wright ed., Hutchinson, London, 1988), describes the sacrament of penance and evaluates its effect and influence in the later medieval period.
15. For a discussion of the nature and development of the medieval use see Pollock and Maitland, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 228–39 ; Holdsworth, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 407–80.
16. A. W. B. Simpson, *A History of the Land Law* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 2nd edition, 1986), p. 174.
17. The common lawyers' objection to the devise of land is discussed in Pollock and

- Maitland, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 329–30.
18. Holdsworth, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 438.
 19. 27 Hen. VIII c.10. This Act, together with the Statute of Enrolments (27 Hen. VIII, c.16), vested the legal estate in the cestui que use and this was described as ‘executing’ the use. Baker, ‘Uses and wills’, p. 199; Simpson, *op. cit.*, p. 185.
 20. Holdsworth, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 465; Simpson, *op. cit.*, pp. 11–13, describes socage tenure as ‘the great residual category of tenure’ which included all property held of the lord for any definite service other than knight service or spiritual service.
 21. Pollock and Maitland, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 337–8.
 22. Beds C.R.O ABP/R1 and 2.
 23. It is probable that the wills recorded in the Bedfordshire registers were intended to be a reasonably faithful recording of the original will. See Ford, ‘Wills and will-making’, p. 34.
 24. *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 109–10, 124–8.
 25. *Ibid.*, pp. 80–81.
 26. Pollock and Maitland, *op. cit.*, II, p. 349.
 27. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 348–356; Swinburne, *op. cit.*, p. 191.
 28. Beds C.R.O. ABP/R 1, p. 41d.
 29. See, for example, the formulary recorded in the ‘Register of Daniel Rough, Common Clerk of New Romney, 1353–1380’, *Kent Records*, XVII (1945), pp. 232–3.
 30. While testaments of personalty and wills of land become less clearly separated during the period under study, in that the distinct space between the two ‘halves’ disappears from the registers after 1526, it is important to emphasize that the integration of bequests of personal and real property was of a limited character. It is not until 1531 that a will occurs in which the bequests of land are recorded first (see the will of John Spencer, a gentleman of Pavenham, who may have written the will himself. Beds. C.R.O. ABP/R 3, pp. 78–80), and this will remains a single exception in the first three surviving probate registers of the court of the archdeacon of Bedford, which record wills made between 1500 and 1533.
 31. Both freehold and copyhold property could be held in ‘fee simple’, which denoted an estate which was heritable and would endure as long as an heir of the landowner was living Pollock and Maitland, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 13–14.
 32. R H. Helmholz, ‘The Early Enforcement of Uses’, *Columbia Law Review*, LXXIX (1979), pp. 1503–13.
 33. *Ibid.*
 34. J. L. Barton, ‘The Medieval Use’, *Law Quarterly Review*, LXXXI (1965), p. 568.
 35. The importance of overlapping responsibilities in the enforcement of pious intentions has already been noted by Clive Burgess, ‘Strategies for eternity: perpetual charity foundation in late medieval Bristol’, in *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England* (C. Harper-Bill ed., 1991), pp. 16–17.
 36. See, for example, the will of Robert Furthowe of Potton, dated 1 April 1515. Beds. C.R.O ABP/R1, p. 129; see also J. M. W. Bean, *The Decline of English Feudalism* (Manchester U.P., 1968), p. 154.
 37. Beds C.R.O. ABP/R 2, p. 8.

38. Beds C.R.O. ABP/R 1, p. 106.
39. Ford, 'Wills and will-making', *passim*.
40. There were many possible permutations of interaction between executors and feoffees. Although testators such as John Hardyng apparently vested ultimate authority in feoffees, other testators declared that an executor who was not also a feoffee was to enjoy such authority. See, for example, the will of Robert Cooper of Tempsford, dated 28 March 1528. ABP/R2, p. 11.
41. Even wealthy feoffors might appeal to Church before chancery for help in the enactment of a use. Roger Virgoe, 'Inheritance and Litigation in the Fifteenth Century: The Buckenham Disputes', *The Journal of Legal History*, 15 no. 1 (April 1994), p. 28, notes Sir John Fastolf's appeal to ecclesiastical courts.
42. 1Rich III,c.1.
43. Simpson, *op cit.*, pp. 182–3.
44. Bean, *op cit.*, pp. 178–9, citing 19 Hen.VII., c.15.
45. Holdsworth, *op cit.*, IV, pp. 438–40.
46. Ford , 'Wills and will-making', p. 23.
47. See, for example, the will of Cuthbat Cutlat of Eton, cited in note 38.
48. 23Hen.VIII, c.10; Holdsworth, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 443–4.
49. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 422.
50. Ralph Houlbrooke, *Church Courts and the English People* (Oxford U.P., 1979), p. 153.

Reaction to the Sale of Church Goods at the Reformation

Christopher Daniell

Past Forward

The impact of the Reformation profoundly changed the visual look of churches. By 1530 parish churches were filled to overflowing with objects given by the parishioners or bought from church funds. Sometimes lack of space was a severe problem. A case from Norfolk shows how full churches could be: John Almyngham left £10 for a pair of organs and £10 for a canopy for the high altar, but specified that if there was no space left for the canopy the money should be spent on a tabernacle for the image of St Andrew.¹ The inventories of church goods compiled in the 1540s are testimony to the hundreds of objects that could be within churches. The ‘small and unimportant church’ of St Martin Outwich has the longest of the Reformation inventories from the London churches, stretching to fourteen printed pages.² The inventories include gold, silver, copper and pewter objects; cloths and vestments, such as altar cloths, copes, surplices, hearse cloths, towels, banners, curtains, painted cloths; books – including the Bible, Book of Common Prayer, procession books; and furniture such as chests, desks and organs. These objects were just the movable items. Other features included the rood screens and statues, murals and stained glass.

Ten years later churches looked radically different. Candles were scarce, and the rood screens, plate and vestments had been sold off or destroyed. The walls had been white-washed and passages of Scripture painted on them, and even the altars had been demolished and replaced by wooden tables in the naves. The changes were not only visual. Objects had previously played an important part in the local religious practices: medieval wills show that altars, images, statues and lights were a focus for devotion and burial. To cite one example of thousands, Nicholas Talbot in 1501 requested to be buried in Berkhamstead in the chapel of Our Lady, ‘betwyx the ymage of our Lady of Pyte and the ymage of oure Lady of G[ra]ce’ and left money for the light over the high altar.³ These items were broken up and destroyed.

Yet amazingly there was little outcry about the destruction and sale of church goods. It is true that there was some physical resistance, especially in the West Country. In 1548 William Body was murdered in Helston because of the heavy-handed way he was pulling down images and in Exeter a group of women prevented workmen from pulling down a rood screen in the priory of St Nicholas.⁴ In London, too, there is an enigmatic phrase in an inventory of St Botolph, Aldersgate, ‘for mending the glasse wyndowes being broken in the commocyon tyme with shooting of gonne’.⁵ Even so, these examples are isolated and do not constitute a national revolt on the scale of ‘The Pilgrimage of Grace’. That this wholesale clearance of items during Henry VIII’s and Edward’s reigns was met by a lack of response is puzzling and some of the reasons will be explored.

A small part of the answer may lie in the persuasive powers of the government at local

level. Between 1550 and 1551 the churchwardens of Stoke Charity, Hampshire had to report twice to royal commissioners and once to the archdeacon.⁸ Although this was exceptional, regular checks were carried out to make sure that the government's policies were being followed. Some of the official 'visitors' even took matters into their own hands if compliance was not forthcoming: at Hull they personally destroyed statues.⁹

The first important point to note is that the emphasis of the sales was upon the objects in churches, not the parish churches themselves. Parishioners could, and did, fight hard if they thought their church itself was in danger. In York the church of St Helen, Stonegate was sold and was partially demolished. While demolition was proceeding the parishioners secured an Act of Parliament that ordered the church to be rebuilt from the demolished remains.¹⁰ Similarly, at St Margaret's, Westminster there was little resistance from the parishioners to the selling off of objects but when their church was going to be pulled down so that the stone could be used for Somerset's new house in the Strand,

The workmen had no sooner advanced their scaffolds when the parishioners gathered together in great multitudes, with bows and arrows, staves and clubs, and other such offensive weapons, which so terrified the workmen that they ran away in great amazement, and never could be brought again upon that employment.¹¹

In the minds of the parishioners there does seem to have been a crucial difference between their parish church and the objects within it. Similarly it was the parish church that seems to have held the affection of the people, rather than the monastery or friary churches. It may be significant that the monastic churches to survive intact were those already in use as parish churches.

The objects within were a different matter. Before the Reformation many churches were careful to record their possessions and who had donated them, the donors sometimes being remembered for centuries. The parishioners had been largely responsible for equipping their churches either through payments or bequests in wills, and whilst at prayer they would have seen the objects they had given or paid for around the church, whether curtains, towels, vestments or objects of precious metals. In contrast the Reformation inventories of the 1540s very rarely specify who gave the objects. The donated items become removed from the personal sphere and are treated as Church assets to be freely sold or destroyed.¹²

The acceptance of the selling of Church goods may have been because of the time-scale of the sales over a fifteen-year period between 1538 and 1553. A decree of 1538 declared each parish must purchase a Bible (this was not taken up with enthusiasm in most churches); extinguish all lights apart from those on the altar, in the rood loft and before the Easter sepulchre; and remove any images that had been 'abused with pilgrimages or offerings'.¹³ The final injunction of Edward's reign concerning Church goods occurred in January 1553, giving instructions to seize all surviving goods except linen, chalices and bells. All other goods had to be sold, and the money – with all the plate and jewels – sent to London. Fifteen years is a reasonable time-span, especially when it is remembered that average age expectancy was probably less than forty. Within those fifteen years parishioners could have become used to the idea that their church was changing and plan, or react, accordingly.

Many churches sold off material and objects long before they technically needed to. One of the reasons for the 1553 instructions was that the Privy Council was worried by the number of churches selling off their plate and goods to the benefit solely of their parish. This seems to be confirmed by the churchwardens' accounts: of a sample of ninety-six record the sale of vestments and ornaments between 1547 and 1552.¹² Some of this may have been quick-witted parishioners seeing which way the wind was blowing and gaining revenue whilst they could; some may have been parishioners selling the objects into hands they knew were safe, as we shall see.

However, the sale of goods may also have been supported by important parishioners who, although their ancestors had given the objects, may have had conflicts of interest. Conflicts of interest may have been rife within congregations with parishioners being churchwardens, guild members, businessmen and individuals and as one – or all four – could have had an eye for profit. The office of churchwarden originated in the twelfth century and its original function, which lasted until the Reformation, was as warden of the goods of the church. Usually there were two wardens, a senior and a junior, the senior retiring after a year, the junior taking the role of senior, and a new junior elected. (Women could also be appointed by parishioners as churchwardens and at Yatton in Somerset 'My Lady Dame Isabell Newton' held the office in 1496.¹³) It is an important consideration that churchwardens were not put into office by the state, but were elected by the parishioners themselves, although politics probably played a part.

The elected position is crucial as the results presumably indicated the wishes of the parishioners. At St Botolph Aldersgate a dispute broke out between the conservative 'farmer' of the parish and the newly elected reforming churchwardens, which progressed through supplications to the Duke of Somerset to the eventual imprisonment of one of the churchwardens.¹⁴ Many of the churchwardens were reformers and in Mary's reign fourteen were called before the Vicar-General to account for their zealous selling of goods.¹⁵ Evidence for the popularity of the views of churchwardens with their parishioners may be, perhaps, taken further in London, as three separate examples exist of one person being churchwarden of two different parishes in close succession. The mercer Richard Malory was a churchwarden of St Peter, West Cheap and then a churchwarden of St Pancras; William Merick was a churchwarden of St Martin, Outwich and then St Peter Le Poer; and John Royse was churchwarden in St Edmund, Lombard Street and then All Hallows, London Wall.¹⁶ Assuming that they didn't move into the second parish and then become elected, the ability to hold two churchwardenships shows the mobility of people and ideas. Churchwardens were important people, not only within the Church but also within the community: Richard Malory was Sheriff of London in 1557 and Lord Mayor in 1564, and out of the seventy-five guild-members who were also churchwardens between 1555 and 1582, five became Lord Mayor of London.¹⁷

The conflict of interest lay in the churchwardens' responsibility for church goods whilst also being guild-members and businessmen. In London the grouping of churchwardens by guilds is noticeable.¹⁸ Out of the twelve members of the haberdashers' guild mentioned in London inventories, ten were churchwardens. This was the highest percentage (83 per cent) but other important guilds with churchwardens include the mercers (seven churchwardens out of eleven members mentioned) and the merchant tailors (five churchwardens out of ten guild members mentioned). One of the crafts that bought up enormous quantities of church material was the goldsmiths, but in this case out of fifty-

three guild members mentioned in the inventories, only six were churchwardens. These guilds – the haberdashers, mercers, merchant tailors and goldsmiths – all benefited from the sales. The probable support of powerful guilds-members may explain why there was so little resistance from the guilds themselves.

As well as the straight buying of goods for profit, some people seem to have bought goods, or stolen them, to keep them safe until Catholicism returned. (This may have lessened the need violently to react against the sales.) In 1553 a vicar from Berkshire, Sir John Fawkener, bought four complete sets of vestments and copes, four assorted chasubles, a spare cope, and an altar frontal, for £5 16 s. 8 d. which he sold back to the church at cost when Mary came to the throne.¹⁹ Evasive action also occurred in London. At St Michael, Bassishaw the parson, John Anderton, bought a vestment of white damask for 20 s. This was the most expensive item recorded as being bought by a parson, but two parsons at St Martin, Outwich – the old and the incoming parsons – bought between them 12 s. worth of goods; William Colwyn, the parson of St Antholin, bought a curtain of red sacerett for 5 s., and the parson of St Mary Magdalene, Thomas Chipping, bought 20 d. worth of goods. The motives behind these sales were probably the safety of the goods. This was taken a stage further by Parson Graye, who was reported by the churchwardens of St John the Evangelist's to 'hath taken out of the same church a vestment of red damaske with the alb' – as well as two other people having 'in their hands' parcels of plate and various vestments.²⁰ Although no reason was given, it was almost certainly for 'safe-keeping' against the church sales. The practice was common elsewhere in England and sometimes it reached almost epidemic proportions. Out of forty-nine churches in Huntingdonshire, eighteen reported objects stolen in 1552.²¹

Although the sales and 'safe-keeping' are commonly discussed, the use of revenue from sales is rarely mentioned. As we have seen, after 1553 all the money, jewels and plate were confiscated by the Crown, but fifteen years had elapsed since the first goods had gone from churches. Sometimes the sales seem to have been rushed, and with a marketplace already full of similar objects, the goods could be very undervalued, a case in point being the sale of the tabernacles and fittings from St Lawrence, Reading for just 2 s. 8 d., whereas in 1519 two of the tabernacles had been gilded for £1.²² Even so, large amounts of money could be generated by the sales. All Hallows Lombard Street raised £76, St Dionis Backchurch, £51, but the highest was St Botolph, Billingsgate, which raised £231.²³ Even though these sorts of figures were uncommon, they do show that sales could produce much-needed cash, large amounts of which were spent on repairs. Some of these repairs were necessary from the injunctions laid down: at St Stephen, Coleman Street money was spent on new window glass, 'as Imagerye was contrarye to the Kinges proceedings', and at St Botolph, Aldersgate the glass was replaced because it was broken 'in the commocyon time'. Whitewashing and the painting of Scriptures on the walls was a common expense, as at St Botolph, St Mary, Aldermanry and All Hallows the Less, but the amounts involved were not large.²⁴

These minor changes are to be expected, but what is more striking is the obviously very poor condition of the fabric of many churches, which is made explicit in some inventories. The inventory for St Ethelburga describes the church as having 'fallen into such ruin and decay whereby it raineth in divers places to the great annoyance and disquietness of the whole parishioners'. Another ruinous church which was helped by the sale of goods was St Katherine Cree. The new income was used for 'the necessarye and

nedefull reparacions of the said parysse Churche whych ys very Roynouse [ruinous] and sore in decay'.²³ For centuries the parishioners had traditionally been responsible financially for the nave of the church, whilst the vicar or rector was responsible for the chancel. In some areas the parishioners were wealthy and this caused no problem; in Westminster the parishioners even financed an entirely new church, which was only finished in 1520. However, the state of the ruinous churches could be seen as a sign of parish poverty. This was certainly true in the case of St Leonard, Foster Lane, where the church was in 'Ruyne and decaye' and the 'great povertie' of the parish meant that it could not be repaired, except by the sale of the church plate.²⁴ In some cases an alternative explanation might be that although the parishioners paid lip service to their financial responsibilities and gave small donations, they were not willing to give larger amounts of money. Thus the new income, from the sale of goods, was a lifeline to many churches. The parishioners themselves may have encouraged it for that very reason and was presumably a powerful incentive not to complain too bitterly about the loss of their goods. In the case of St Katherine Cree forty-one people were listed as consenting to the 'Sale of these Ornaments'. Another example occurred at the recently burnt church of St Giles, Cripplegate. Here it was specifically stated that the new money from the sale of goods was used for the repairs, '...that the said money comyng of alle the salles of the said Churche goodes hathe byne converted Employed & bestowed uppon the buyldynge of their Churche which yt is well knownen was burnt and for Tymber leade stone and other chardges.'²⁵ After this a further statement was made that £100 would not finish the building for which the parishioners are charged. Occasionally the money was used speculatively. At St Michael Le Quern £135 was used to buy three tenements and pay for the legal costs involved, and at St Mary Bothaw £42 was used, with the consent of the whole parish, to buy a house that would yield £8 in rent a year for the relief of the poor – even though the church was described as in 'grete Ruyn'.²⁶

A 1552 list also survives from rural Huntingdonshire of what was sold or stolen, and how the money from the sales was spent.²⁷ Out of the forty-nine churches listed, thirty gave information on the use to which the money was put. The most popular use (twenty-three cases) was for church repairs. These ranged from the serious, such as at Allwarton for 'glassing and mending the church, belles and church wall' and at Uppwode for mending the steeple, to 'whitting and scripturing' the interiors of churches in three cases. The second most common use, with fifteen cases, was to give the money to the poor. This may have been a reflection of the concern felt about the giving of charity; a feature of the Reformation in the early 1550s.²⁸ Normally the money was just 'bestowed upon the poor' but at Somersham the churchwardens went further and gave the poor 'vii towelles of playn clothe, vi of diaper, vi aliter clothes of playn clothe, iii allter clothes of diaper, ii payre of olde shettes, a vaile for Lente, one old surplesse and one rochett.' Sometimes the poor never received the money. At St Maries in Hunt the money was 'putt into the poore menes box, and the box broken and the money (29 s. 10 d.) was taken awaye in the night', which was a similar fate to the poor men's box at Standground cum Farsett which was robbed of £4 'on St Peteres Even before the first inventorye made'. The final use of the money, in seven cases, was for projects such as bridge-building, the clearance of dykes and the maintenance of highways. The forcible nature of the sales may therefore have been lessened by the realization that the money would remain in the community, whether as charity to help the poor or to improve

aspects of the local area.

So far the sales in the 1540s have been discussed almost solely in terms of that decade, but they need to be put in a broader context. The debate about strength of late medieval religion rages between the two schools of thought: the conservative 'traditional' medieval religion versus a popular Reformation. However, what is evident is that people were prepared to accept changes, and indeed many of the changes to churches at the Reformation had been happening in piecemeal fashion for centuries before. In 1547, at St Dunstan-in-the-East, the 'Battylmentes of the higher parte of the North parte of the sayde Church ffell vpon the North Yle ... with such vvolence and greate wayte that with the fall therof yt brake asounder the greate Beames and tymbers of the Roffe.'¹¹ Not surprisingly this caused a severe problem, but it was made much worse because 'there was no money in the church [and so] yt was thought necessary to make mony and sell suche plate as might be best spared.' In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries bishops sometimes removed gold and silver from shrines to pay for the Crusades. Another way churches were transformed during the Reformation was by the whitewashing of walls. (Ironically many of the finest medieval church paintings that have survived did so because they were whitewashed at the Reformation and have since been uncovered.) However, whitewashing was not a new idea suddenly sprung upon the churches: medieval churches had been whitewashed inside and out as is shown by the churchwardens' accounts. At St Mary at Hill, St Katherine's chapel was probably lime washed in 1504–5 and again in 1525–6; at St Andrews, Canterbury the church walls were 'washed' in 1504–7 and whitened in 1519–20; at Salisbury the church of St Edmund had its walls cleaned in 1534–5.¹² This whitewashing may have been for the exterior of the church, for medieval churches were usually white to look at, and also for the interior which may have been necessary in pre-Reformation churches because of the number of candles burning and the associated blackening.

The sale of goods represented a major change to the appearance of a church but the impact may have been lessened as the church fabric and contents were constantly changed. A person born in 1495 would have witnessed many changes to the layout of his parish church, which was not static, but a visually dynamic, evolving and ever-changing building. This can be illustrated by again looking at the churchwardens' accounts, for which two will suffice. The London church of St Mary at Hill had new pews in 1500–1501, 1504–5, 1512–3, 1523–4, 1534–5; it had numerous additions and changes to its fabric – new windows in 1503–4, a new south aisle in 1504–5, windows put in the steeple, and new bells in 1510–11 and major work to the aisle in 1526. In St Andrews, Canterbury new additions were not unknown: a new pulpit and bells in 1504–7, a new clock in 1507–8, a new rood loft in 1508–9, a new window in 1512–13, a new organ in 1513–14.¹³ (Unfortunately from the late 1520s to the 1540s the accounts for this church are missing.) Such building works can be multiplied many times in the remaining extent churchwardens' accounts.

In greater or lesser measure churches had been changing for centuries, and the Reformation, albeit with a much greater impact, was just one more change. Indeed the introduction of the Bible into churches meant adding another item into already crowded churches. The 'last shall be first' was true in this case: the introduction of Scripture meant the removal of long established practices. The lack of response nationally was probably a reflection of the ability of parishioners to accept and welcome new ideas and

turn them to their advantage. To the parishioners it was the religion and church at the heart of their parish that was important, not the contents within it.

Notes

1. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (Yale U.P. 1992), p. 134.
2. H. B. Walters ed., *London Churches at the Reformation* (SPCK, London, 1939), p. 385.
3. Samuel Tymms ed., 'Wills and Inventories from the Registers of the Commissary of Bury St Edmunds', *Camden Society* (1850), p. 85.
4. Duffy, *op. cit.*, p. 458; Joyce Youings, 'The Dissolution of the Monasteries', *Historical Problems, Studies and Documents*, 14 (1971), pp. 164–5.
5. Ronald Hutton, 'The local impact of the Tudor Reformation', in *The English Reformation Revised* (C. Haigh ed., Cambridge U.P., Cambridge, 1987), p. 155.
6. Walters, *op. cit.*, p. 203.
7. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 115.
8. David Palliser, *Tudor York* (Oxford U.P., Oxford, 1979) p. 39.
9. Gervase Rosser, *Medieval Westminster*, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989).
10. Duffy, *op. cit.*, pp. 495–6
11. Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Charles Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts from the Fourteenth Century to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (Methuen, London, 1913), pp. 1–14.
14. Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1991) pp. 431–2.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 568.
16. Walters, *op. cit.*, pp. 57–66.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. Duffy, *op. cit.*, p. 490.
20. Walters, *op. cit.*, pp. 396, 172, 483, 298.
21. 'The Edwardian Inventories for Huntingdonshire', S. C. Lomas ed., *Alcuin Club Collections*, VII (Longmans, London, 1906).
22. Hutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 126–7.
23. Walters, *op. cit.*, pp. 113, 244, 219.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 603, 203, 428, 109.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 272, 324.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 336.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 209.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 511.
29. Lomas, *op. cit.* The following analysis is taken from the list of churches on pp. 30–43.
30. Brigden, *op. cit.*, pp. 470–83.
31. Walters, *op. cit.*, p. 246.
32. Henry Littlehales ed., 'The Medieval Records of a London City Church (St Mary

at Hill) AD 1420–1559', Early English Text Society, O.S., 128 (1905); Henry James Fowle Swayne ed., 'Churchwardens' Accountsof S. Edmund and S. Thomas, Sarum 1443–1702', Wiltshire Record Society, 1, (1896); Charles Cotton ed., 'Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of St Andrew, Canterbury from 1485 to 1625', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 32, (1917).

33. *Ibid.*

Erasmus and Tyndale on Bible-reading

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The relation between Erasmus and the Reformation has been widely discussed, yet Erasmus' undoubted influence on William Tyndale has been little analyzed. In common with other reformers, William Tyndale learned to read the Bible from Erasmus. His reading of Erasmus, nevertheless, was not straightforward or simple, and certainly his theological conclusions were not the same.

Erasmus set out his conception of Bible-reading in his *Ratio verae theologiae* of 1518, and those same principles are to be found throughout his writings of that time and later. Yet Tyndale's understanding of Bible-reading does not derive from this source, I will argue here, as much as from the *Enchiridion militis christiani* of 1503, which Tyndale had translated.¹ Even at that, Tyndale's reading of Erasmus was selective and idiosyncratic. Nevertheless, the result is not arbitrary, but derives from an Erasmianism reduced to its philological elements, ignoring the rhetorical theology that dominates Erasmus' mature hermeneutic.

Erasmus' rhetorical theology is now very well known. It is Christocentric, in that the figure of Christ as a personality, as a perfect God-man, is central to it. The Erasmus of 1516–18 wishes the character of Christ to be known to all, to become alive in believers from their reading of the Scriptures. In the Introduction to the New Testament, he had mentioned the veneration of images and gone on:

[An image] represents only the form of the body – if indeed it represents anything of Him – but these writings bring you the living image of His holy mind and the speaking, healing, dying, rising Christ Himself, and thus they render Him so fully present that you would see less if you gazed upon Him with your very eyes.²

A number of commentators over the last thirty years have remarked on this presence of Christ in Scripture as central to Erasmus' theology.³ Most recently, Manfred Hoffmann has dubbed this element 'Christ's inverbation in Scripture'.⁴ Christ is viewed as the author of Scripture, and, by the signifying power of language, Erasmus thought that he could become present to the reader, inspiring readers by his own character made of perfect virtues.

For Erasmus, one of the ways of seeing someone's character in discourse is through the philological analysis of narrative and descriptive passages. In the *Ecclesiastes* of 1535, Erasmus demonstrates to the preacher how he can impress upon the congregation that Jesus had wonderful qualities of goodness, charity and gentleness.⁵ He asks the preacher to carry out a careful and vivid exposition of the story of the paralytic told in Matthew 9:2–8 and Luke 5:18–26. In the process, naturally one must understand all the vocabulary in the two versions of the story, and one must compare word usage with other

sources. In this case Erasmus thinks it would be good to read ‘books of the physicians’ in order to grasp the nature of paralysis.⁶ Once a true understanding of the text is found through philology, that is, comparison with other ancient texts, the reader can discover the true acts and therefore the perfect character of Christ.

Philology has then an important role in Erasmus’ view of Bible-reading. It is necessary, if Christ’s character is to be seen vividly and accurately, that the details of each story be read well. Therefore one must read each word in the New Testament according to the most accurate possible techniques. For Erasmus, these techniques were those he had learned from Lorenzo Valla. Each word, in Erasmus’ view, must be compared with the usage previous to, and contemporary with, the text under scrutiny. For example, Erasmus discusses whether the Greek word *pistis* in its pagan usage previous to the New Testament can reasonably be translated into Latin as *fides*.⁷ This kind of philology requires enormous learning, as the commentator must be able to produce a range of examples of each word, and examine whether they do indeed mean the same thing.

Character is the object, for Erasmus, of philological reading. Not only is Christ the centre of Bible-reading, but Cicero’s character is the centre in reading his works. Erasmus has two principal metaphors to describe the appearance of the author in the text. One is of the work as a mirror of the author’s mind,⁸ and the other is of a spring: the mind produces language as a source produces water, and that water, whether pure or polluted, flows out to be drunk by all who read or listen.⁹ The function of philology, one might say, is to polish the mirror, and to purify the water of impurities gained through the centuries, to be sure that the true product of the best mind is in fact what is read.

Yet there is a certain contradiction between philology and rhetorical reading, or rhetorical theology. Philology denies authorship in that the basic principle is *consuetudo*, or custom. The text as a whole is seen as purely the emanation of an author’s mind, but each word in it is the result of impersonal convention. Still, perhaps the individuality of the author is to be found in larger stylistic features.

So indeed, Erasmus postulates the presence of the author’s character, including Christ’s, in ‘style ... an imaging of the mind in its every facet’.¹⁰ Erasmus tells us of the kinds of men he reads in texts:

One may have greater charm, another more conscientiousness, still another more simplicity, another a more vivid personality, another more gentleness, another more intensity; one man may be marked by austerity, another by kindness, one by loquacity, another by conciseness, one by learning, another by holiness, one by copiousness, another by force and vigour.¹¹

In the definition of style which accompanies this passage, there are two elements of style in the text: treatment of argument and figures.¹² Erasmus has little to say about the treatment of argument, but in figures he sees the expression of the writer’s personality.

It would be involved and wearisome to trace Erasmus’ logic on the relation of figures to the author’s character. Suffice it to say that each figure is seen as tending toward some virtue of style, whether pleasantness, vehemence or vividness, and the choices made by the author as to rhetorical effect are seen as evidence of the author’s character.¹³ Hence Luther’s chief fault lies in the indiscriminate forcefulness of his writing style, which is so extreme as to deserve the Greek name of *deinosis*.¹⁴ Similarly, one Pietro Crinito earns

Erasmus' scorn since 'like a shrew-mouse he gives himself away by his own voice'.¹⁵ As for Christ, Erasmus tells us that his 'manner of speaking' (*sermonis habitus*) lies in his extensive use of 'tropes and allegories and similes or parables'.¹⁶ He uses these figures in order better to move the feelings of his flock toward holiness. He uses familiar things to tell his stories and makes his parables vivid in order to accommodate the human weakness of those he addresses.¹⁷ What Jesus' style demonstrates is the divine charity which bends down to humanity and tells of the heavenly things in a way that they can understand.

William Tyndale's Bible-reading derives from Erasmian philology, but the search for an author's character is no part of his work. Instead of an ideal character, Tyndale seeks a God of covenant:

God is no thinge but his law and his promyses/that is to saye/that which he biddeth the doo and that which he biddeth the beleve and hope. God is but his worde.¹⁸

In this theological view he is very firm. To him, the vital element of Bible reading is in the need to understand the law God has laid down for his people and the promise of salvation for those who have faith. The virtues of God or of Jesus are nowhere discussed, except insofar as God's law is just and his keeping of promises makes him true.¹⁹ The goal of interpretation is then quite different.

With respect to individual words, this difference of purpose creates no rift between the practices of Erasmus and Tyndale. Both refer to custom in determining word-meanings, and they reach similar conclusions. Tyndale treats English a little differently from Erasmus' treatment of Latin, in that Erasmus' 'custom of the ancients' arose from the usage of canonical authors. Tyndale might have done this in English, using Chaucer, Lydgate and perhaps Skelton, but he does not. Instead, he appeals to the English-speaking reader to confirm his judgements: 'I report me unto the consciences of all the land' (PS III, 14). He generally does not present much detail on the Greek precedents in word-use, very probably relying on Erasmus, whom he once cites by name (PS III, 16).

When the question of construing figures arises, the matter is quite otherwise. Erasmus' conception of style had required him to interpret figures in terms of the writer. Tyndale, being uninterested in style and in authorship, sees figures in terms of impersonal meaning. At the beginning of *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, Tyndale asks that preachers should teach the people the 'principles and the grounde of the fayth' and further, 'I wolde have you to teach them also the propirties and maner of speakinges of the scripture/and how to expounde proverbes and similitudes.'²⁰ Though 'maner of speakinges' is probably a translation of Erasmus' *sermonis habitus*, it is not attached to an author here, but to the entire Bible, and what is at issue is not the character of any speaker, even Christ, but the accurate understanding of doctrine.

There was precedent for this in Erasmus' *Enchiridion militis christiani* of 1503, which Tyndale had translated in 1521 or 1522. In that work Erasmus recommends to the Bible-reader to interpret all the visible world in terms of its analogues in the invisible world of God, his angels, and the 'blessed minds.' The most important aspect for this argument lies in Erasmus' insistence that this not be done at random, or according to the individual mind of the believer, but according to the usage of the Bible. Hence, one

should respond to the rising sun as follows:

[Being] instructed by visible creation, pray with Paul that He who ordered the light to shine out of darkness may Himself shine in your heart to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ Jesus. Recollect similar places in the Holy Scriptures where here and there the grace of the Holy Spirit is compared to light.²¹

The significance of this passage is that it makes the Bible into a metaphorical code. There is a signifying practice here, which the Bible-reader should imitate in his or her prayers. Erasmus goes further, suggesting that there can be a method, *ratio*, which can underlie the reading of Biblical simile, metaphor and allegory:

In unveiling the hidden sense...one ought not to follow conjectures of his own mind but acquire a method, and, so to speak, a kind of technique, something a certain Dionysius gives us in a book called *Concerning the Names of God* and Saint Augustine in his work entitled *Christian Doctrine*.²²

Another part of the *Enchiridion* offers an illustration of this 'method' or 'technique' in which water is shown to be customarily a symbol of divine wisdom, and Erasmus thereby claims the right to interpret water in the same way throughout the Bible.²³ Unquestionably, this codifying aspect of Erasmus' understanding of metaphor was subordinate, in his career as a whole, to the emphasis on authorship and style, but it was there for Tyndale to read.

Tyndale reads in the fashion of the *Enchiridion* when he comes to confute the notion that the power of the Pope is underwritten by Jesus' statement, 'Thou art Peter and on this rock I will build my church' (or, as Tyndale has it, 'congregacion'; Matthew 16:18). He tells us, 'Now sayeth all the scripture that the rocke is Christe/the fayth and Gods worde,' and there follows a series of examples of rock-imagery just as Erasmus offers for water.²⁴

Tyndale carries the notion of impersonal code in the reading of metaphor rather further than does Erasmus. His well-known discussion of the four senses of Scripture in the *Obedience* includes a general characterization of metaphorical speech. He presents a series of proverbs from English usage and concludes:

Thus borow we and fayne new speach in every tonge. All fabels prophesies and redels are allegories as Ysopus fabels and Marliens prophisies and the interpretation of them are the literall sence.

So in like maner the scripture boroweth wordes and sentences of all maner thinges and maketh proverbes and similitudes or allegories.²⁵

Where Erasmus had used figures, including the metaphorical figures, to differentiate between authors, Tyndale uses the notion of metaphor to present all signification as the same. As it is 'our' custom to borrow expressions from some trade or discipline to express things alien to it, so it is the custom in all languages, all times and all writings.

This generalization is startlingly nuanced in 'A Brief Declaration of the Sacraments'

of 1533. This treatise is concerned with 'the manners and fashions of the Hebrews' in signifying practice.²⁶ Tyndale begins with the establishment of cairns to mark boundaries and works logically through Hebrew ceremonial to the moment when the Christian sacraments are established by Jesus. With respect to metaphor, he proposes that

The Jews...are wont ever to name the memorial and signs of things with the very name of the thing signified; that the very name might the better keep the thing in mind: as when Jacob, Gen. xxxii. turned home again out of Mesopotamia, saw the angels of God come against him, he called the place where he saw the *Mahanaim, an host*; because that his posterity in time to come, when they heard the field, which was none host, yet so called, should ask why it was so named, that their elders might thereby have an occasion to teach that Jacob saw there an host of angels. (PS I, 375–6)

He goes on with three pages in the Parker Society edition of parallel examples out of the Bible, from which he concludes that

where Matthew and Mark say, 'This cup is my blood of the new testament', the sense must needs be also, that it is the memorial and seal thereof; only calling, after the use of the Hebrews, the sign with the name of that which is signified. (PS I, 379)

What Tyndale is proposing here is a trope specific to the Hebrews, a specialized type of metaphor. This is quite remarkable: very few or none of the many who have discussed metaphor have ever thought to make it culturally relative in this way.

Once again, Tyndale has made no reference to specific users in his discussion of metaphor. It is not the choice of metaphor as revealing the speaker's character that interests him. In this case his point is that the words establishing the Eucharist must be rightly understood in relation to the law and the promise: the sacrament is given by God to keep the promise 'in mind', and the law does not state that one must believe, as Catholics would claim, in the transubstantiation.

Each of our two writers faces problems in his approach to metaphorical speech, but Erasmus' problems must be seen as worse than those of Tyndale. In the edition of Jerome of 1516 he tries to explain how he knows that one work is by Jerome and another not. He must return time and again to irreducible perceptions: in one place he compares his ability to discriminate to recognizing the smell of parsley, and in another to recognizing a friend on the street.²⁷ He works from the impact of the text on himself toward a conclusion about the author. He possesses a view of 'virtues of discourse' (*virtutes orationis*) which he could use to describe this impact, and he could list the elements of style, but at this stage there is no relating the two.²⁸ Even his most developed understanding of figures, published at the end of his life, does not relate them directly to the character of an author, but catalogued only the virtues of style promoted by each figure. Once it is known that a particular figure in a particular context promotes, say, vehemence (*vehementia*), we must still discuss all the other figures and make an assessment of the overall impact of the passage or of the text. If the passage can be shown to be vehement overall, we still do not know about the author's character until we have related this vehemence to him, to

the audience addressed, to the material and to time and place. It is a complex judgement at best, and the categories involved are not easily limitable. 'Time', for example, might require a full discussion of the historical moment, what had happened just before writing the piece, what the audience felt about it and so on.

Tyndale also has problems applying his method. On the important question of the keys of St Peter, he offers his interpretation with relatively little support. He says that the keys are the keys of knowledge: that is, knowledge of the law and the promises. Yet this time he has no tremendous list of occurrences to offer, but can refer to only one passage, in Luke 11.²⁹ In this case, he moves to other means of interpretation: he argues that there is no case within the Bible of Peter using the 'power of the keys' as the Pope uses it, but different apostles may be seen to preach the knowledge of the law and the promises just as he says. This is a case of 'clear scripture' interpreting an obscure passage, after a principle of Augustine learned directly, from Erasmus, or from another source influenced by Augustine such as Luther.³⁰

When Tyndale interprets the verse 'I send you forth as shepe amonge wolves,' he draws no conclusions about Christ, the author of these words. Rather, he interprets: 'The shepe fygth not: but the sheparde fyggetteth for them and careth for them.'³¹ Though he does not argue this interpretation, the practice we have already seen suggests a way to do it: one would go through the Bible drawing out all the occurrences of sheep, and interpret according to the customary usage of the Bible. One might well run across contradictory instances, but at least the procedure is clear.

One might argue for Erasmus' way of reading that it offers a living, dynamic image out of the text, which is effectively inspiring to the reader. Yet for a writer with Tyndale's preoccupations, who wished to be very sure that he was in truth reading the Bible, and not some product of human imagination, certainty of interpretation is well served by simplicity of method. Because Tyndale is moving from words to words, from the words on the Bible page to the words of law and promise, his path is clear, even if he has difficulty making a simple case in many places. Because Erasmus is moving from words to something different in kind, that is, to the projected psychology of a human being or of God, his problems are perhaps irresolvable.

List of abbreviations

- Allen: *Erasmi epistolae* (ed. P. S. and H. M. Allen, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1906–58).
ASD: *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami* (North-Holland, Amsterdam, 1969–).
CWE: *Collected Works of Erasmus* (U. of Toronto P., Toronto, 1974–).
Holborn: Erasmus, *Ausgewählte Werke* [in Latin] (ed. Hajo and Annemarie Holborn, Beck'sche, Munich, 1933; reprinted 1964).
LB: *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Opera omnia* (ed. Jean Leclerc, vander Aa, Leyden, 1703–6).
PS I: William Tyndale, *Doctrinal Treatises and Introductions to Different Portions of Holy Scripture* (ed. Henry Walter, The Parker Society, Cambridge, 1848; reprint Johnson, New York, 1968).
PS III: William Tyndale, *An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue, The Supper of the*

Notes

1. For an account of the evidence on Tyndale's translation of the *Enchiridion* see Erasmus, *Enchiridion militis christiani: An English Version*, Anne M. O'Donnell, S.N.D., ed., Early English Text Society No. 282 (Oxford U.P., Oxford, 1981) pp. xlix–lxxi.
2. Erasmus, 'Paraclesis', *Christian Humanism and the Reformation*, (trans. and ed. John C. Olin, Fordham U.P., New York, 3rd edition, 1987), p. 108.
3. '[L]e Nouveau Testament n'est pas seulement un document inspiré de la doctrine du Christ; il contient la présence du Christ lui-même' (Georges Chantraine, 'Théologie et vie spirituelle: un aspect de la méthode théologique selon Érasme', *Nouvelle revue théologique*, 91 [1968], p. 827). 'Thus the humanist persuasion that an eloquent text orates reality expands in Erasmus to a lively faith in the real presence of Christ as text.' (Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle, *Erasmus on Language and Method in Theology* [U. of Toronto P., Toronto, 1977], p. 83.)
4. Manfred Hoffmann, *Rhetoric and Theology: The Hermeneutic of Erasmus* (U. of Toronto P., Toronto, 1994), p. 82
5. *Bonitas, charitas; misericordia, mansuetudo, Ecclesiastes*, ASD, V–5, p. 164, l. 254; p. 170, l. 344.
6. ASD V–5, p. 170, ll. 353–4.
7. CWE 56, pp. 42–5; LB VI 562D–563B. See also the discussion in Jerry H. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton U.P., Princeton NJ, 1983), pp. 181–3.
8. E.g., *Ecclesiastes*, ASD V–4, p. 38, ll. 98–9.
9. 'Mens fons est, sermo imago a fonte promanans' (ASD V–4, p. 40, l. 132). As Irenaeus 'swallowed' the errors from the philosophy of Plato (Allen, epistle 1738, l. 187), or in more extreme form, as Celsus 'vomited' blasphemies (Allen, epistle 1738, l. 255).
10. CWE 61: 79; Erasmus, ed. *Hieronymi opera*, 9 vols. (Basel, Froben, 1516) II, fo. 4r.
11. CWE 61: 78–9; *Hieronymi opera*, II, fo. 4r.
12. 'The word "style" embraces very many things: the habit of discourse, the thread or fibre, as it were, of the speech, figures, sagacity, judgement, the kind, invention and treatment of argument, the emotions induced, and those things which the Greeks call *ethos*' (translation mine). 'Plurimas res pariter complectitur stili vocabulum, sermonis habitum, et dictionis quasi filum, figuras, consilium, iudicium, argumentationis genus, inuentionem, tractationem, affectus, et *ethe* quae Graeci uocant' (*Hieronymi opera*, fo. 3v–4r). These elements are quite various, including textual features, aspects of the writer's mind, and stages of composition. The elements which are *directly observable* in the text are figures (*figuras*) and exposition of argument (*argumentationis genus, inuentionem, tractationem*).
13. For a fuller treatment, see Matthew DeCoursey, Chapter 2, 'Style', in 'Rhetoric

- and Sign Theory in Erasmus and Tyndale' (unpublished University of Toronto Ph.D. thesis, 1995), pp. 75–121.
14. See Allen, epistle 1688, l. 10.
 15. CWE 61, p. 55.
 16. *Ratio verae theologiae*, in Holborn, p. 259, ll. 33–4.
 17. See Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 107, 115.
 18. William Tyndale, *The Obedience of a Christen Man* ([Antwerp], 1528; reprinted Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Amsterdam, 1977), sig. C3; PS I, 160.
 19. For example, 'He hath sworn/he is true/he will fulfill the promyses that he hath made vnto Abraham/Isaac and Jacob', *Obedience*, sig. A4v; PS I, 135.
 20. *Obedience*, sig. C2r; PS I, 156.
 21. *The Enchiridion of Erasmus* (trans. Raymond Himelick, U. of Indiana P., Bloomington, 1963), p. 102; Holborn p. 68, ll. 19–23.
 22. *Enchiridion*, Himelick, p. 107; Holborn, p. 71, ll. 21–4.
 23. *Enchiridion*, Himelick, pp. 49–50; Holborn, p. 31, ll. 12–30.
 24. *Obedience*, sig. S7v; PS I, 318–19.
 25. *Obedience* sig. R2v; PS I, 305.
 26. PS I, 347.
 27. CWE 61, p. 86, *Hieronymi opera*, II, fo. 189v; CWE 61, p. 77, *Hieronymi opera*, fo. 3v.
 28. The list in the *Ecclesiastes* of 1535 (ASD V–5, p. 98, ll. 904–5) almost exactly reflects the list of virtues promoted by metaphor in the preface to the *Parabolae* of 1514 (CWE 23: 130–1; ASD I–5, p. 90, l. 28ff.). It appears that Erasmus' view of virtues of style that can be produced by figures remained constant over that time.
 29. *Obedience* sig. G6r; PS I, 205.
 30. *Ratio verae theologiae*, Holborn, p. 197, ll. 3–5; Augustine, *De Doctrina christiana* 2.6.8.
 31. *Obedience*, sig. A6r–v; PS I, 137.

On Translating the Old Testament: the Achievement of William Tyndale

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If a text is to be translated, it must first be understood. The translator's understanding will depend both on his prior knowledge of the source language and on his skill in applying that knowledge to the text. However, his understanding of the text does not wholly determine the words and syntactic constructions that he will select in the target language. He has first to consider what elements of the text need to be conveyed, and to take account of the existing culture of his intended readership. In order to appreciate the achievement of William Tyndale in translating the Old Testament¹ into English, we must consider all these aspects.

The meaning of biblical Hebrew

Our knowledge of biblical Hebrew is far from perfect even today. The proper method of deciding what a word means is to examine its usage in a good number of contexts. However, the Bible is brief, and very little else has survived in Hebrew from ancient times.² As a result, of the different words attested in biblical Hebrew, four out of five occur fewer than twenty times in the Old Testament.³ Indeed, about a thousand occur just once. For most words in biblical Hebrew there is not enough information in the Bible to establish the meaning, and so we are thrown back on other criteria.

Primarily, there are various forms of tradition. There are, first of all, ancient translations, the oldest being in Greek and dating from the third to first centuries BC. This is the so-called Septuagint (LXX). Rabbinic literature from about AD 200 onward includes discussion of biblical Hebrew words, much of which was summarized in the commentary by Rashi, i.e., Solomon son of Isaac of Troyes (1040–1105). Both Rashi and later medieval Jewish scholars added their own suggestions as to the meaning of the biblical text. The commentary by Rashi was utilized by the Franciscan scholar Nicholas de Lyre (1270–1349), whose running commentary on the biblical text was in turn an important aid for Luther's version.

Beyond tradition, we may also invoke comparative philology. Hebrew belongs to the group of Semitic languages, some still widely spoken (e.g. Arabic), some known primarily through a living literary tradition (e.g. Aramaic) and some recovered through archaeology (e.g. Akkadian). The similarities between these languages suggest that they all descend from a common ancestor language, lost long before the invention of writing. If a rare Hebrew word had an antecedent in that ancestor language, we may hope that cognates appear in other Semitic languages also, through which it can be explained. This has been a fruitful approach, though there are hazards in deciding which words are in fact

cognate and in transferring their meanings to biblical Hebrew.⁴

Unfortunately, these many sources of information do not always lead to a clear result. Sometimes they point in different directions. Thus at Genesis 37:3 it is questionable whether Joseph's coat really was a coat of many colours. The Hebrew is plural of a word *pas*, which occurs in this context only. Later Hebrew has a similar-looking word, meaning 'strip'; on the other hand, Aramaic too has a similar-looking word, meaning 'palm of hand' or 'sole of foot'. The Greek translators thought of the strip, whence the many colours, and they have been followed by Tyndale (and by A.V. after him). However, Jewish tradition as handed down in Hebrew knows nothing about many colours and thinks rather of a robe with long sleeves, following the Aramaic. This approach has been accepted by REB, which clothes Joseph in a monochrome 'long robe with sleeves'. In the same way, the *ešpar* which David distributed to every Israelite at 2 Samuel 6:19 (and 1 Chronicles 16:3) is variously taken to be a piece of meat or a date-cake.⁵

The grammar and syntax of biblical Hebrew are in many ways as uncertain as the vocabulary. Even on the very first verse of the Bible there is no agreement. Tyndale has an independent sentence: 'In the beginning God created heaven and earth'. Many scholars today, however, take the verse instead as a temporal clause, in which case the Bible begins rather as follows: 'When God began to create heaven and earth, and the earth was chaos and void..., then God said: let there be light.' This latter understanding goes back to Rashi, who showed that it better corresponded with Hebrew grammar; more recently it received support from the Babylonian creation epic, which likewise begins with a temporal clause;⁶ it also avoids the difficulty in the traditional translation that God first created an earth of chaos. Against all this, the independent sentence has the support of the traditional Jewish cantillation and all other known authorities before Rashi; moreover, it fits well with the crisp sentences of the rest of this creation account, while the effect of the temporal clause is indeed ponderous by comparison. The tide is perhaps returning to the independent sentence, though no consensus is in sight.⁷ Again, the usage of the tenses in biblical Hebrew is so puzzling that commentators cannot agree whether the poem in Isaiah 9:8–21 views the fall of Samaria as a future or a past event. Such controversies testify to the uncertainties that still surround the understanding of biblical Hebrew, and were of course even more acute in Tyndale's day.

Tyndale's written sources

We must first ask how much Hebrew Tyndale knew. There has been much debate on this question, which interlocks with the question of his dependence on Luther's translation into German, of which the first edition was published in Wittenberg in 1523, shortly before the first part of Tyndale's translation.⁸

That Tyndale never consulted Luther cannot be maintained, as we shall see and indeed as earlier studies have shown. We must ask rather what was Tyndale's normal procedure. Did he usually go straight to the Hebrew, consulting Luther on occasion only, where he felt unsure of the sense? Or did he derive his understanding of the text primarily from Luther, giving no more than a supplementary role to the Hebrew?

In the most recent extensive study,⁹ Hammond reaches the latter conclusion. He affirms Tyndale's 'primary dependence upon Luther', noting how easily one could find

'verses where Tyndale's rendering is so close to Luther's that he may well be translating directly from the German' (p. 355). At the same time, however, Hammond finds that the Hebrew played an extensive role, above all in shaping the English syntax, for here Tyndale often departed from Luther to follow the Hebrew. Hammond thus concludes: 'What Tyndale did was to base his translation firmly upon Luther, but to modify that basis by introducing Hebraic elements' (p. 356). In other words, his normal practice was to consult both the Hebrew and Luther's translation, so that he could combine the syntax of the former with the sense of the latter.

Hammond amasses evidence to show how Tyndale imitated the Hebrew syntax, to great effect.¹⁰ This very evidence, however, casts doubt on the procedure which Hammond effectively ascribes to him. If Tyndale knew enough Hebrew to be able to impose Hebrew syntax upon Luther's sense, he could more easily have translated the Hebrew directly for himself, at least most of the time. This is a far simpler, and to that extent likelier, procedure.¹¹ One need hardly add that Tyndale's own claim to have translated the Hebrew 'into the English word for word', and the urgency of his request from prison for his Hebrew Bible and Hebrew grammar and dictionary,¹² are less easily understood if his primary source was in fact Luther's German.

Tyndale's knowledge of Hebrew is further confirmed in the passages where he produces a translation that still resonates with the overtones of the original Hebrew. A fine example occurs in 2 Kings 4, where the prophet Elisha is offered hospitality by a childless couple, and asks the wife to name her reward. Upon her refusal, Elisha tells her that she will soon bear a son, and she replies: 'Do not lie unto your handmaid' (4:16). The promise is fulfilled; but one day the boy goes out to help his father at reaping, suddenly falls ill, and is carried back to his mother, on whose knees he dies. The mother runs to Elisha and reminds him of her first incredulous reaction to his promise. Significantly, however, she changes her original words. In verse 16 she had asked Elisha not to lie to her, using a common Hebrew word (*tekazzeb*). Recalling that moment in verse 28, however, she substitutes a rarer word *tašleh*, which means literally 'put at ease'. She thus pictures herself as having asked Elisha not to pacify her, not to humour her, not to lull her into a false sense of security. This is still tantamount to asking him not to deceive her, but the derivation from 'being at ease' adds its own pathos. A.V. has: 'Do not deceive me', which goes too fast to the point, losing the resonances of the Hebrew. REB: '(Did I not beg you) not to raise my hopes and then dash them?' better suggests the mother's grief, but loses the derivation from putting at ease. Tyndale is far superior: 'Did I not say that thou shouldest not bring me in a fool's paradise?' Here Tyndale has captured not only the plain sense but also the associations of the Hebrew word.

Of course, one has to account for the many instances where Tyndale and Luther agree in sense so closely that Tyndale might as well have translated from the German. Here, however, one must remember that Luther and Tyndale were translating the same Hebrew text, with more or less the same resources. Moreover, as we shall see, they shared the same aims, including a drive for clarity and a determination to translate almost anything rather than admit ignorance by merely transliterating. Against that background, only a small minority of the agreements between Luther and Tyndale are so striking as to prove dependence.

Tyndale's dependence on Luther, then, was sporadic. There were difficult Hebrew phrases for which Tyndale evidently felt that Luther had found the best solution. Thus for

the obscure u-kyameka *dob'eka* at Deuteronomy 33:25, Tyndale offers 'thine age shall be as thy youth', almost exactly like Luther.¹³ Again, there were difficult words for which Luther supplied Tyndale's understanding. An example is 'atalep, which occurs at Leviticus 11:19 and Deuteronomy 14:18 in a list of what the Bible calls unclean birds, and means a bat. Tyndale would have found the true meaning in the Septuagint and Vulgate, but preferred to follow Luther, who has *Schwalbe*; hence Tyndale renders: swallow. Luther – followed by Tyndale – could not see how the Bible could have found it scientifically acceptable to include a bat in the category of birds.¹⁴ Another, rather unfortunate, borrowing from Luther is Tyndale's usual rendering 'sweet bread' for the Hebrew word *massah*, which properly means 'unleavened bread'. Luther calls this bread *ungesäuert* 'unsoured', not unreasonably; compare LXX *azumos* 'which has not fermented'. Tyndale however took it as simply the opposite of sour.

Tyndale also utilized the Vulgate. A striking example occurs at 1 Samuel 1:5, concerning the barren Hannah on her annual visit to the temple at Shiloh, together with her husband and her fertile rival wife. The Hebrew tells us that the husband Elkanah would give her one portion of the sacrifice, and the next Hebrew word perplexingly means 'face' (Hebrew *appayim*). Tyndale renders: 'with a heavy cheer', evidently following Vulgate *tristis*. Other passages discussed below where Tyndale has followed the Vulgate are Genesis 16:13, 37:3, Exodus 13:16 and 1 Kings 10:28. Tyndale may also have consulted the Septuagint (which certainly exercised an indirect influence through the Vulgate) and the Latin translation of Pagninus, but as yet no clear evidence exists.

It must be emphasized, however, that Tyndale used his sources with discrimination. Detailed comparison of Tyndale with his predecessors over any stretch of text – such as Mozley's study of Jonah¹⁵ and Daniell's on the Song of Deborah¹⁶ – confirms that 'throughout he is his own master and, what is more, he usually comes down on the right side'.¹⁷ This again testifies to his knowledge of Hebrew. Further confirmation comes from some idiosyncratic renderings. At Deuteronomy 33:12, for example, Tyndale translates Heb. *hopep 'alaw* as '[God] keepeth himself in the haven by him [= Benjamin]', interpreting the Hebrew verb through the noun *hop* 'haven'. Here he differs from all his predecessors,¹⁸ probably not for the better, but it still confirms his independent knowledge of Hebrew.

It must be admitted that Tyndale could nod on occasion. For example, at 2 Kings 19:21, Tyndale's rendering 'he hath despised thee, O virgin daughter of Sion' (with the following verbs similarly interpreted) overlooks the Hebrew suffixes, which show the true sense instead to be: 'The virgin daughter of Zion has despised thee...' In some such instances, however, the fault may lie rather in the editing.¹⁹

Did Tyndale consult Jewish scholars?

Did Tyndale gain his knowledge from books alone, or did he consult living authorities? Tyndale himself has left little evidence on this point, and an intriguing question is whether his translation betrays any indication that he consulted Jewish scholars whom he might have met on the continent. Parallels between Tyndale and the traditional Jewish sources might suggest such meetings, but caution is needed. First, one must allow for the possibility that Tyndale and the Jewish interpreters, faced with the same problems in the

text, independently arrived at the same solutions. Moreover, parallels also shared with Luther are not significant, since in such cases rabbinic tradition may have reached Tyndale meditately through Luther. At Leviticus 19:26, for example, Tyndale explains *lo' te'onenu* as prohibiting the observance of 'dismal days'. This agrees with Rashi's derivation of the verb from '*onah* 'season', but also with Luther's *Tage wählen*, which is likelier to be the immediate source.

There are, however, occasional indications that Tyndale had Jewish contacts who enabled him to draw on tradition. Deuteronomy 6:8 and 11:18 require God's commandments to be as *totapot* between one's eyes. In Jewish tradition, *totapot* are ritual objects placed on the forehead and worn during prayer. In English these are known as phylacteries,²⁰ though A.V. renders: 'frontlets', agreeing with Pagninus: *frontalia*. They consist of straps attached to black boxes containing parchment scrolls, on which various paragraphs of scripture are written. Now Tyndale renders: 'papers of remembrance'. The 'remembrance' element probably comes from Luther, who has *Denkmal* – though Tyndale could have reached this himself, given the closely similar command at Exodus 13:9 that God's commands should be a memorial between one's eyes. But whence the papers? It seems that Tyndale took the trouble at this stage to ask a Jewish contact about the *totapot* and elicited the detail, not found in any of his usual sources, that they contained scrolls.²¹

Another instance may perhaps be detected in Genesis 2:13, which names the second of the four rivers of the Garden of Eden, which is said to flow about a land called Kush in the Hebrew. Jewish tradition normally identifies Kush with Ethiopia, as do LXX, Vulgate and even Luther: *Mohrenland*. However, the four rivers also include the Tigris and Euphrates. Tyndale's predecessors, knowing little of the southern hemisphere, could just about believe in some mysterious place where a river that flows through Ethiopia on the one hand might meet up with the rivers of Mesopotamia on the other. But Tyndale lived in the age of discovery, and knew full well that in geographical terms Ethiopia is impossible. Hence he renders Hebrew Kush by Inde, i.e. India, which from a geographical viewpoint is rather easier, if not altogether free from difficulty. How did he justify this? There is in fact a Jewish tradition that the name Kush might refer to India rather than Ethiopia, though that Jewish tradition does not relate to the Genesis passage but rather to Esther 1:1. There, King Ahasuerus is said to have reigned from Hodu unto Kush. There is no doubt that Hodu is India, but about Kush two rabbis are said to have disagreed. One identified Kush with Ethiopia, the opposite end of Ahasuerus' empire. The other, however, held that Kush neighboured on India.²² One may imagine, then, that when Tyndale reached Genesis 2:13 he could not accept a reference to Ethiopia and asked a Jewish contact whether Hebrew Kush might indicate anywhere else. His contact produced the latter rabbi's view on Esther 1:1, which Tyndale gratefully adopted.

External theological factors

In arriving at his understanding of the text, the biblical translator must decide how far to accommodate the interpretations that have been attached to the text by the believing community for whom the translation is intended. Should the translation reflect these, or should it represent strictly the meaning of the biblical text in its original setting?

There would have been precedents for the introduction of Christian references into the Old Testament translation. Perhaps an extreme case is Jerome's *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*, which introduces Jesus in some passages where the Hebrew has a noun from the root 'save', from which the name Jesus derives.²³ Tyndale, however, resists any such temptation. At Genesis 49:10 he translates: 'The sceptre shall not depart from Juda...until Silo come, unto whom the people shall hearken', on which he comments: 'it is a prophecy of Christ'. The translation itself, however, is not Christological, and was already considered possible by certain rabbis.²⁴ Even Tyndale's rendering of Isaiah 7:14a as: 'Behold a virgin shall be with child' is not in itself tendentious. Even though it is accepted today that the Hebrew word '*almah*' need not imply virginity, Tyndale still thought 'virgin' to be its plain meaning of the word (as did the Septuagint), and he translates it likewise as 'virgin' in the totally different context of Genesis 24:43.²⁵

The claims of form and content: Tyndale compared with the A.V.

Having reached an understanding of the text, the translator must now decide what elements should go forward to the translation. Here the problem arises of the competing demands of form and content. The word-for-word translation that would result from an attempt to reproduce the form of a text is likely to be difficult if not impossible to comprehend. At least for literary texts, therefore, ever since classical antiquity if not earlier, the ideal in translation has been to concentrate on conveying the content. However, the Bible is different because every detail in the word of God is significant, and this doctrine encouraged literal translation.²⁶ The phenomenon first arose among the Jews; it is already noticeable in the fragments of the biblical translation into Greek found among the Dead Sea Scrolls,²⁷ and reached a climax in the Greek version of Aquila. Literal translation also became widespread in the Church, as witnessed by Jerome's influential remark that in holy Scripture 'even the word order is a mystery'.²⁸

Any translator of the Bible has to take a stand on the two potentially conflicting aims of communicating the content in a clear and attractive manner and of fidelity to the original form. It is true that Tyndale strove to accommodate the Hebrew form, as Hammond's studies have shown in detail. This must not, however, obscure the fact that where demands of form conflicted with those of content, Tyndale did not hesitate to opt for the latter. This is not surprising, given his ambition to make the scriptures accessible 'to a boy that driveth the plough'.²⁹

A particularly helpful departure from the outward Hebrew form is Tyndale's insertion of particles which make explicit the relationships between different clauses and sentences. These relationships are left implicit in the Hebrew, which in narrative usually links sentences with the simple *w-* ('and'). Tyndale constantly provides signposts that are enormously helpful to the English reader: 'therefore', 'but', 'indeed', even 'and yet for all that' (1 Samuel 12:14). These essential pointers are far less frequent in A.V., which was more concerned to reproduce the form of the Hebrew; only in modern translations of the Bible do they appear on the same scale.

An instructive example is 2 Kings 19:3, where Jerusalem is besieged and its surrender demanded by the Assyrians. Tyndale writes: 'This day is a day of tribulation, rebuking and railing. Even as when the children are ready to be born and the mothers have no

power to be delivered.' The comparison ('even as when the children are ready to be born') is no more than implicit in the Hebrew. A word-for-word translation would give: 'for the children are come to the birth', as A.V. renders. The Hebrew, however, was more informative to its audience than the literal English translation. Since ancient Hebrew did not mark all relationships between clauses explicitly, readers were alert to the different possibilities and well practised in identifying the relationship (e.g. comparative) for themselves. In English, however, an explicit indication is expected, without which the style becomes unnatural and the sense may be lost altogether. In this case, the sense of agony with no relief in sight emerges clearly from Tyndale, but is hard to infer from A.V. Paradoxically, A.V.'s fidelity to the form results in a sense that is in effect false to the Hebrew.

Another example is Exodus 1:6–7, where a literal translation is as in A.V.: 'And Joseph died, and all his brethren, and all that generation. And the children of Israel were fruitful and increased abundantly and multiplied and waxed exceedingly mighty; and the land was filled with them.' By contrast, Tyndale had written: 'When Joseph was dead and all his brethren and all that generation, the children of Israel grew, increased, multiplied and waxed exceedingly mighty: so that the land was full of them'. Karpman has accused Tyndale of 'significant mistakes', and regards his translation of the opening phrase of 1:6 as typical.³⁰ The Hebrew, she complains, means 'and Joseph died', and not 'when Joseph was dead'. In fact, however, Tyndale well knew that those words literally meant 'and Joseph died'; he had just translated the same Hebrew phrase in almost those words – 'and so Joseph died' – at the end of Genesis (50:26). That is precisely why he phrased his translation differently here: the English reader would have been puzzled to read: 'and Joseph died' a second time. In the same way, Tyndale sharpens the 'and' of the last clause in the Hebrew to 'so that', to indicate result. Karpman's criticism presupposes that any departure from literalness is wrong; Tyndale, by contrast, was alive to the needs of the English reader.

The point of these comparisons between Tyndale and A.V. is not a simplistic claim that Tyndale is superior. It is rather that the two translations differ in aim. Where the demands of form and content conflict, Tyndale gives full priority to clear and readable expression of the content; A.V. makes greater effort to reproduce the form, which is also a legitimate concern, given that in principle the form is important in its own right. No single translation can in fact convey all the essential features of the original. This point was not lost on the Karaites in the tenth and eleventh centuries, who produced a whole series of alternative renderings of the Pentateuch from Hebrew into Arabic. These renderings differed in the balance struck between literalness and intelligibility, and as well as appearing in different Arabic versions they might even be placed side by side as alternatives in a single version. Only on mastering all these renderings could the student hope to appreciate the essential features both of the form and of the content.³¹

Changes in Tyndale's translation technique over time

Some movement on the question of form versus content can be distinguished in Tyndale's own work. Certain passages of Chronicles agree in the Hebrew verbatim with parallel passages in the earlier books. In Tyndale, the renderings in Chronicles tend to be

more literal; and as Tyndale must have translated Chronicles later, we may deduce that Tyndale felt increasingly able over time to concede more to the form.

Examples are here drawn from three such passages, which describe Saul's last battle (1 Samuel 31), Solomon's speech at the dedication of the Temple (1 Kings 8:12 ff), and the visit of the Queen of Sheba (1 Kings 10).

- | | |
|------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 Sam 31:1 | And as the Philistines fought against Israel, the men of Israel fled away from the Philistines... |
| 1 Chr 10:1 | And the Philistines fought against Israel. And the men of Israel fled before the Philistines... |
| 1 Sam 31:4 | he was sore afraid |
| 1 Chr 10:4 | he feared exceedingly |
| 1 Kgs 8:44 | whithersoever thou shalt send them |
| 2 Chr 6:34 | the way that thou shalt send them |
| 1 Kgs 10:5 | she was astonished |
| 2 Chr 9:4 | there was no more heart in her |
| 1 Kgs 10:7 | till I came and saw it with mine eyes |
| 2 Chr 9:6 | until I came and mine eyes had seen it |

Again, genitive constructions with 'of', which preserve the Hebrew word order, tend in Chronicles to replace the shorter constructions used in the earlier books: thus 'the sons of Saul' (1 Chronicles 10:2) for 'Saul's sons' (1 Samuel 31:2), or 'the wisdom of Salomon' (2 Chronicles 9:3) for 'Salomon's wisdom' (1 Kings 10:4).

Tyndale's increasing tolerance for literalism sheds light on the translations of Old Testament extracts appended as 'Epistles' to his edition of the New Testament.¹² Some agree exactly with his main translation of the Old Testament, but those that differ show a greater tendency towards literalness. Examples are drawn from three passages:

(a) *1 Kings 19:3–8* [p.396]

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Main: | And he went a day's journey into the wilderness, and when he was come sat down under a juniper tree |
| Epistles: | And he went into the wilderness a day's journey, and came and sat under a juniper tree |
| Main: | thou hast a long journey to go |
| Epistles: | thou hast a great way to go |
| (The Hebrew had: 'too great for thee is the way') | |

(b) *Genesis 37:6–22* [pp. 397–8]

- | | |
|-----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Main: | Shall I and thy mother and thy brethren come and fall on the ground before thee? |
| Epistles: | Shall I come and thy mother and thy brethren and fall before thee on the ground? |
| Main: | his father noted the saying |
| Epistles: | his father kept the thing in mind |

Main: And a certain man found him wandering out of his way in the field,
and asked him what he sought.

Epistles: And a man found him wandering in the field and asked him saying:
what seekest thou?

(c) *1 Kings 17:17–24* [p. 400]

Main: and he stretched himself upon the lad

Epistles: and he measured the child

(Although the latter reflects more accurately the etymology of the Hebrew form *wa-yitmoded*, the resulting sense is far less appropriate)

Main: God's man

Epistles: a man of God

The later translations occasionally show an improvement in Tyndale's Hebrew knowledge. Thus at 1 Kings 8:33 Israel is envisaged as defeated in battle, yet Tyndale writes that they would 'praise' the name of God, following the usual sense of the Hebrew *we-hodu*. When he came to translate the same text at 2 Chronicles 6:24, he had learnt a further sense for the Hebrew, and renders: 'confess thy name'. Again, at 1 Kings 19:6 the main translation renders '*uggat rešapim*' as 'a loaf of broiled bread', while the rendering in the Epistles is more accurate: 'a cake baken on the coals'.

The expectations of the reader

Apart from the balance between form and content, other decisions must be reached before the Bible translation can be written. First, the need for intelligibility relates not only to individual verses but also to extended passages. This raises the problem that much of the Old Testament, as well as the New, bristles with inconsistencies so difficult as to have convinced many that the existing text of the Bible has been edited together from a number of different sources. One does not have to read very far in the Bible before encountering that sort of problem. For example, Genesis 1 states that God created the beasts on the fifth day, and mankind – male and female – only later, on the sixth day of creation. One is therefore surprised to read in Genesis 2 that God created Adam (verse 7) and only then created the beasts to ease Adam's loneliness (verse 19), before finally creating Eve (verse 22). Should the translator reproduce such inconsistencies, or try to smooth them over?

Tyndale was evidently anxious to spare his readership such difficulties. In Gen 1–2 he solves the problem by rendering Genesis 2:19: 'And *after* God created all manner of beasts of the field', so imposing the order of Gen 1 – beasts before mankind – even though that sense would normally have required a rather different Hebrew text. The same solution appears in Luther, from whom Tyndale seems to have learnt the importance of overall consistency.¹³ A modern critic might prefer the translator to preserve the discrepancies, as clues to the putative origin of the text; but Tyndale was aiming at a translation that could be readily understood, and to that extent he was prepared to 'improve' on the original. Another example appears in Genesis 19:14, where we hear of Lot attempting to save his sons-in-law who had married his daughters; yet in verse 8 of this chapter Lot's

two daughters still seem to be living with him, because he offers them to the townsfolk. Once again Tyndale is aware of the contradiction, which he solves by rendering in verse 14: ‘his sons-in-law who should have married his daughters’, which is a legitimate rendering of the Hebrew but not the most obvious one. Once again the same solution was found in Luther.¹⁴

Another decision for the translator is whether to translate everything, or to leave certain elements (e.g., obscure words, place names or specifically Israelite institutions) untranslated. Tyndale’s policy on translation is maximalist, and here he again agrees with Luther. Thus the type of wood from which Noah made his ark is called *goper* in Hebrew, and, as it had not been identified, A.V. was content to transliterate: ‘gopher wood’. However, Tyndale refuses to be beaten and so renders ‘pine wood’, evidently on the basis of Luther’s *Tannenholz*, which is in turn presumably a guess based on this wood’s combination of lightness and strength. Likewise, in Numbers 6 Tyndale will not speak of a Nazirite, which would be a mere transliteration of the Hebrew *nazir*; a translator must translate, so he renders: ‘abstainer’ (so Luther: *Verlobte*). At 1 Samuel 17:2 he cannot leave any part of the place name ‘*emeq ha-’elah* untranslated, and so renders: ‘Oakdale’, again agreeing with Luther (*im Eichgrunde*).

A more subtle question concerns the associations that the translation is likely to evoke in its intended readership. An example of a translation affected by this motive is the rendering ‘unicorn’ which Tyndale took from the Septuagint in order to render the Hebrew word *re’em*. The Septuagint translators must have known that this creature had more than one horn, since at Deuteronomy 32:17 the Hebrew speaks of the horns of the *re’em*, and the biblical references (especially Job 39:9–12) point rather to the wild ox. However, there are passages where Israelites or even God himself are compared to the *re’em*, notably at Numbers 23:22, 24:8; and to Greek readers, despite its overtones of majesty in the ancient Near East, the wild ox apparently called up instead the same associations as our ‘bull in a china shop’. It seems then that the Greek translators’ choice of unicorn was intended to retain the overtones of dignity, whatever the price in zoological accuracy.¹⁵ In adopting this translation, Tyndale – and A.V. after him – may likewise have been concerned about associations, though their motive may instead have been simply the prestige of the Septuagint (or of the Vulgate, which likewise has *unicornis*).

The expectations of the readership may also have been a consideration in the abandonment by A.V. of Tyndale’s rendering at Genesis 16:13b. The subject of this chapter is Hagar, the slave-girl who became Abraham’s concubine and eventually bore his first son. Being ill-treated by Abraham’s wife Sarah, Hagar fled to the desert. There she met an angel, who promised that her unborn child would produce countless descendants. Upon this encounter, Hagar exclaimed: ‘Thou art the God that lookest on me’. However, her next phrase, i.e., Genesis 16:13b, has long troubled interpreters. The opening words clearly mean: ‘Have I also here seen...’, while the final word means ‘the one who sees me’. Between them stands the Hebrew word ‘*ahare*’, which almost always functions as the preposition ‘after’, though it was originally a noun meaning ‘back’.¹⁶

The Vulgate adopted the primary sense ‘back’ for ‘*ahare*’, and so rendered: *profecto hic vidi posteriora videntis me*. Tyndale follows this closely: ‘I have of a surety seen here the back parts of him that seeth me’. This translation picks up a Hebrew idiom known from Exodus 33:23. There, Moses had asked God: ‘Show me thy glory’, and God had replied: ‘There shall no man see me and live’. God offers, however, to place Moses in a

cleft of rock, and then to pass by, covering the cleft with his hand. Thereafter, God promises: 'I will take away mine hand and thou shalt see my back; but my face shall not be seen'. Seeing God's back may mean that, although mortals cannot see God, one can sometimes look back at events and know that God was present, just as one sees the wake of a ship and knows that the ship itself was there. Whatever the precise theological meaning, the existence of the idiom of seeing God's back is established by the Exodus passage; and both the Vulgate and Tyndale point up the connection by using the same words in both passages.³⁷ Hagar is thus declaring that God has looked upon her, and although, like any other mortal, she cannot look upon God, her experience has left her convinced that God was with her. In the Hebrew idiom, she has seen God's back. This understanding is unique in making good sense of the existing Hebrew text,³⁸ and Tyndale did well to adopt it.

Yet A.V. rendered quite differently: 'Have I also here looked after him that seeth me?' A.V. thus takes '*ahare*' in the usual sense of 'after', even though this makes little sense. Evidently, however, A.V. preferred it to Tyndale's translation, which gave good and indeed profound sense (at least on reflection) but was liable to offend readers by using bodily terms of God. In Germany too, Luther had first translated Genesis 16:13b on the same lines as the Vulgate, but revised to an opaque translation based on 'after' rather than 'back'.³⁹ The same distaste for 'back' has driven most authorities, like A.V., to understand '*ahare*' as 'after', but without success, at least in relation to the Hebrew text as it stands.⁴⁰

Such, then, were the issues that Tyndale had to address before he selected the words and constructions that would express the sense in English. The effect of that final text has been ably discussed elsewhere, and little need be added to the treatments by Hammond and Daniell of Tyndale's feel for the potentialities of the English language, and his ability to produce vigorous prose by virtue of, rather than despite, his loyalty to the Hebrew.⁴¹

A quincentenary retrospect

Tyndale never expected his to be the final translation of the Old Testament into English. He knew full well that knowledge of the meaning of the Bible would continue to progress, and also that the English language would steadily change.

Progress has indeed been made since Tyndale's day in the understanding of biblical Hebrew. Words sometimes come to be better understood through careful examination of the contexts where they stand. For example, the two Hebrew roots *nus* and *barah*, which both mean 'flee' and were long regarded as total synonyms, are now differentiated: *barah* denotes a precautionary flight before the onset of danger, while *nus* indicates a rout.⁴² Likewise, Hebrew *tiroš*, which was taken to mean 'wine' exclusively, has been shown to include 'grape' also.⁴³ In such cases, the nuances were discovered through careful examination of the contexts where the words occur, i.e. through evidence that had always been present in the text.

In other instances, progress has come through comparison of related languages. For example, Hebrew possesses the frequent verb *yada'* meaning 'to know', but in a few cases the translation 'know' does not fit at all well. One such is Judges 8:16, where Gideon seizes some men who had taunted him, and takes briars and thorns with which,

the Hebrew says: *wayoda'*. On the basis of the traditional sense of the verb, this word should be rendered: 'and he caused them to know'; but that sense seems inadequate. The suggestion has been made, on the basis of the Arabic verb *wada'a*, that Hebrew possessed a second root *yada'*, meaning 'to be submissive', or in its causative form 'to humiliate'. Hence many translate *wayoda'* in Judges as 'and he humiliated [= punished] them'.⁴⁴ Interestingly, Tyndale has: 'and all to tear them therewith', agreeing with earlier translators, before the philological support through Arabic had been provided.⁴⁵ A.V.'s rendering, which keeps to the traditional understanding, is tame by comparison: 'and with them he taught the men of Succoth'.

Occasionally, progress has been made through archaeological discovery. At 1 Samuel 13:21, for example, we learn that the Israelites, lacking the necessary technology, had to go down to the Philistines in order to have their agricultural implements sharpened. The Hebrew text goes on with three words which were impenetrable until this century: *we-hayetah ha-pesirah pim*, which may be partially translated: 'and the pressing was *pim*'. For more than two thousand years, nobody knew what *pim* was. The traditional commentators thought of *pe*, 'edge of sword', whence Tyndale: 'as oft as the edges were blunt'. This, however, is to ignore the second Hebrew word, which has some such sense as 'pressing' and cannot be connected with bluntness. The solution came through the discovery in the Holy Land, starting at the beginning of this century, of ancient weights inscribed with the Hebrew letters *pym*. These suggested that the mysterious biblical *pim* was a weight, or an amount of silver of that weight used as currency. The examples excavated weighed a little under 8 grammes, or two-thirds of a shekel. The 'pressing' would then mean a monetary charge, whence the translation: 'and the charge was one *pim*'.⁴⁶ Were it not for chance archaeological discovery, this passage would have remained obscure.

It is worth adding that the understanding of biblical Hebrew has not always advanced in a straight line. Thus at 1 Kings 10:28 and 2 Chronicles 1:16, which describe Solomon's international trade in horses, a Hebrew form *miqwe* twice occurs. This form could be analyzed in two quite different ways: either the *mi-* could be the preposition 'from', in which case the remaining *qwe* represents a place name, or else the initial *mi-* may be an integral part of a common noun. The former possibility is attested by the Vulgate (*de Coa*) and Luther's first edition (*von Keva*).⁴⁷ Tyndale too has a place name: 'And Salomon's horses came out of Egypt from Keva: the merchants fetched them from Keva at a price'.⁴⁸ However, Luther later rejected the place name for the bland *allerlei Ware... dieselbe Ware*, guessed from the context. A.V. likewise banished the place name from the English Bible, preferring a common noun: 'linen yarn'. The reason was that nothing was known of any place called Keva or the like. Time, however, has vindicated Tyndale's choice. The records of the Assyrian emperors of the eighth and ninth centuries BC, discovered in recent times, mention a region called Que, located in Asia Minor and later called Cilicia.⁴⁹ The place name has been duly restored in all modern translations.

Progress in the understanding of the Old Testament has also come through new discoveries of Hebrew biblical manuscripts, notably the Dead Sea Scrolls. Thus, for example, the 'lion' ('ryh) which refused to fit into Isaiah 21:8 now seems a scribal error for 'he that sees' ('hr'h).⁵⁰ There is also greater awareness that the Hebrew text has a long history, and that the Septuagint and other ancient versions are not simply interpretations of the Hebrew text now preserved by the Jews, but may rather reflect ancient variant read-

ings.⁵¹ Even so, the Hebrew text still has a high degree of uniformity, and the main problem for the translator lies rather in establishing the sense. Most new renderings result from emending the dictionary rather than the text.⁵² In this respect, of course, the Old Testament presents very different problems from the New.

Another reason that Tyndale's translation could not suffice in itself is that different approaches are possible to the various issues of policy. In his day the most urgent need was for ready intelligibility, but a case can also be made for a translation that preserves more of the form. This could be used side by side with a more idiomatic translation, rather in the manner of the Karaites. Some literal translations have been well appreciated, such as the German translation by Buber and Rosenzweig,⁵³ to say nothing of A.V. Again, Tyndale's policy of translating at almost any cost, even where no real clue is available to the meaning of the Hebrew, could not be final.

Moreover, of course, what was effective language in Tyndale's day is not necessarily still so. With the passing years, most of his work retains its clarity, and has even gained in dignity. Some, however, is inevitably less easily understood. To take a trivial instance, in Isaiah 62:12 the Hebrew promises that the city of Jerusalem will be called *derušah* 'sought after', and Tyndale translates: 'thou shall be called a haunted city'. This was suitable in Tyndale's day, but to the modern reader a haunted city rather suggests a ghost town.

For all these reasons, the translation of the Bible can never stand still. Each generation must apply itself anew. One is reminded of the repainting of the Forth Bridge. The work never ceases. And yet those who repaint the Forth Bridge cannot compare in achievement with those who put it up in the first place. It is to the latter that we may aptly compare William Tyndale, who made the Hebrew Bible accessible in the English language for the very first time, and who – with all due respect for that metal bridge – *exegit monumentum aere perennius*.

Notes

1. This is a Christian term, derived from 2 Corinthians 3:14, where God's old and supposedly obsolete covenant (to which 'testament' is equivalent) with the Jews is contrasted with his new covenant with the Church. Moreover, the Old Testament in Christian usage implies a chronological arrangement of the books, from the past (history) through the present (prayer, wisdom) to the future (prophecy). Although neither feature is intrinsic to the Hebrew Scriptures, the term Old Testament can appropriately be applied to Tyndale's work.
2. See G. I. Davies, *Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions: Corpus and Concordance* (Cambridge, 1991).
3. See F. I. Andersen and A. D. Forbes, *The Vocabulary of the Old Testament* (Rome, 1989). Here, 8,253 different words (or, more properly, morphemes) are listed on pp. 33–263, and of these only 1,629 occur twenty times or more (pp. 267–447). There are limits to precision, since the delimitation of the different lexical items is not straightforward, nor is it always clear to which item a given biblical Hebrew form belongs.
4. J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1968).

5. The latter is supported by L. Koehler, ‘Äschpär Dattelkuchen’, *Theologische Zeitschrift* 4 (1948), pp. 397–8. English versions from Tyndale to REB, however, understand it as a portion of meat.
6. ‘When on high the heaven had not been named/firm ground below had not been called by name...’ See J. B. Pritchard ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (Princeton, 3rd edition, 1969), pp. 60–61.
7. The arguments are carefully surveyed by C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11: A Commentary* (trans. J. J. Scullion, London, 1984), pp. 93–7, who comes down on the side of the independent sentence. NEB preferred the temporal clause: ‘In the beginning of creation, when God made heaven and earth...’, but offered the independent sentence in a footnote. REB has gone back to the independent sentence, agreeing almost exactly with Tyndale: ‘In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.’
8. Luther is quoted here from the 1523 edition, but with modernized spelling. Tyndale is cited after D. Daniell ed., *Tyndale’s Old Testament, being the Pentateuch of 1530, Joshua to 2 Chronicles of 1537, and Jonah* (New Haven and London, 1992).
9. G. Hammond, ‘William Tyndale’s Pentateuch: its Relation to Luther’s German Bible and the Hebrew Original’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 33 (1981), pp. 351–85.
10. *Ibid.*; see also his book, *The Making of the English Bible* (Manchester, 1982), pp. 16–67. Further instances where Tyndale has interpreted the Hebrew text independently of Luther are discussed by D. Daniell, *William Tyndale. A Biography* (New Haven and London, 1994), pp. 306–18.
11. Hammond himself admits that ‘Tyndale possessed a relatively sophisticated knowledge of Hebrew’ (‘Tyndale’s Pentateuch’, p. 363), though in his *Making of the English Bible* he describes Tyndale’s knowledge of Hebrew (and Greek) as ‘if not rudimentary, certainly limited’ (p. 17). This ambivalence may betoken some unease with the compromise that he struck between regarding Luther and the Hebrew as Tyndale’s primary source.
12. D. Daniell, *William Tyndale*, pp. 229, 379.
13. Luther: *dein Alter sei wie deine Jugend*, itself evidently based on Vulgate: *sicut dies iuventutis tuae, ita et senectus tua*. Contrast REB: ‘and may [your] strength last as long as you live’.
14. Similarly in the Syriac (Peshitta) version, all but one manuscript have replaced ‘bat’ by ‘peacock’.
15. J. F. Mozley, ‘Tyndale’s Knowledge of Hebrew’, *Journal of Theological Studies*, 36 (1935) pp. 392–96.
16. Daniell, *William Tyndale*, pp. 344–7.
17. Mozley, *op. cit.*, p. 396. Mozley adds that ‘in essential accuracy to the Hebrew he is superior to Luther, the Vulgate and the Septuagint, and not inferior to Pagninus’.
18. Most prefer an image of covering (cf. Hebrew *huppah*). Hence Vulgate: *tegens*, Luther: *über ihm halten*, REB: ‘shields him’.
19. E.g. ‘twelve days’ instead of ‘eleven days’ at Deuteronomy 1:2.
20. The phulaktēria of Matthew 23:5.
21. At Exodus 13:16, however, Tyndale had written ‘a thing hanged up’, following Vulgate: *appensum quid*.

22. Babylonian Talmud *Megillah* 11a. On the latter view, the point is that Ahasuerus' hold over his whole empire was no less tight than his hold over the two neighbouring provinces.
23. B. Fischer et al. eds., *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem* (Stuttgart, 1969), pp. 771–955 (odd pages only), at Psalm 51:14, 79:9, 85:5, 95:1, 149:4. In all but the last, the traditional Latin numbering is one Psalm behind.
24. Babylonian Talmud *Sanhedrin* 98b.
25. At Exodus 2:8 Tyndale renders '*almah*' by 'maid'.
26. S. P. Brock, 'Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 20 (1979) pp. 69–87.
27. D. Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila* (Leiden, 1963).
28. Epistle no. 57; see J. P. Migne ed., *Patrologia Latina*, 22 (1859), col. 571.
29. Daniell, *William Tyndale*, p. 1.
30. D. M. Karpman, 'William Tyndale's Response to the Hebraic Tradition', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 14 (1967), pp. 110–30.
31. M. Polliack, 'Alternative Renderings and Additions in Yeshu'ah ben Yehudah's Arabic Translation of the Pentateuch', *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 84 (1993–4), pp. 209–26.
32. D. Daniell ed., *Tyndale's New Testament, translated from the Greek by William Tyndale in 1534* (New Haven and London, 1989), pp. 391–408.
33. Luther achieves the same effect by using a pluperfect verb: *Denn als Gott der Herr gemacht hatte...* For this sense, the Hebrew would normally place the verb after the subject rather than (as here) before.
34. Luther: *Und redete mit seinen Eidamen, die seine Töchter nehmen sollten.*
35. J. L. W. Schaper, 'The Unicorn in the Messianic Imagery of the Greek Bible', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 45 (1994), pp. 117–36.
36. So 2 Samuel 2:23 '*ahare hahaniit*' 'the back of the spear'.
37. Thus Vulgate has *posteriora* and Tyndale has 'back parts' in Exodus also. It does not matter that the form of the Hebrew word is slightly different ('*ahore*') in Exodus.
38. Whether the present Hebrew text is original or a pious revision of an older text where Hagar declared that she *had* seen God, is a separate question.
39. Luther understood Genesis 16:13b similarly in his first edition (*gewisslich hie hab ich den Rücken gesehen des, der mich sahe*); however, he used different language in Exodus (*wirst du mir hintennach sehen*) and so provided no clue to the idiom. His revised translation of Genesis 16:13b is cloudy: *gewisslich hie hab ich gesehen den, der mich hernach angesehen hat.*
40. Rashi understood: 'Have I seen angels here, after seeing them in Abraham's house?' However, the references to angels and to Abraham's house, which are essential to this interpretation, are not in the text. The version of the Jewish Publication Society of America reads: 'Have I even here seen Him that seeth me?', as if the troublesome Hebrew word could be ignored. A common emendation gives: 'Have I indeed seen God and still live after that vision?', but departs markedly from the Hebrew text; see J. Skinner, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis* (Edinburgh, 2nd edition, 1930), p. 289.
41. Hammond, *Making of the English Bible*, pp. 16–67; Daniell, *William Tyndale*, pp.

42. This discovery is ascribed to Z. W. Heidenheim (1757–1832) by N. Leibowitz, *Studies in Bereshit (Genesis)*, (trans. A. Newman, Jerusalem, 1976), p. 290.
43. S. Naeh et al., ‘*Tirōš* – Wine or Grape? A Case of Metonymy’, *Vetus Testamentum*, 44 (1994), pp. 115–19.
44. Similarly at Isaiah 53:11 the Servant is said in NEB and REB to justify the many through his humiliation or suffering, rather than through his knowledge as in older translations. On the whole question, see J. A. Emerton in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 81 (1983), pp. 189ff.
45. So already the Aramaic version, and Vulgate: *et contrivit cum eis atque comminuit viros Succoth*. Compare Luther: *reissen*. Pagninus: *confregit*.
46. This suggestion was published by E. J. Pilcher, ‘A New Hebrew Weight’, *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund* (1914), p. 99. Pilcher makes it clear, however, that the suggestion was due to Mr Samuel Raffaeli, who had acquired the third example known of the *pim* weight.
47. LXX has the place name in Kings only, and Pagninus has it in Chronicles only. In Kings, Pagninus writes: *et congregatio neotiorum regis accipiebat netum in precium*. Here he thinks successively of the verb *qwh* ‘gather together’ and *tiqwah* ‘cord’.
48. So Tyndale at 1 Kings 10:28. The translation at Chronicles also has the place name but is phrased, as usual, more literally.
49. Pritchard, pp. 279–83.
50. Compare A.V.: ‘And he cried, A lion’ with REB: ‘Then the look-out cried’.
51. E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis, 1992).
52. For example, at Job 24:20, the reason for the difference between NEB: ‘the worm sucks him dry’ and A.V.: ‘the worm shall feed sweetly on him’ is not that the former have emended the text (Hammond, *Making of the English Bible*, p.11); rather, they understand the Hebrew root *mtq* not in the traditional meaning ('sweet') but in the sense of a similar-looking Aramaic word ('suck').
53. See, e.g., M. Buber and F. Rosenzweig, *Die fünf Bücher der Weisung* (Berlin, 1930).

Scope

Cuthbert Tunstall, later Bishop of London and then Durham, published the first book on mathematics conceived and printed in England in 1523; it was a commercial arithmetic written in Latin. By the time of Thomas Digges's publication of his book on geometry in 1571, the use of English in mathematical publications and the 'practical arts' had become established, but not entirely to the exclusion of Latin. There is a parallel, which may be aetiological, between the growth of the use of vernacular languages and the striking surge of mathematics in science in western Europe culminating during the seventeenth century in the works of Descartes, Galilei, Huygens and, particularly, Newton.

The period under consideration is the beginning of what has become known as the Scientific Revolution,¹ which is usually agreed to span about 1550–1700 and during which mathematics became the distinguishing discipline. Just as significant, however, is the bearing of mathematics on the evolution of technology with regard to the much later Industrial Revolution, from about 1750. Interaction between science and technology is another tale to tell, and there is an important overlap in the making of scientific instruments. In the first decades of the Scientific Revolution the most notable instruments were to do with navigation, which connects to cosmology and astronomy in one intellectual direction, and to the surveying of land and buildings in another. These bonds will become evident in the works of Robert Record (c.1510–58), John Dee (1527–1608), and Leonard (c.1510–57) and Thomas (c.1543–95) Digges, the main authors considered in this essay. The languages (verbal and symbolic) for basic mathematics (arithmetic, geometry and algebra) were formed in principle, and the means whereby the languages were to be developed were broadly indicated.

In addition to the growth in the use of English for mathematical works, other related topics to be considered include: the value of such publications for artisans (Shakespeare's 'rude mechanicals'), and in education more widely; contributions to the English language from mathematics; developments within the study of mathematics of the use of mathematical symbols and notation; and the growth of knowledge and understanding in mathematics in theory and practice (formerly, and improperly, pure and applied mathematics).

Verbal and symbolic language

The word 'language' is intended to mean one of two forms of communication. The first is the spoken and written language used in expressing the mathematical terms and operations; the second, the symbolic form of those terms and operations. This second treats

notation, formulae, calculations and suchlike and is – in so far as these are held in common – understood internationally, whereas the first is understood only by those who are familiar with the spoken or written language of address. As will be seen, the verbal and symbolic languages often worked in harness, with the symbolic form growing and extending its influence gradually throughout the period. The most important single factor in this growth is the development of the use of mathematical equations, which were to be transformed by the introduction of the sign for ‘equals’ – this by Recorde in 1557, but it was not until the next century that the effects of his innovation were to be found in the literature.

Mathematics in English

It is a truism, but an important one none the less, to say that English was preserved and nurtured in the speech of the lower classes during the Middle Ages. By a process of linguistic osmosis in England English was becoming the main language of communication, ousting Anglo-Norman French in court and government circles, and competing with Latin in intellectual and theological affairs.

Following the introduction of movable-type printing in the latter half of the fifteenth century, the movement gained considerably in momentum. Leonard Digges in 1556 wrote of the ‘arte of numbring [which] hath been...hyd and as it were locked up in strange tongues’.² The strange tongues are primarily Latin, followed by French, Italian and German. But another tongue is the symbolic language of mathematics, a language frequently associated with the magic and sorcery.³ In producing the early, and original, printed works on mathematical topics the verbal and symbolic forms were developed at the same time in English once the groundwork had been established. This was done initially by direct and indirect translations, and also by transforming largely unwritten information used mainly in trade, commerce, and management of estates.

Before 1551 there was little innovation in the language of mathematics, as authors were mainly concerned with bringing into English concepts familiar though not written in English, and in translation from Latin and continental vernaculars at an elementary level on subjects which had a spoken form in English. With everyday arithmetic there was no problem putting into English the basic procedures, but with geometry and algebra it was altogether different. This is seen most clearly in the work of Recorde in 1551 when he attempted to anglicize the verbal language of geometry, which had already well established Latin and Greek forms of expression.

Debris from the battles for ascendancy litter the pages of printed books with experimental words or constructions; some remained to provide synonyms with origins from earlier forms of English, the pre-Conquest invaders, and from French and Latin; some did not survive; others thrived.⁴ Only the fittest forms of expression survived: those that were suited to their environment, those which could adapt or mutate, and those which offered a basis for future development. Comparable forces were at work on the symbolic language in mathematics. Seldom however have the lines been so clearly drawn as in the battle for the use of emerging new English in mathematics.

Imagination and mathematics

Verbal language, including the written form, is a means of recording and communicating; but is also an analogue for thinking which becomes condensed into the mental form of words before they are expressed externally. The symbolic language of mathematics is very similar for mathematicians, and but poorly appreciated by non-mathematical minds. History is written in words, not numbers.

In science, mathematics and technology there are general and specialist cultures from which each person draws, but to which not all contribute.⁵ Naturally enough the more significant contributors attract the attention of commentators, leaving the foot-soldiers as footnotes.

As in many fields of human endeavour, there are heroes in mathematics; and there are cooperative activities: both are necessary. Who is to say which is more important – innovation or developmental advancement? Hero or developer? Heroes, by and large, tend to be innovators: Archimedes, Newton, Euler, Einstein. They are the generals; little, however, is heard of the developers, the other ranks.

In the period considered in this essay, the main authors are concerned with reconstituting the mathematical knowledge which had been known previously in Greek, Arab and medieval times; with translating it into English for a new readership; with developing certain features for immediate use, such as land surveying and navigation; and with achieving clarity of thought and of expression for communication to those who are not yet skilled in mathematical matters, or who wish or need to develop higher skills. In Recorde's books we can observe the human mind grappling with concepts, seeking clearer modes of expression and paving the way for contemporaries and future toilers in the field. He was not always successful, and this is informative in examining his contributions.

The facility to think and outwardly express work in the same language favours innovation and development in the work and in the language. This is because the nature of the creative mind includes such apparently wasteful activities as 'dreaming' or mulling over matters in a non-linear way, conceiving situations of varying practicality, speculating, or simply walking round a problem to view it from different angles.⁶ Likewise the process of putting into written form these abstract thoughts is made easier when the language of address is the same as that in which the products of thought are crystallized.

One debatable edge that emerging English was developing over Latin was a relative freedom from highly pre-structured thought patterns and the firmly established range of the hinterland of meanings associated with words and word groups. A word in English grown as it were organically could relate far more closely with human experience; whereas with Latin, when set apart from Roman culture, there was always a distance and authority problem in thinking creatively. This became especially evident as education filtered 'downwards' in society – and this was occurring in the time of the Reformation in England. For reasons such as these there were various attempts to limit Latin influences in the emerging English; equally there was a movement to embrace 'inkhorn' terms.⁷

This battle led to an enrichment of the English language which has proved flexible enough to embrace words of different origins but with shaded meanings, increasing the range from which the choice for a particular meaning may be drawn. As in the verbal lan-

guage of mathematics, so in the symbolic.

Mathematics in society

Practical mathematics, as in surveying, navigation or accountancy, are integral with the affairs of any time; these times, although politically turbulent, were of relative stability in the London region. This was the centre for trade, industry and government, and was the most populous city in the country, with about 40,000 to 70,000 people of a population growing from about two and a half million to four million during the sixteenth century. London was also, overwhelmingly, the centre of the book publishing industry.

In a commercial environment mathematics was used for: counting, measuring (including areas, volumes, weighing), converting currencies, calculating profit and loss, and dividing shares between investors. Furthermore, levies and taxation on trade and assets required procedures involving mathematics. As trade increased, education played a growing part in society, particularly for the young and the ambitious.⁸ Education needed teachers and books, and very often it was the teachers who wrote the books – Robert Recorde, for example. Publishers and printers of books served the growing markets, supplementing the far more numerous and profitable publications in religious matters and literature.

Despite the upheavals connected with the Church and state during this period, particularly during the 1530s, ecclesiastical functions required servicing. The Church calendar had to be maintained annually, requiring astronomical knowledge, observations, calculation, and publication (its calendar was much in need of reform). Among the earliest products of the printing presses were calendars, almanacs and prognostications.⁹ These made use of material gathered for determining the dates of religious festivals, together with much miscellaneous information such as astrological and weather predictions, useful to farmers and coastal pilots amongst others.

As the international shipping trade increased, more sophisticated methods for navigation became necessary. These involved geometry and astronomy, and necessitated instruments to facilitate the observations, as well as to produce tables recording essential information concerning the position of the sun, moon, planets and stars. Books on the geometry of the sphere and on astronomy provided information for navigators as well as for religious purposes.

The dissolution of the monasteries and the redistribution of the wealth and incomes of the Church were to have dramatic effects throughout society, not least in that full information about the lands and properties was required urgently. How to measure land and buildings; how to evaluate assets in terms of money; how to divide the acquired assets; how to organize taxation and revenues. This can be readily perceived in the printing history of the time; the little book by Rychard Benese (1537) is the first to treat measurements for buildings, land and building materials, though John Fitzherbert had included land surveying in one of his books published in 1523.

Document types

Possible manuscript sources for early authors in English on mathematical subjects 1523–71 fall into distinct groups, some more well-filled than others. The following illustrates some of the complexity of potential sources for mathematics, and also for science and technology:

- ancient texts in direct translation into English from Greek and Latin (and also into other vernaculars);
- ancient texts by way of Arabic into English from Greek and Latin (and also into other vernaculars);
- ancient texts by way of Arabic into Latin;
- ancient texts into Latin in post-Roman times;
- medieval texts from Latin into English (and also into other vernaculars);
- medieval texts from French (and other vernaculars) into English;
- medieval texts in Latin;
- medieval texts in English;
- medieval texts in other vernaculars.

Sources for Arabic texts would include eastern Mediterranean and Hindu, mainly; in addition to the ancient Greek and Roman cultures.

Some of the texts remained in manuscript, others were to be published after the introduction of movable type in about 1460.

Possible printed sources for early authors in English on mathematical subjects 1523–71 would have been:

- original works in English;
- original works in other vernaculars translated into English;
- original works in other vernaculars;
- original works in Latin published in England and elsewhere;
- works in Latin and Greek translated into English;
- works in Latin and Greek translated into other vernaculars;
- works in one vernacular translated into another.

Other publications to be noted here are not considered sufficiently significant here for authors working in the English language: works in English translated into Latin; works in English translated into other vernaculars; works in other vernaculars translated into Latin.

For the purpose of charting the development of verbal and symbolic languages in mathematics, the main works to be considered fall into the section denoted ‘original works in English’. By ‘original’ is meant ‘conceived and written in English for the English reader’.

If plagiarism is taking from one book without attribution, and research taking from more than one (whether or not attributed), then the same criteria also apply to translations. Attributions and references to other works in the period discussed are not all that common, though if a book is a direct translation from a single source this is usually

acknowledged. In discerning significant developments in the contents of books on mathematical subjects there are those which are innovative to the subject, and those which are new ways of presentation or interpretation, mainly in printing and the use of language.

Works of the main authors

Although several authors are discussed here, the four most notable are Robert Recorde, Leonard and Thomas Digges, and John Dee. Arguably the content of the work initiated in English by these authors in mathematics, astronomy, navigation and particularly in technology, has had a greater effect on present-day life than any other aspect of the printed word in the time of the Reformation. But the value of their work as judged at the time should not be over-estimated.

In the small city that London then was the informal meetings of Robert Recorde, Leonard and Thomas Digge, and John Dee with others, made a network which has been largely ignored subsequently, but the importance of which is now recognized.¹⁰

In the space of some fourteen years, 1543–57, Robert Recorde published four works on mathematics, and one on medicine.¹¹ The mathematical works became standard educational textbooks of the time continuing, with varying degrees of durability, into the seventeenth century.¹² In 1551 he campaigned for the use of certain kinds of words in mathematics, but in 1557 recanted, though not wholeheartedly. Some obsolete forms of expression, like Darwinian dead-ends, throw light on the survivors.

Recorde's publications on mathematical subjects all have evocative titles, befitting an author with literary aspirations: *The Grounde of Artes* (arithmetic), 1543; *The Pathway to Knowledge* (geometry), 1551; *The Castle of Knowledge* (astronomy), 1556; and *The Whetstone of Witte* (arithmetic and algebra), 1557.

Leonard Digges, followed by his son Thomas, produced standard works on land and building surveying, Copernican astronomy and practical mathematics for the military. Thomas Digges (1571), importantly, ratified democratic cooperation with other languages as the way forward for English in mathematics. During his lifetime, Leonard Digges published two books: *A Generall Prognostication*, 1553; and *A Boke named Tectonicon*, 1556. A third, *A Geometrical Practise named Pantometria...*, edited and enlarged by his son Thomas, was published posthumously in 1571, with a second edition in 1591.

John Dee was navigation advisor to the Muscovy Company (and was consulted by Frobisher and Davis). He offered a philosophical framework for the growing scientific knowledge of the time in the Mathematical Preface to the English translation by Henry Billingsley of Euclid's Elements of Geometrie (1570).

Not only was 1543 the date of the publication of Recorde's first book (on arithmetic) but also – far more famously – the date of publication of the heliocentric hypothesis in *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium* by Nicholas Copernicus.¹³ Recognition of the significance of this has led commentators to proclaim the opening of the 'modern era' in science to be 1543. If that year can be claimed for science then, arguably, the same can be claimed for British technology on behalf of Robert Recorde.

Printed works 1481–1523

William Caxton: Within about five years of setting up his printing press using movable type in Westminster, William Caxton published the earliest printed encyclopedia in English, the *Myrrour of the Worlde*, in 1481. As with so much else at this time it was a translation. Compiled originally in about 1245 in Latin and translated into French in 1464 as *Image de Monde*, it was considered to be suitable still in Caxton's time. This complacency was soon to change, as one of the effects of printing was to make readers more aware of the quality and reliability of the information contained in a book; and infelicities of language in translation quickened the search for suitable printed forms in English, which was developing rapidly, not just in words and phrases, but also in aspects of grammar, including sounds and rhythms. The introduction of the printing hastened the need as well as facilitated the process.

The *Myrrour of the Worlde* contained the earliest printed reference of some length to anything mathematical in English, with a few words on arsmetrique (number) and on geometrye (measure). In each of these sections is a statement as characteristic of the Middle Ages as of the Age of Enlightenment,¹⁴ and illustrates that the revival of Plato's philosophy in early humanist times had earlier soundings in the Scholastic studies of Plato. Thus, arsmetrique: 'Who that knewe wel the science of arsmetrique he myght see thordynance of alle thinges. By ordynance was the world made and created, and by ordynance of the Soverayn it shal be deffeted.'¹⁵ And geometrye: 'Who wel understande geometrie, he myght mesure in alle maistryes; ffor by mesure was the world made, and alle thinges hye, lowe and deep.'¹⁶

Though comprehensible as English, one can sense the original language even in these short extracts; in addition to English, most clearly are Latin, French and Germanic languages. With the addition, directly, of Greek, mainly through the influence of humanist studies, these were to form the basis of English in mathematics, science and technology.

Ephemera: In the early years of the sixteenth century popular almanacs, calendars, and prognostications were sold inexpensively.¹⁷ The *kalendayr of the shypars*¹⁸ was the most widely published in English from 1503 to the middle of the seventeenth century and contained the movable feasts of the Church and tables for finding the Sunday letter. It also contained astrological information, details showing the entry of the sun into the zodiac, how to read the hour from the stars, and much else. Almanacs contained useful information about the weather,¹⁹ eclipses, the best days for blood-letting and so on.

The content and language are revealing of the work of the translators in scientific literature, and in the first two decades of the sixteenth century that meant the calendars, almanacs and prognostications. There was a tendency to translate directly word for word, retaining the word order; where changes were necessary, syntax was not yet adequate and consistent; only a superficial knowledge was held concerning astronomy (which was the main 'scientific' content); and terminology in English was unsatisfactory. Comparison of Copland's 1508 version of the *kalendayr of the shippaysr* with Digges' *Pantometria* (1571) shows areas where development took place.

After about 1540 almanacs and calendars came to be published as one, while prognostications (usually on single sheets) were forbidden by statute (1541 and 1549) to issue false, politically unsettling, or socially disturbing prophesies; it was a nervous

time, and the printed word carried considerable weight in the common mind.²⁰ Astrology and astronomy were hardly separable in the early years of the sixteenth century. Astronomy was beginning to become disentangled from myth and magic, but the two were never far from each other even, after the publication in 1543 of Copernicus's *De Revolutionibus*.

Cuthbert Tunstall (1522): Of the many books in Latin on mathematical subjects published abroad around 1500, it is noticeable that the most famous English author had been dead for more than a century and a half. This was the Merton scholar Thomas Bradwardine, renowned in his day but by 1500 outdated. Nevertheless, he was held in such esteem on the Continent that in 1496 and 1503 his *Geometria Speculativa* and *Arithmetica Speculativa* respectively were published in Paris. Thomas Linacre translated *De Sphaera* by Proclus (c.450 AD) from Greek into Latin; printed first in Venice and reprinted in London by Richard Pynson in 1510, it was translated into English in 1550.

Cuthbert Tunstall (1474–1559) travelled in Italy as Henry VIII's representative. Concerned about being cheated in transactions with money-changers, he made notes from all he read on the subject and decided to bring them together in a Latin treatise, *De arte supputandi*, which was published in London by Caxton's successor Richard Pynson, in 1522, the year Tunstall was elevated to the Bishopric of London. Tunstall dedicated the book to his friend and travelling companion, Thomas More, providing an interesting account of the genesis of the book in a prefixed dedicatory letter.²¹

The mathematical contents of the book are unremarkable, showing conventional medieval methods of computation and providing examples, together with an appendix of tables for estimating the value of various currencies. Tunstall explains the method of working of subtraction from right to left (seven minus four) instead of from left to right (four from seven), which the Arabs practised. This he attributed to a presumed Englishman of whom nothing is now known, one John Garth. This seemingly minor matter is of considerable importance in regularizing procedures for mathematical equations, though Tunstall himself wrote out procedures of computation in full, as was the custom. Where he did use numerals they were Hindu–arabic including zero, and not roman.

The book was never translated into English but went through several continental editions. Erasmus praised the man and the book,²² and the first printed version of the Greek text of Euclid's *Elements* was dedicated to Tunstall by the publisher Simon Grynaeus in 1533. Because Tunstall wrote in Latin and was published in Paris and Strasburg, his mathematical renown on the Continent far exceeded that at home. Becoming Bishop of London in 1522, and later Bishop of Durham, Tunstall seems never to have returned to mathematics.

Tunstall moved in governmental and Church circles, using Latin extensively, so to write his mathematical book in the same language was natural to him, especially bearing in mind that his sources were Latin as well as several vernaculars.²³ But the next books on mathematics in 1537 were in English; the tide of English was flowing. Between the date of publication of Tunstall's book and the next books dealing with mathematics, in 1537, there are many statements advocating with various degrees of enthusiasm adoption of the vernacular in printed works. The following is from *Elyot's Castle of Health* (1534):

If physicians be angry, that I have written a physicke in englyshe, let them

remember that the grekes wrate in greke, the Romains in Latine, Avicenna, and the other in Arabike, whiche were their own proper and maternall tongues.

The Arab he could not bring to mind would have been Averroës (ibn-Rushd). Only after 1535/6 could anyone in England dare add that St Jerome wrote the Vulgate Bible in his own tongue of Latin, translating from several earlier and contemporary languages. Tyndale had done so in 1528, but from abroad, in *The Obedience of the Christian Man*.²⁴

Printed works 1523–43

John Fitzherbert: In 1523 John Fitzherbert (d. 1531) published two short works, both of which went through many editions to 1767, and with later academic issues.²⁵ One was on husbandry, and the other was *The boke of surveyeng and improventes*.²⁶

The bulk of the contents is a handbook for an estate manager or steward on such matters as rights of tenants, marriage, inheritances, freemen and bondsmen, and includes extensive notes on exactly how to perform the rituals of homage. The book, writes Fitzherbert, is taken from ‘an olde statute named *Extenta manerii* ... made soone after the barones war the whiche ended at the bataile of Euesham’ (1265), and compiled to bring under control the properties of the defeated parties. Each page of Fitzherbert’s book is headed with the title of his source, but it is clear that he incorporates things of his own, including social comment.

In the introductory promotional verse passage, the publisher Thomas Berthelet calls on the classical authority of the farming books of ancient Rome: those by Caton, Columella, Varro and Vergilius. Because Fitzherbert gives no rules or procedures for actual measurement, it can reasonably be assumed that the primitive methods found in, for example, Columella’s *De re rustica*, are to be taken as read.²⁷ In the introduction proper, he offers the origin of the word ‘surveyor’:

The name of a surveyour is a frenche name/and is moche to say in Englysshe
as an overseer. Than, it wolde be knewen/how a surveyour shulde overse or sur-
vey a towne or a lordshyppe/as and the cytie of London shulde by surveyed...²⁸

Although there are no technical illustrations nor any numerical mathematics, there is an interesting account of procedures for surveying. The surveyor:

must stande in the myddes of the flatte whan he shall butte truely,
and
He that shall view/but and bounde landes or tenements by Eest West Northe and
Southe. It is necessarie that he have a Dyall with him/for els * the sonneshyne
nat/he shall nat have perfyte knowledge/whiche is East West Northe and
Southe.

[B]ut [or butte] and bounde’ is a technical term long out of use in which ‘to but’ has the same sense as ‘to sight’, or ‘take aim’ as in archery practice (the ‘butts’).²⁹ The ‘bounde’ is the extent of the land surveyed, or boundary. ‘Dyall’ here is clearly a magnetic com-

pass.¹⁰ Thus with a perch rod (usually sixteen and half feet long), a magnetic compass and something to draw on to a scale, the boundaries were delimited and the shape of the parcel of land defined from a central position in the field. Practical advice in published form in English on how to determine areas of plots of land is not found here, suggesting that the work of the ‘overseer’ is simply just that; and that the term surveyor as now understood had not yet taken on its present meaning. The change may be ascribed to the next book on surveying, by Sir Rycharde Benese, in 1537.

Book Trade Regulations: That Fitzherbert was treating the management of private estates in his book of 1523 and Benese was concerned personally with an ecclesiastical estate in 1537 is a testimony to the turbulence of the times. Since the first act in 1484 to regulate the book trade, the conditions under which foreigners might carry on the business of printing and selling books were gradually tightened. There seems to have been a genuine wish to promote English practitioners in this expanding business, but there was also the matter of heresy and threat to social stability which had to be rooted out. As Bishop of London and Wolsey’s right-hand man from 1522 to 1530, Tunstall had been involved in applying increasingly onerous restrictions on booksellers. In 1524 and again in 1525 he instructed them not to handle Lutheran works, in Latin or English, published in England or abroad. In 1525 Wolsey staged a book-burning event, to be followed by many others.

Promulgation of the Act of Supremacy in 1534 spawned numerous consequences, among which official sanction to print the Bible in English became feasible.¹¹ In August 1535 Cromwell was asked for support to print Coverdale’s Bible in English in England, and in July 1536 ecclesiastical injunctions were issued ordering that every church was to have publicly accessible the Bible in English and in Latin. The man who asked for support from Cromwell was the printer James Nicholson (originally a Netherlander), who was rewarded for his audacity by being permitted to print the Coverdale Bible, with such success that two more revised editions followed in 1537.¹² Nicholson was also the printer for *the maner of measuryng of all maner of lande* by Rycharde Benese, probably the same year.

While the availability of a printed Bible was significant in that the Scripture now became accessible to all literate people, just as significant – some would say more so – was the collateral effect within English-speaking culture more generally.¹³ Having the Bible in English stimulated literacy, and consequently increased the demand for books of many sorts in English; it endorsed the English publication of subject matter that might otherwise have remained in Latin or Greek; and it created demand for original works in English.

In 1529 an act prohibited new presses being set-up by aliens, and in 1534 an act restricted the retailing foreign books to natives or residents in England, where publication could be more easily controlled at source. Commentators have been broadly of the view that this put the book trade firmly in the hands of native booksellers,¹⁴ but actually several foreign printers and publishers became resident in England. One who did so as tension increased in advance of the enactment was Recorde’s printer, Reyner Wolfe, in 1533,¹⁵ and another is thought to have been the printer of the anonymous arithmetic in 1537, John Herford (or Hertford or Harford).¹⁶

Rycharde Benese: The maner of measuryng of all maner of lande, by Rycharde Benese

(f.1537–47), brings the subject of surveying closer to modern practice by incorporating considerably more on measurement. Benese, a canon of the Augustinian priory of Merton, near London, published it at the dissolution, in 1537. The work is closely focused on measurement of land, buildings, and quantity of materials, providing many tables for multiplying numbers to provide areas, as though multiplication tables were not in use. The short Preface is by Thomas Paynell, also a canon at Merton, and he refers to the ‘divine Plato’, and to the usefulness of the contents for carpenters, masons, and ‘those artificers who do use Geometry: by whyche all maner of ingens and craftye ordinaunces of warre and other appertaynyng unto theyr arte do depende, as hangyng roofes, and galaryes. walles, shippes, galles, brygges, mylles, cartes, wheles.’

Using one of the characteristic biblical expressions associated with neo-Platonism, Paynell reports that God made the world ‘by number, weight and measure’. Probably for the first time in English, particular aspects of the medieval system of dividing geometry are mentioned in a printed work.³⁷ This classification is found in works on *Practica geometriae*, first formalized by Hugh of St Victor in about 1130, and subsequently developed and widely disseminated in scholastic circles until well into the sixteenth century.³⁸

Benese himself, in the main body of the book, provides accurate ways of measuring areas of irregularly shaped fields by setting out a rectangle within the area, leaving triangular parts left over; the rectangle he deals with by way of simple multiplication using the tables he provides, and the triangles by means of multiplying half the height by the base. For regular figures of more than four sides:

Measure rounde about all ye whole circuite of thys figure * take the one halfe of the nombre of perches of that measure for the length. Afterwarde ye shall measure from the mydle poynte, within the figure, to the utter syde of the cir-
cuite, and take the nombre of perches of that measure for the bredth...

Benese also offers medieval procedures for measuring the height of hills and the depth of valleys by means of triangles. There are twelve pages of text, including many tables for calculating volumes of timber, stone and areas for glass, and one page for calculating the area of rooms.

His work was obviously well received, for after the dissolution he was made Surveyor of Works at Hampton Court and chaplain to Henry VIII.³⁹ It is likely that his ‘career move’ was enabled by the knowledge expressed in his little book, and this in turn suggests that the practices he describes were not in the common domain. Stewards to the landed gentry probably had some knowledge of some or all of these simple operations, though numeracy was less common than literacy. Those with access to the medieval *Practica geometriae* treatises would also have known of these procedures, but perhaps have had little or no use for the information.

Anon. (1537?): The book printed by John Herford received little or no attention in modern times until 1947, despite it being alluded to by Robert Recorde in his arithmetic of 1543.⁴⁰ *An introduction for to lerne to recken with the pen...* is a compilation from two anonymous continental sources, one Dutch (1508) the other French (probably c.1530).⁴¹ Herford is thought to have been of foreign origin, but this far from certain.⁴²

The book is a straightforward arithmetic treating seven ‘species’ – numeration, addi-

tion, subtraction, multiplication, partition (division), progression, and reduction. Books on arithmetic whether in manuscript or printed usually dealt with between five and nine species, later reduced to four.

All questions and answers are written out in full, there are no operative signs (+ - x ÷ =), and numbers are Hindu–arabic including zero, as usual. Much of the text is taken up with examples of the ‘rules’ (that is, simple procedures in present-day terms). Numerous examples relate to everyday matters such as finding out how long it will take to fill a cistern if a certain proportion is filled in a particular length of time; this one, and many others involve the ‘regula aurea called ye golden rule’.⁴³ Towns and coinage used in the examples to do with trade and commerce are usually French and English, though Dutch occurs in such as ‘negenmannekens crownes’. The flavour of many of these early books and the type of problem treated is illustrated in the following extract:

The rule & questyon of the walles.

A manne wyll make a wall 32 fote in lenghte, and 2 of thycknes, and the heyght 25 fote, and eche fote shal cost the makynge 2 fs [francs]. I demaunde how moch shall cost the makynge of all the wall.

Answer. fore to know this rule, ye shall mulyplye the lengthe by the thyckenes in sayenge 2 tymes 32 ben 64 & then ye shal mulyplye it by heyghe in sayenge 25 tymes ben 1600, and then mulyplye by the prycce, that is to wytte by 2 shyllinges the which ben 3200 shyllinges, whereof ye shal make francs, therefore dyvyde them by 20 and they ben 160 francs. An so moch shal coste the makynge of the wall.⁴⁴

The printing history of this book represents one of the few, and possibly the last, examples of a religious establishment being involved in printing at that time. Between 1535 and 1540 acts promoting the dissolution of the monastic houses brought about a redistribution of a substantial part of the nation’s resources, legal and illegal. Salvage from the closure of Abbey of St Albans probably included the printing press. This was the most advanced technology of the time, and of considerable value. John Herford’s patron seems to have been Richard Stevenage, Abbot of St Albans: his personal device is found in several of the seven books Herford printed between 1534 and 1539, when the abbey was handed over to Henry VIII. The business was taken over by Nicholas Bourman in Aldersgate, London who began printing in 1539 and produced the second (?) edition in the same year. Bourman is said to have been a relative of Stevenage, transferring the business and probably the press as well when the abbey could no longer provide a place of work, though what happened to Herford during until he is next mentioned in 1544 is not known.⁴⁵ Herford produced the third edition, also with the Aldersgate address, in 1546.

Hugh Oldcastle (1543): John Mellis published *A Briefe Instruction and maner how to keepe booke of Accompts* in 1588, as a ‘newly augmented’ version of one originally by the schoolmaster Hugh Oldcastle in 1543, which seems no longer to exist. It deals with bookkeeping in the Italian manner ‘of Dare & Habere, which in our language of English, is called Debitor and Creditor’, and is the earliest book in English to deal with double entry bookkeeping. It is based on the arithmetic section of Luca Pacciolo’s *Summa de*

Arithmetica, Geometria, Proportione et Proportionalita (1494).⁴⁶ This, in turn, is the first comprehensive work after the *Liber Abaci* (1202) of Leonardo of Pisa (Fibonacci).⁴⁷

It is likely that the need for a book of this sort in English in 1543 arose out of the need to deal with the increased accounting work associated with the dissolution of the monasteries. Adding nothing new to Latin and Italian treatises, its significance lies in the bringing into English the subject matter treated earlier by Tunstall in Latin. In the same year Recorde published his *Grounde of Artes* on arithmetic, beginning the publication of original works on mathematics in English.

Cultural climate 1547–58

Between 1543 and 1550 there were no books published on mathematical topics in English; then in the 1550s there was a spate of new work. The major mathematical books of the 1550s, abstract and practical, were responses not only to needs of the times but were firmly embedded in affairs affecting the stability of the nation, as the contents of several prefaces demonstrate.

All the major English mathematicians of the generation (Recorde, Leonard Digges, Dee) together with the vitally important connecting link (Cheke), were, in the reign of Mary, in prison at one time or another on serious charges. They were not singled-out by the authorities because they were mathematicians, or in Cheke's case an influential champion, but more than sheer coincidence was surely at work. Emancipation of the artisan and merchant classes developed alongside religious emancipation, with concomitant pressure on the ruling families and their supporters. Scientists in Protestant countries did not have to refer to the Church for their authority or for its sanction on their work. Yet the Inquisition was continuing to be powerful in Spain a mere fifty years after the death of Torquemada, and was increasingly vigorous in Italy, culminating in the famous trial of Galilei in 1616 for advocating the Copernican system of the universe.

Sir John Cheke

The importance of John Cheke (1514–57) in the field of mathematics is not for any mathematical contribution, but for his promotion of the study of mathematics and for connecting the esoteric (and lowly regarded) discipline of mathematics to the outside world, including the publishing fraternity and influential court circles. He placed a cultural value on mathematics that was hitherto lacking among socially powerful, perhaps excepting only Thomas Linacre, and he succeeded in achieving some credibility for certain mathematical pursuits, such as in navigation (and therefore exploration), where advantages for wealthy entrepreneurs and organizations could be perceived. As a scholar of Greek culture, he was also interested in Greek science, and actively encouraged its study; he was probably unique for his time in this endeavour. Cheke also had the foresight to place high value on the use of English, and fostered its early growth.

In 1540 at Cambridge, if not before, Cheke would have met Recorde, who was then studying medicine there. John Dee took his B.A. at St. John's in 1545, leaving for Louvain after his M.A. in 1547. On his return in 1550, Cheke introduced him to the

Warwick family, two sons of the earl having heard his famous lectures in Paris earlier that year. Among Cheke's other pupils were Roger Ascham (author of *Toxophilus* and *The Scholemaster*), and later tutors in mathematics at Court William Buckley and Clement Adams. There is no mention of a Leonard Digges in the Cambridge records. In 1541 Cheke's sister Mary married William Cecil (afterwards Lord Burghley and chief secretary of state to Elizabeth).

Cheke had been appointed the first Regius Professor of Greek at St John's College, Cambridge in 1540, at the age of twenty-six, and from 1544 to 1551 he was tutor to the future king, Edward VI, and to the Dudley family. He was examined as a witness in the trials of Bonner (1549) and Gardiner (1550), and was knighted in 1552.

When Northumberland was tried for treason in 1553, he blamed William Herbert, Duke of Pembroke for arranging the conspiracy. Whatever the division of culpability, Pembroke changed sides just in time, but left Cheke fully exposed in the position of Latin secretary to Lady Jane Grey. In July 1553 Cheke was imprisoned in the Tower for his part in the conspiracy, but was discharged in September 1554 with a licence that allowed him to travel abroad. However, he overstayed the period of validity of the licence, was trapped in Brussels at the beginning of 1556, and brought back to London. Threatened with burning he capitulated, confessed and recanted publicly before the Queen and court in October 1556. He 'pined away with shame and regret' in September 1557. These dates are highly relevant to Recorde's parlous position at about the same time.

Recorde's Arithmetic (1543)

The Preface: Recorde alludes to an earlier work in English in the Preface to his *Grounde of Artes* (Arithmetic), 1543.⁴⁴ This can now be safely thought to be the anonymous work of 1537 printed by John Herford at St Albans. The publisher is named as R. Wolfe, with an address at the 'sygne of the Brazon serpent' and S.T.C. equates R. Wolfe, Reyner Wolfe, Reynold(e) Wolfe and the anglicized Reginalde Wolfe; the *D.N.B.* gives Reyner and Reginalde as alternatives. However, records of 'denization' exist for a Reyner and a Reginalde; the first in 1533 and the second 1542.⁴⁵ (Interestingly, the date of first book published by Wolfe is 1542.⁴⁶)

One of Wolfe's earliest publications in his first year was a book in Greek by John Cheke (S.T.C. 14634) which required not only Greek alphabet letterpress but also skill in the language to compose and process the production. Wolfe's ability clearly impressed Cheke, for when Recorde was ready to have his arithmetic printed it was to Wolfe that he went. Technical skill in handling Greek, and therefore probably arithmetic too, would certainly have been a consideration in the selection of a printer and publisher. Recorde had 'first saluted the Oxonian Muses' in 1525, went on the Cambridge and obtained his M.D. in 1545.⁴⁷

The puzzle as to what John Herford might have been doing between his summons to Cromwell in 1539 and the next date of publication of a book by him in 1546 leads to the conjecture that he was working with Bourman, at least for part of the time, at an address close by St Paul's. Without affecting that guess another factor emerges in that the name of John Herford also appears in the imprint of a book published by Wolfe in 1544. Perhaps Herford was plying his trade as a journeyman printer during those years, or at

least 'for hire' from time to time, when Bourman's business (which may have been Herford's under another name) was slack. Wolfe, Bourman and Herford are all thought to have been of Dutch origin, and it seems inevitable that they mixed socially and in business in the small printing quarter around St Paul's. It is also likely that Cheke learnt there of the anonymous arithmetic (1537) if he had not already been aware of it, and that this information was then passed on to Recorde. Equally, of course, Recorde may have seen it for himself, or been aware of it from another source.

Several early reference works, including the now outdated entry in the *D.N.B.* give 1542 (others give 1540) as the date of first publication of Recorde's arithmetic. These may have arisen from John Bale's bibliographical researches. However in the introduction to the printed index to the notebooks, the point is made that Bales visited authors and printers' workshops to gather the most up-to-date information, and that in several cases Bale's date precedes by a year or two the actual date of publication.⁵² It seems likely, then, that Bale (or another observer) saw Recorde's arithmetic in manuscript in Cambridge in 1540 or in the course of being printed in Wolfe's workshop in 1542, perhaps towards the end of that year. On the evidence of geographical proximity and of his name appearing on a work by Wolfe in 1544 it is possible that Herford himself was involved in some way with the production of Recorde's arithmetic. In addition to the earliest extant copy bearing the date 1543, there is internal evidence in support of that date. In the section on counters and counting (accounting), the first illustrated example of the use of a counting board employs the number 1543, and this does not change in the later editions seen: not conclusive, but an indicative conceit.

Many of the 'problems' used in the anonymous book were later employed by Recorde, and this has led to the first use in English of some examples being attributed to Recorde. Several of the examples, however, go far back into antiquity, and a very well known one is found in an Egyptian manuscript possibly as early as 3400 BC.⁵³ The extensive use of examples in western Europe was promoted by Leonardo of Pisa (Fibonacci) in his *Liber Abaci* (1202 revised 1228). He was also the first major mathematician in western Europe outside Arabic Spain (the main centre for Arab science up to the end of the eleventh century) to advocate the use of Hindu-arabic numerals including zero. Another highly influential writer, significantly from around the same time,⁵⁴ was the Englishman Sacrobosco, also known as John Holywood or Halifax. His *De Arte Numerandi*, written probably about 1240, was a popular text in Latin and was printed in at least nine editions between 1488 and 1523.⁵⁵ Recorde's arithmetic and the anonymous work should be seen as bringing into English the robust but old publications on that subject deriving from medieval times.⁵⁶

Mathematics was not part of the school curriculum at that time nor for long after,⁵⁷ and the instructions are given from first principles, written in a friendly tone, and directed mainly at education of the young: 'I have written in the forme of a Dialogue, because I judge that to be the easiest way of instruction, when the Scholar maye aske every doubt orderly, and the master may answer to his question plainly.' Recorde is adamant that mathematical learning should proceed step by step, and laments the state of ignorance in mathematics in England, justifying his book: as arithmetic '...is the ground of all mennes affayres, so that without it no tale can be tolde, no communication without it can be longe contynued, no bargaynyng without it can be duely endyd, nor busynes that man hath justly completed.'

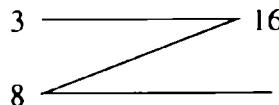
The Preface contains many of the sentiments repeated in subsequent works, references to Plato, Aristotle and God abounding.⁵⁹ Recorde writes that if the book is well received he will go on to 'set forth such introductions into Geometry & Cosmography as hytherto in English hath not been enterprised...'. These were to be *The Pathway* (1551) and *The Castle* (1556), but there is no mention of the part two of arithmetic (into the expanded second edition of the arithmetic, 1552), nor of the algebra of 1557. It is clear, therefore, that the projected series underwent change in the unfolding.

The main text: In the body of the work the usual processes are covered – numeration, addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, progression, the golden rule, double rule of proportion, and the rule of fellowship with time and without.⁶⁰ Recorde proceeds: '... arithmetike is a science or arte teachynge the maner and use of nombryng, & may be wrought dyversly with penne or counters, & and other ways...' These other ways, in addition to the then familiar counting board, are the abacus and finger counting for which he includes separate chapters. These latter two derive from Leonardo of Pisa, though Bede had advocated finger counting very much earlier.

Recorde accounts for his spelling of 'arithmetike': 'Bothe names ar corruptly written Arsnetrike for Arithmetyke (as the Grekes call it) and Awgrym for Algorisme (as Arabyans sound it)...' But Recorde himself (or his printer, perhaps) is not wholly consistent and offers Arithmetike, Arythmetyke, arithmetyke, though the choice was extensive (as the *O.E.D.* entry shows).

Even at this late date, in the chapter headed 'Numeration', Recorde feels it necessary to distinguish between roman and Hindu-arabic number symbols: '684, that is, viC.lxxxiiii'. In doing so he demonstrates that roman numerals were themselves subject to change and development.

In 'Progression' Recorde provides the ancient 'rule of three': '... ye rule of proportions, whiche for his excellenciy is called the Goleden Rule: Whose use is by 3 nombers knownen, to fynde out another unknowen, which you deserve to know...' He illustrates this:



Later, this could be written symbolically:

$$\begin{aligned} & 3 : 8 :: 16 : x \\ \text{or, } & 3 : 8 = 16 : x \\ \text{or, } & \frac{3}{8} = \frac{16}{x} \end{aligned}$$

Or verbally as 'If three is to eight, and sixteen is to x, what is x?'

The large Z used by Recorde to denote proportionality can be found in a publication in the United States as late as 1797, in a variant form, but by then it was well out of date. This sign for proportion will be shown to be a crucial element in Recorde's thinking con-

cerning the introduction of the sign for equality (=), for which he is well-known, but the origin of which has not so far been satisfactorily adduced (but see pp. 201–3).

Because later editions were numerous, revisions and enlargements have usually been attributed to the two main editors after Recorde's death, John Dee and John Mellis. It was obviously in the publishers' interests to promote 'new' editions of a popular work, but examination of the 1552 edition, revised by Recorde himself, shows that all the major additions were included in 'The second Part of Arithmetike Touching Fractions, Brefely sette forth..'. In this Recorde applies the same mathematical operations as in the first part to fractions.

William Salisbury (1550) and Anthony Ascham (1552)

The significance of these two small books, on the globe and on astronomy, lies not in the contents, which are elementary, but rather in the fact of their existence in English in printed form. Criticism of many of the early books on science and mathematics has been that they added nothing to the subject.⁶² However this was a time of gathering up what had gone before and presenting that information in an accessible manner; without such introductory works the next generation could not have moved forward – and the next generation was not far behind. The point has already been made that a major driving force in the Reformation was the youth of the day, and this is confirmed in the educational aspects of the publications on mathematics.

Salisbury's *The Description of the Sphere or frame of the Worlde* is a translation from the Latin by Thomas Linacre of *De Sphaera* by Diadochus Proclus.⁶³ The original Greek work was produced in about 450 AD and is a Ptolemaic view of the world. Linacre (c.1460–1524) taught Greek to Erasmus and More, and was tutor to Prince Arthur before becoming physician to Henry VII and Henry VIII. He was an early champion of the New Learning, and, like Cheke later, did not exclude science.

In the introductory letter addressed to his cousin, Salisbury says that he had been asked to find a book on the subject in English, but had failed to do so in all the bookshops around St Paul's. He had been forced to chose one of three or four Latin versions to put into English, and selected the Proclus–Linacre edition, but not without misgivings:

But wolde God that he, whiche translated it into Laten, had taken so moche paine, as for his countre sake, as to englysshe the same also Englisse was his natyve tongue. Greke and Laten as well knownen, where as Englysshe to me of late yeares, was wholy to lerme, the Latyn not tasted of, the Greke not once harde of, whom although even at this present I might rather and truelye with lesse reproche, denye to have any knowledge in it at all, than to professe the perfect phrase of any of theym three. Why than shall I attempt, for any mannes pleasure, to go aboute to translate a Scyence unknownen, out of a tongue unknownen, into a tongue no better knownen unto me.

His native tongue was Welsh. Once again the Welsh connection to science in Tudor times is made.⁶⁴

A lytel treatysse of Astronomye, by Anthony Ascham (published in 1552), was dedi-

cated to the recently knighted Sir John Cheke, and presents a Ptolemaic interpretation of the universe. Ascham's seems to have been the first book in the mathematical field to provide a comprehensive index – although the entire publication is of only twenty-one folios.

Recordre's Geometry (1551)

The second new mathematical work by Recordre is *The Pathway to Knowledge*, containing only two of the four books promised.⁶⁵ It is dedicated to the youthful Edward VI '... not so much because it is the firste [book on geometry] that was ever sette forthe in Englishe...' but because he would be '... a wyse prynce to have a wise sort of subjects'. 'Nothing can be so grevous to a noble kyng, then that his realme should be other begerly or ful of ignorauunce...' Dee's popular acclaim in Paris for his lectures on Euclid no doubt prompted his older friend and colleague to publish *The Pathway*, though the book had been promised in the Preface to his arithmetic in 1543. He also makes the first reference in modern times to Roger Bacon's 'perspective glasses'; by his remarks it seems that the tests undertaken by Leonard Digges and John Dee had not yet taken place, but were soon to do so.⁶⁶ He also mentions the accusation of Roger Bacon being a 'necromancer', but writes that '... he never used that arte (by any coniecture I can fynde) but was in geometrie and other mathematical sciences so experte, that he could dooe by them such thynge as were wonderful in the syght of most people.'⁶⁷

His book will be useful, Recordre tellingly remarks, because there are 'a great nombre of gentlemen, especially about the courte, whiche understand not the latin tongue'.

Taking his cue from Thomas Paynell in the Preface to Benese's little book of 1539, Recordre extols the value of geometry to artisans, 'Carpenters, Karvers, and Masons, doe willingly acknowledge that they can worke nothing without reason of Geometrie...', and that geometry is of great practical worth to 'Merchautes, shipmaking, navigation, compass, carpenters, etc, the carte and the plowe, tailers and shoomakers, weavers, millers, and all that is wrought by waight or by measure'.⁶⁸ So full of purpose is Recordre that he dedicates a page and a half of verse to the usefulness of geometry.

Recordre wryly comments on the social status of mathematical publications in English:

I doubt not gentle reader, but as my argument is straunge and unacquainted with the vulgare tongue, so shall I of many men be straunglye talked of, and as straungly iudged. Some men will saye peradventure, I might have better employed my tyme in some pleasaunte historye, comprisinge matter of chivalrye.⁶⁹

The contents of the work are a translation and rearrangement of the first four books of Euclid's *Elements*. As Proclus had done before him and Ramus was to do after him, Recordre separated the constructions ('things to be done') from the theorems ('things to be proved').⁷⁰ The most noticeable feature of the book is the introduction of words of 'English' (Anglo-Saxon) origin as new terms for more familiar Latin-based ones. Recordre's association with Sir John Cheke at Cambridge was probably productive in

both directions: while Cheke had been a long-time enthusiast for the vernacular, his letter on seeking purity in the English language actually post-dates the work of Recorde in mathematics, and also of Turner in botany.⁷¹

In the chapter headed ‘The definitions of the principles of Geometry’ Recorde introduced many such terms: ‘There is an other distinction of the names of triangles according to their sides, whiche other be all equal ... and that the Greekes doe call Isopleuron, and Latine men *œquilaterum*: and in englissh tweyleke.’ ‘... all sharpe angles these the Greekes and Latine men do call scalena and in englishe may be called novelekes, for they have no side equal.’ ‘...called of the Grekes trapezia, of the Latin menmensulæ and of Arabitians. helmuariphe[?], they may be called in englishe bordeformes.’

In addition to new words, Recorde also coupled words, linking a proposed or unfamiliar term with an established term or a variation of one. The following may not be complete, and as can be seen, most did not survive:⁷²

- perpendicular* or *plumme line*
- parallel* or *gemowe lines*
- axelyne* or *axtre* for centre line
- touch line* for tangent
- cantle* for half (or one of two unequal parts, used in connection with curved shapes)
- match corners* for opposite angles formed by two intersecting lines
- cinkangle* for pentagon
- siseangle* for hexagon
- septangle* for heptagon
- ground line* for base of triangle
- tweylike* or *tweyleke* for isosceles triangle
- threlike* or *threleke* for equilateral triangle
- nonlike* for scalene triangle (triangle had been in use since early medieval times)
- likejamme* for parallelogram
- straight line* for ‘linea recta’ instead of the more literal ‘right line’
- a square quadrate* for a square
- a long square* for rectangle

Failure of most of the above terms to secure a place in the English language probably arises from two main handicaps. Their ‘angular’ sound is definitely old-fashioned for a time when the new language was responding more positively to subtler rhythms and less guttural utterances. As spoken words they fit more comfortably into Chaucer than Spencer. Perhaps more pertinently the family of words around, say, *tweylike* is highly restrictive when compared to the more expansive and geometrically better connected *equilateral*. Yet *twey* survived in arithmetic in *twain*, *twice*, *twelve*, *twenty*, all from the Old Saxon root word ‘two’. One of the keys to the process of enrichment of the English was the introduction of suffixes particular to English usage, allowing or encouraging adaptation of French and Latin terms already established in particular fields, such as geometry.⁷³

Although the geometry in *The Pathway* is conventional, traditional for the time and familiar to later students capable of progressing beyond the *pons asinorum*,⁷⁴ one figure

stands out in the Conclusion. This is the distinctive master mason's square; that is one with two arms at right angles but so tapered that the inner and the outer angles are both 90°.⁷⁵ This is a remarkably late example, if the interpretation of the drawing is correct, and suggests a link between Recorde and practising Masonic geometers. But, true to their tradition, the Masons did not reveal its usage to Recorde, for he makes no specific mention of the square; he surely would have done so had he been aware of it. But the shape cannot have been drawn 'accidentally' and must have been intended. It is correctly located in the section treating the geometry of arches, and this makes it likely that he saw the master mason's square on site, probably at Cambridge.⁷⁶ The illustration in *The Pathway* does not seem to have been remarked on before now.

Recorde's Astronomy (1556)

Recorde's *The Castle of Knowledge* is his most famous book. It became the standard work on the subject, and held that place for over half a century.⁷⁷ Without elaboration Recorde tacitly accepts the Copernican system, referring to 'an infinite number of stars'. He might have been more fulsome had not Mary I been on the throne, and had he not been under threat of his life.

Recorde had been summoned to appear before the Privy Council on 20 July 1556, when he was bailed, but later he was confined in the King's Bench Prison, where he died in 1558.⁷⁸ This surely explains the supplicatory dedication to the 'Moste Mightie and most Pvissant Princess Marye', and also remarks in the Preface concerning 'knowledge's exyle'. He is also referring to his actual or potential imprisonment in the following: 'Althoughe I could not be permitted by disturbance of cruell fortune, to accomplish now my buyldynge as I had drawen the platte: yet in spite of fortune, this muche have I doone. Whiche is more then ever was done in this tonge before, as farre as I can heare.'⁷⁹ The Preface becomes all the more poignant: read as a preface to a book on astronomy it is interesting and informative; read as a plea for a man's life it is enthralling. He is openly appealing, over the head of the Privy Council, directly to Mary.

There are two reasons offered for his imprisonment, the first 'for debt', and the second 'more likely due to some circumstance in connection with his work in Ireland'.⁸⁰ As no evidence has yet been produced for either, other possibilities should be considered. A more plausible cause for his imprisonment was his close association with Sir John Cheke and Leonard Digges, both attainted under Mary I and imprisoned in the Tower at about the time, or just before, Recorde was brought before the Privy Council. The devious actions of the illiterate Privy Councillor the Duke of Pembroke may be the connecting link; Pembroke was an ardent Protestant in a Catholic court, constantly in need of substantive proofs of his oft-questioned loyalty.⁸¹

While the Preface was surely written at this time, the main text was probably composed earlier. Recorde justifies the production of *The Castle* as being 'profitable' for navigation; when to sow grain, grass and planting; how to determine the dates for Easter, and for the 'right judgement of the Criticall daies that without it physicke is to be accompted utterly imperfect'. These 'daies' are those most favourable for blood-letting and the taking of medicines, important to Recorde, a physician. These practical reasons, we note, are exactly the same as for the *kalendars* and *almanaces*.

The Preface contains his usual references to Aristotle and Plato, rather more here than previously on God and Christ, and a personal version of a poem in the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* of Boethius:

[Man should]... rather looke upwarde to the heavens, as nature hath taught him, and not like a beaste go poringe on the grounde, and lyke a scathen swine runne rootinge in the earthe. Yea let him think (as Plato with divers other philosophers dyd trulye affirme) that for this intent were eies geven unto men, that they might with them beholde the heavens: whiche is the theatre of Goddes mightye power, and the chiefe spectacle of al his divine workes.⁴²

Recorde's *Castle* was possibly the first book printed in England in English using roman typeface; that it was a book on science in the vernacular has been said to point to an important aspect of the intellectual revolution of the sixteenth century.⁴³ Whatever the background, the result is a modern-looking book easy on the eye. The publisher is named as Reginalde Wolfe, the same name as he who stood surety for Recorde's bail in July 1556: most probably he had just anglicized it from Reynold. Wolfe did not publish anything else by Recorde, whose next and last book was published by the up and coming John Kynstone (or, Kingston).

Recorde's Arithmetic and Algebra (1557)

By the time *The Whetstone of Witte* was published, Recorde was probably in prison. The dedicatory epistle, addressed to the 'Companie of Venturers into Moscovia', is dated 12 November 1557, and is more circumspect in tone than the Preface to *The Castle*.⁴⁴ The new publisher may have been more prudent in allowing what was to be made public under their names, but Recorde's voice is still heard in the preliminaries:

I can not thinke it neadefull, to seke any protector, for this or any like worke. Sith every good man will offer hymself, to defende that, whereby his native countrie is benefited. Excepte at some tyme, by excitation of the furies, some naughtie natures doe practice their fraude, to berefte the realme of some singulare commoditie. But as I feare no soche, so at this tyme I seke no soche aide against them.

Whether this was bravado or whether he could not, or would not, involve colleagues in his defence is not clear. Although three of his closest friends, Cheke, Dee and Leonard Digges, had all been imprisoned on treason charges and been released, they would not have been suitable 'protectors', had they even agreed to act on his behalf. Leonard Digges may even have been in prison at that time. Recorde seems to be claiming that his loyalty to the crown was epitomized in the benefit to the country of his mathematical work in English. Unfortunately his confident optimism was misplaced.

In the first part of the book devoted to expanding his earlier work, he uses the large % for the sign of proportion. He also introduces about twenty-five symbols of mathematical notation, including one which, confusingly and needlessly, 'betokenth nomber

absolute: as if it had no sign.' Although he tells his scholar pupil that he had received criticism for obscuring the 'olde Arte' by applying new names of native origin to established terms, he still uses 'cinkangle' and 'siseangle', and one or two new ones from his latest German sources, including for example, 'zenzizenzike roote' for 'fourth root'.^{**}

In the second part, Recorde tells his pupil:

... now will I teache you that rule, that is the principall in Cossike woorkes: and for which all the other dooe serve.

This rule is called the Rule of Algeber, after the name of the inventour, as some men thinke: or by a name of singular excellencie, as others judge. But of his use it is rightly called the rule of *equation*: bicause that by *equation* of nombers it doeth diissolve doubtfull questions: And unfolde intricate ridles.^{**}

Recorde goes on to introduce the = sign at the outset of the section on equations, giving the reason: '... to avoide the tedious repetition of these woordes: is equal to: I will lette as I doe often in woorke use, a paire of parallels, or Gemowe lines of one length, thus: _____, bicause noe 2 thynges, can be moare equalle.'

Note the pair of colons for quotation marks or italics which would be used today, and also the extended length of the sign itself. The telling phrase 'as I doe often in woorke use' indicates that he drew on his informal symbolic language for mathematics, and the significance of these few words should not be overlooked.

As the first line in the quotation above shows, Recorde uses the sign to replace written words, as a form of shorthand; but in speaking the equation he would still have to have used the words he replaces on the written page. Lack of direct correlation between the spoken and written forms probably has much to do with the brevity of life of most of the mathematical symbols of notation which proliferated after about the end of the sixteenth century; and also why the abundance of other symbols essayed by Recorde in this book failed to survive.^{**} Just as in the verbal language for mathematics the words that succeed are those that are specific enough to carve out a clear 'meaning', yet are flexible enough to allow adaptation, so for the symbolic language. The horizontal symmetry of an equation, being balanced on each side, the = sign forms a visual and mathematical fulcrum analogous to a Roman balance.

The basis of the ultimate success of the = sign lies in its simplicity and direct application to the established spoken terms. The origin of the sign may be just as simple. In the 'rule of three', the 'golden rule', Recorde used the large Z sign in his first arithmetic (1543) to indicate proportion, and to direct the user to multiply and divide in a particular sequence (provided that he/she knew the rules). Thus:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} 3 & \overline{\text{---}} & 16 \\ & \diagdown & \\ 8 & \overline{\text{---}} & (x) \end{array}$$

developing in terms of x,

$$\begin{array}{r} 3 \\ \hline 8 \\ \hline 16 \\ \hline x \end{array}$$

$3x = 16 \times 8$
 $x = 16 \times 8 = 42s\ 8d$

This is Recorde's own example, though he did not use 'x' for the unknown, leaving the space blank; nor did he use the sign for multiplication, but wrote the word out in full. As the resolution of the equation progresses on the page, the numbers are reduced from fractions to being on a single line; and, at the end of the procedure, a single numerical expression – the answer required. The process of reduction at the same time makes the large Z redundant and too large or awkward to fit onto a single line; but a sign is still required for the condensed equation. By omitting the diagonal line and retaining the upper and lower parallel lines, the necessary compression is readily accomplished. What could be more natural as a shorthand for practical use, as Recorde confided in that neglected and revealing phrase, 'as I doe often in woorke use'.

The success of the = sign

The linear character of developmental equations was not fully established in Recorde's lifetime, though the verbal form was linear because this is a characteristic of the spoken language, as it is of time. The development of mathematical operations and notation is paralleled by developments in the manner of speaking out the process.

One example of the non-linearity of many mathematical operations up to the sixteenth century is the two-dimensional form of showing multiplication by means of a large X with numbers in the spaces between the four arms; another was for the numbers to be located at the end of each arm. In an analogous way to the large Z for proportion being transformed into the = sign, the large X became a small x within the line of the equation. This is first shown in the work of William Oughtred, published in 1631.⁸⁸ The = sign is only one of a group of basic symbols used in elementary mathematics, which include plus, minus, multiply, divide and equals; to which may be added signs for inequality and for proportion. Not only must they satisfy mathematical purposes but their use by printers when setting the type and in proofreading calls for consistency and visual clarity. Even at the end of the sixteenth century the difficulty in finding a printer capable of setting up a mathematical book was a cause for complaint.⁸⁹

In 1659 the Swiss Johann Rahn employed the ÷ sign for division and this became the norm in Britain and the United States; but not in continental Europe where : was most commonly used, introduced by Gottfried Leibniz in 1684.⁹⁰ Although the + and - signs came into use at the end of the fifteenth century, there was very little agreement on the range of symbols until the nineteenth century, and even after that national differences persist.

There was nothing pre-destined about the ultimate success of Recorde's = sign: it could have been any other symbol to 'avoide the tedious repetition', for many were

tried.⁹¹ An abbreviated form such as *aeq.* could have survived, as could have the full words including such as *equals*, *aequales*, *aequantur*, *esgale*, *faciunt*, *ghelijk*, or *gleich*. Recorde's remark about the inherent equality of the two parallel lines of the same length is apposite and conferred a relevance on the sign.

Like the = sign which pre-dates them, the signs for inequality – 'greater than' and 'less than' – derive from the large Z sign for proportion employed by Recorde. The illustration in the book when the signs were made public in 1631 shows the graphical affinity with the = sign.⁹² Hariot, following Recorde, used the long = sign, and he treated the companion signs in likewise fashion, thus:

Comparationis signa in sequentibus vsurpa.

Aequalitatis ut a b, significet a aequalem ipi b.

Maioritatis ut a b, significet a maiorem quam b.

Minoratatis ut a b, significet a minorum quam b.⁹³

Recorde's contemporary John Dee seems to have been the first to use in print the : to denote proportion.⁹⁴ Later this was to become : between symbols or numbers on one side, and :: between each side. The :: is familial with =, being simply the points at the end of each of the pair of lines making the = sign.

Yet another relative is the sign in geometry for congruence, \equiv , and neither did this sign find wide acceptance easily. Not until the middle of the nineteenth century was that particular version introduced, and not until the turn into the twentieth century did it gain wider acceptance.⁹⁵

It was about sixty years before the introduction of the = sign was used again in print, and the subsequent history is not straightforward. But as the 'family' of signs grew, the value of the simple = sign was perceived and absorbed successfully. It is probably true to say that by about 1700 the = sign was widely accepted and commonly (though not universally) in use.

The movement towards abstraction marked by increasing use of mathematical symbols, or generalization of principles, was evident before Recorde's time, and is indicative of a rapidly increasing intellectualization in mathematics culminating in the work of Newton and Leibniz in the next century.⁹⁶

From the myriad of symbols used in elementary mathematics that emerged over several centuries, the ones that survived were those that have fitted their purpose in mathematical practice and in printing utility: no *gauleiter* was ordering affairs, and influences were diverse. There is an elegance, simplicity, and coherence between the fundamental operative signs which transcend their practicality. Choices were made, and it would not be too rash to include aesthetic considerations in the selection processes. Beauty, after all, can be a function as well as an adornment.⁹⁷

Native and borrowed words (1557)

One of Cheke's last contributions to learning was the letter to Sir Thomas Hoby dated 16 July 1557 (if indeed it was penned at that late date).⁹⁸ The opening passage is well-known: 'I am of this opinion that our own tung shold be written cleane and pure, unmixt

and unmangled with borowing of other tungen...' This appears to provide support to Recorde's efforts to employ words of Anglo-Saxon derivation in *The Pathway* (1551), but the less well-known following passage clarifies Cheke's intentions:

... and if she want at ani tijm (as being unperfitt she must) yet let her borow with such bashfulnes, that it mai appear, that if either the mould of our own tung could serve us to fascion a woord of our own, or if the old denisoned words could content and ease this neede, we would not boldly ventre of unknownen wordes.

Put another way, words of English origin should be used where possible, but if it was necessary to import and adapt the appropriate words, then prudence should be observed. When Recorde reported in *The Whetstone of Witte* (1557) that there was criticism of his use of words of English origin in *The Pathway* (1551), it is very likely that Cheke had spoken with him about it in the interim.

Leonard Digges (1555, 1556)

Little is recorded of the early life of Leonard Digges and the date and circumstances of death are also mysterious.⁹⁹ Although he is reported as having attended Oxford, nothing is known of his college, the date, or degree, if any.¹⁰⁰ He is noted as working in an official capacity on surveying, navigation and gunnery in Calais, the last outpost of the kingdom in France. He seems to have been born of minor landed gentry in east Kent, and thus was well-placed to be required to be aware of the published work of Fitzherbert and of Benese. But he is next heard of under sentence of death for participating in Wyatt's Rebellion, in which men of Kent were led to London early in 1554.

No known copies exist of Digges's first publication, *A Generall Prognostication*, in 1553, but the edition of 1555 is thought to be similar in content. What differs, however, is the Preface in which he refers to his 'late troubles' (imprisonment in the Tower) and the book as the result of his studies which 'might declare me thankfully mynded towarde your lordshippe [Sir Edward Fines, the dedicatee], emonge other honorable, to whome I owe myself, with all my endeavore, the fruytes of my studye.'¹⁰¹ Unlike Recorde, Digges did have protection and was grateful for it, but maybe not for long, for he was attainted, apparently for a second time, on 9 December 1555 and presumably imprisoned again.¹⁰² As there appears to be no record of his death, the likelihood is that this occurred before the accession of Elizabeth, otherwise he would surely have been released and published the works which had been written: perhaps c.1557 is nearer the mark than the usual 1559.¹⁰³

The subject matter of his *Prognostications* is in the tradition of earlier almanacs and prognostications, including information on weather lore, the ecclesiastical calendar, astrology, astronomical and moon tables, and practical sailing instructions including descriptions of instruments for navigation.¹⁰⁴ The quality of the information is more scientific than earlier examples of this type of publication, and its usefulness is confirmed by the several editions down to 1635. The publisher was Thomas Gemini, a Flemish 'stranger' renowned for his engraving work and instrument-making. In 1552 he engraved

a fine astrolabe with the arms of the Duke of Northumberland, Sir John Cheke and Edward VI, now in the Royal Belgian Observatory, Brussels.¹⁰⁵ Recorde and Dee were both connected to the Muscovy Company and to various expeditionary enterprises, and probably Digges was also involved in some way, given his surveying and navigational expertise. When Leonard Digges was first imprisoned Dee took on the education of his son Thomas, so they were clearly close.

It was Gemini's abilities in engraving which facilitated Digges' next book, in 1556, the last to be published in his lifetime, leaving several promised works unpublished, or perhaps un-written. Profusely illustrated with copperplate engravings, and in black letter, *A Booke Named Tectonicon*, ran to at least sixteen editions to 1637. In the Preface he writes:

... that the art of numbring hath been required (yea, chiefly those rules hyd and as it were locked up in strange tonges) they do profite, or have been furdered very little for the most parte: certe nothing at all, the Landemeater, Carpenter, Mason, wantyng the aforesayde:

But he cannot let himself claim absolute priority, for 'Other Bookes tofore put forth in our Englishe tongue conteyned onely the bare measuryng of Lande, Tymber, and Borde, howe agreeable in all places to the rules of Geomtry, let the learned idge.'

He goes on to assuage fear of technology:

Here (gentle Reader) thou shalt plainelye perceyve throwe diligent readyng, howe to measure truely and very spedely al manner of Lande, Timber, Stone, Pillers, Globes, Borde, Glasse, Pavements &c without trouble, not payned with many rules, or obscure termes...

In referring to projected works he mentions several times their completion being dependent on God sparing his life; for him this is not an idle phrase.

Digges certainly knew Benese's book, and he expands with suitable diagrams the same contents, employing the same method of measuring areas. Additionally he includes an appendix on the use of the 'profitable staff' (cross-staff, or Jacob's staff). This is a rudimentary instrument for setting-up similar triangles in order to measure heights and widths, and may be the same that Dee brought back from his visit to Louvain where he met the mapmakers Mercator and Finé. It was certainly well-known in continental Europe for many years previously.¹⁰⁶ Although he discusses the use of the mason's square the illustration is of a regular instrument, not tapered as the square represented in Recorde's *Pathway*.

Unusually for books of this time, and not occurring in any other mathematical work is his endorsement of teaching face to face. He concludes the Preface:

I would desyre where my grosse writynges seeme to be obscure, and I were presente the instructoure: for truly a lyvely voyce of a meane speculatour somewhat practised, furdereth tenfold more in my iudgement, then the finist writer. Farewell. Accept my good wyll, and loke shortly (if God spare lyfe) for a profitable increase in these matters. Finis.

Whereas Dee and Recorde are known to have been renowned lecturers, Digges's standing is not registered.

John Dee (1570)

Of all the Tudor mathematicians Dee (1527–1608) is the most complex and consistently misunderstood, despite what should have been his rehabilitation in 1930.¹⁰⁷ Anyone with a deadline to meet must feel an affinity for the man as he rushes to conclude a section of his most notable book: 'Tymes are perilouse: &c. And still the Printer awayting, for my pen staying'.¹⁰⁸ This illustrates the conversational aspect of many of the Tudor mathematical prefaces in English; of an author identifying with his reader directly.

Of Welsh descent, Dee went to St John's, Cambridge, in 1542 where he formed a life-long friendship with John Cheke. Dee read Hebrew, Greek and Latin, but also studied mathematics and no doubt met Recorde and others. On gaining his B.A. in 1547 he went to Louvain University where he met the major cosmographers of the day including Gerard Mercator and Gemma Frisius.¹⁰⁹ He returned with mathematical instruments, particularly those to do with surveying and navigation, and in 1548 on taking his M.A. he left again for the Continent. After two more years at Louvain, in 1550 he gave his famous public lectures on Euclid's *Elements* in Paris. There he impressed and made friends with Peter Ramus (1515–72). These lectures were the first of their kind and made his international reputation. By 1570 and the time of the publication of *The Mathematicall Preface* to the translation by Billingsley of Euclid's Elements in 1570 his thoughts had matured, resulting in one of the most powerful and influential books in English that century.¹¹⁰

Probably the single most significant aspect of the *Preface* is the tree-diagram of scientific knowledge of the world under the general heading *Sciences and Artes Mathematical*, in which he distinguishes Principall and Deriuatiue, or theoretical and practical.¹¹¹ This is printed at the end of the *Preface* and includes words for many divisions of science which have not survived; words such as Anthropographie, Trochilike, Menadrie, Thaumaturgike, Zographie. Some names are conventional, but the definition given to architecture will illustrate that this paper is not the place to examine these words further.¹¹² Architecture is '...a Science garnished with many doctrines, and diverse Instructions: by whose iudgement all works by other workmen finished, are iudged.'

He considered mathematics, and particularly geometry, to be the connecting link between them all, as well as uniting man to the cosmos. The Hermetic tradition in the neo-Platonism of the Renaissance as described by Ficino, Mirandola and Agrippa was central to his thinking. Dee's complexity was such that an appraisal of his work would need to treat astronomy, mathematics, navigation, astrology, the occult and philosophy, in addition to ancient and contemporary authors in history, poetry and literature. The catalogue he complied of his library illustrates the range of his interests as well as providing bibliographical information. Works are mainly in Greek, Latin, Italian, French or English, and the subjects are chiefly scientific, philosophical and of the occult, and not those of a literary humanist. The few theological works are not polemical standard texts of the Reformation or Counter-Reformation. One the notable scientific works is the twelfth-century translation from Arabic into Latin of Euclid's *Elements* by Adelard of

Bath, and among other Arabic and medieval works are many by Jordanus, al-Farabi, al-Hazen, Robert Grosseteste and, particularly well represented, Roger Bacon.¹¹³

It would be an error to consider Dee's work as being a straight development from proto-sciences, such as alchemy, to the treatment of subject matter found in the Scientific Revolution of the next century. Herein is one of the fascinations that Dee's work produces: while he was clearly at the forefront of scientific knowledge and of technological advances in navigation, for example, he was also rooted in a fantastic mental world, difficult to comprehend today. This is probably the main reason why there is still no satisfactory all-round study of his work.

His library at Mortlake was probably the finest private library in Europe of the time, numbering over three thousand books and a thousand manuscripts. It was formed as a result of the loss of many books and manuscripts at the dissolution and particularly in the time of Edward VI.¹¹⁴ The sacking of the Oxford libraries in 1550 (that tempestuous year again) resulted in the destruction of books and manuscripts, especially those with mathematical diagrams, for they were accounted to be 'Popish, or diabolical, or both.'¹¹⁵ It is clear from this that, although it might have been a minority point of view, attitudes towards the New Learning in scientific matters were not always benevolent; life for practitioners could be fraught with danger. It was not a simple question of Protestant or Catholic, but more to do with fear of an apparently mysterious source of personal power – written-down knowledge, and compounded by diagrams and symbols as in mathematics, coded messages in diplomacy (maybe involving 'magic squares' using letters of the alphabet), and magic spells. Dee was active in all these spheres at various times of his life, and this facet of his work coloured his reputation then and thence into the present century.¹¹⁶

Dee's library was sacked by an angry mob in 1583, but he had at least made an inventory of its contents just before that catastrophe. He managed to salvage most of his books and manuscripts, but in his old age his daughter was forced to sell them one by one to pay for his upkeep.¹¹⁷

Dee's dedication to astrology enabled him to supplement his income from private readings; he was also employed at court as Royal Astrologer, drawing horoscopes for Mary, Elizabeth and courtiers. In this capacity he ran foul of Mary, or someone close to her, as he was tried for treason early in 1555 on the grounds of attempting her death. Most probably he drew her horoscope and possibly discussed the fatal features of it with Elizabeth, but he managed to talk his way out the trial at the Star Chamber. Even so, he was still imprisoned in the Tower under Bishop Bonner, who was instructed to examine him on religious matters, but found nothing untoward. Dee was released in August 1555, and at the beginning of 1556 felt himself to be in good enough standing with Mary that he petitioned 'for the recovery and preservation of ancient Writers and Monuments.'¹¹⁸ His proposal was to salvage the manuscripts and books that remained from the dissolution of the monastic houses and sacking of the libraries, and to form a national collection. He failed to elicit support for this, and so began to expand his own collection with that end in view.

William Cuningham (1559)

Curiously, although Dee was certainly aware of the work of Gemma Frisius, having met him in Louvain, he appears not to have brought back an essential element of surveying, or, if he did, he kept very quiet about it: it does not figure in his own work or that of his close colleagues Recorde and Digges. This is the concept of triangulation. Although Dee was always wary of making his work public, the book by Frisius was widely available in continental Europe.¹¹⁹

Triangulation is the system whereby each point is located by three lines of survey, fixing it in two dimensions, and remains the standard method today, though obviously considerably improved. With the length of one line known, all others follow without measurement by means of drawing to a prescribed scale using a pair of compasses. Or, with certain dimensions known, a check can be run on the accuracy of work in the field by recording, in the case of rectilinear shapes, the diagonals. Thus difficulties of the terrain are avoided. All this Frisius treats in his book, and it is an unremarked-upon mystery that the topic was not mentioned in print in England until 1559. This was the subject for a part of *The Cosmographical Glasse*, by William Cunningham (1531–86).

In contrast to ‘butting and bounding’, triangulation enables the surveyor to chart great distances between ‘station points’, usually taken as church towers or other highly visible landmarks. It was this technique which enabled Christopher Saxton to produce, during 1573–79, the first detailed national atlas of any country.

Thomas Digges (1571)

In *Prognostication*, Leonard Digges referred to works completed but not yet published. One of these is *A Geometrical Practise named Pantometria*, ‘lately finished’ by his son Thomas and published in 1571.¹²⁰ Divided into four ‘books’, the first three are by Leonard, edited by Thomas, and the fourth by Thomas himself. The titles of the first three books are *Longimetria*, *Planimetria* and *Stereometria*, treating geometrical figures of one, two and three dimensions respectively.

At last here is the fusion of scholastic *Practicae geometricae* with actual practice. Until this book left the printing press, the published geometries described either medieval rough-and-ready methods from the agrimensorial tradition of ancient Rome (Benese, 1537), or were treatises based more or less on Euclid’s *Elements* (Recorde, 1551). With the publication of this book those three threads of medieval geometry are brought together. Its importance cannot be overestimated in terms of signalling the virtually complete absorption of the three written classes of medieval geometry into English.¹²¹ What now seems to have been lost to permanent records was the empirical ‘constructive geometry’ of the medieval masons, because Digges in his passage dealing with the builders’ square does not mention or illustrate the tapered form of the instrument which Recorde depicted in *The Pathway of 1551*.

Apparently for the first time in a publication in English, the fraction $\frac{2}{3}$ is used in connection with areas and circumferences of circles, in the section headed *Planimetria*.

The Preface to the first three books was written by Thomas, and he refers to people still living who had witnessed the use of ‘perspective glasses’ for seeing objects at a

great distance, and for causing fire.¹²²

The Preface to the fourth book, on Platonic solids, by Thomas Digges is of great interest in the matter of language:

I have retained the Latin or Greeke names of sundry lines and figures, as cords Pentagonall, lines Diagonall, Icosaedron, Dodecaedron, or such like, for as Romanes and other Latin writers, notwithstanding the copiouse and abundant eloquence of their tong, have not shamed to borrow of the Grecians these and many other termes of arte: so surely do I thinke it no reproache, either to the English tong, or any English writer, where fitte words fayle to borrow of them both.

This pragmatic approach, rather stronger than Cheke's statement on the topic, has been the rule for producing new words in science in English ever since. In retrospect it may appear obvious that this should be so, but Recorde's attempts to bring words of Anglo-Saxon origin into the language of mathematics should not be under-appreciated. If Recorde's proposals were revolutionary with respect to the established Latin forms, Thomas Digges's was the middle path, which became the norm in a very English way.

Thomas Digges proceeds in the Preface to recognize the value of the use of algebra in harness with geometry, a significant insight fulfilled by Descartes nearly a century later:¹²³

I have adioyned every of their diffinitions, and so proceded to Problems and Theorems with such methode, as howe obscure, or harde soever they appear at firste, through the rarenesse of the matter: I doubt not but by orderly reading the ingenious student, having any meane taste of cossical numbers, shall finde them playne and easie.

The difference between the two parts of the publication, by Leonard and Thomas respectively, is plain to see. Leonard's is descriptive and lacking notated mathematics, whereas Thomas's is considerably more quantitative. Surprisingly, Thomas did not adopt the = sign.

According to Leonard, his section was written in or before 1555. Thomas's can be assumed to have been written immediately prior to publication. In a note at the end of Thomas's section, clarifying his credit for only that part of the publication, he gives his age as twenty-five. This would put his date of birth at about 1546, and not at c.1543, which is the date given in many of the standard reference works.¹²⁴

While the work of Thomas Digges is important in the fields of artillery, astronomy, and navigation, it is beyond the scope of this paper.¹²⁵ He achieved an international reputation particularly in astronomy, advocating the Copernican theory half a century before Galilei, and was highly praised by Tycho Brahe. His fame was made with his *Alae seu scalae Mathematicae*, which was written in Latin, and clearly with an eye to his reputation and the European market. However, in the 1591 edition of *Pantometria*, he proposes to use only English henceforth:

And although publishing the same my Treatize Martiall Pyrotechnie and

Artillerie in the Latin toong, I should I knowe greatlye amplifie myne owne Fame, and the admiration of such rare Mathematicians as at this daye live in severall Nations of Christendome, from whome I have for farre inferior Inventions Imprinted in my Treatize 'ntituled Alae seu scalae Mathematicae, already received no small applause. Yet if I publish the same at all, I doe constantly resolve to doe it onely in my Native Language: As well to make the benefite thereof more private to my Countrymen, as to make thereby other Nations to affect as much our Language...

This was written shortly after the attempted invasion by Spain in 1588, so national security would have been a concern; the extract also illustrates that the sudden growth of English in England in the realm of scientific matters had left the continentals less able to communicate with the English, except through another international language. First Latin continued as the scientific *lingua franca*, then, by the mid-seventeenth century, it was accompanied and then superseded by French. Not until well into the nineteenth century did continental scientists consider it worthwhile to become familiar with English.

Primary printed sources

Any book, document, usage or occurrence, referred to as being the earliest example, is only said to be so in the light of present knowledge and the limitations of the author.

A line over a letter indicating elision is omitted in favour of including the letter itself. 'U' is altered to 'v' where appropriate. Otherwise spellings are as in the original works.

S.T.C.—A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *et al.*, *A Short-title Catalogue of Books printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books printed abroad, 1475–1640* (The Bibliographical Society, Oxford, 1926. Revised and enlarged 2nd edition, 3 vols., 1976–91).

D.N.B.: Dictionary of National Biography.

O.E.D.: Oxford English Dictionary.

E.E.T.S.: Early English Text Society.

(William Caxton), Gautier de Metz, *The Myrrour of the World* (William Caxton, London, 1481 [S.T.C. 24762], 1490, 1527?), E.E.T.S., Extra Series no.110, London, 1913.

Cuthbert Tunstall, *De Arte Supputandi libri quattuor* (Rychard Pynson, London, 1522 [S.T.C. 24319]; and Paris 1529, 1535, 1538; Strasburg 1543, 1544, 1548, 1551).

Source, Charles Sturge, *Cuthbert Tunstal*, p. 75, though this is probably dated.

John Fitzherbert, *Here begynneth a ryght fruteful mater: and hath to name the boke of surveyeng and improventes* (Rychard Pynson, London, 1523 [S.T.C. 11005], and 1526 [S.T.C.], 1533, 1539, 1543, 1546, 1555, 1560, 1567, 1767). Source, British Library Catalogue. S.T.C. is slightly more cautious on some dates.

Syr Rycharde Benese, *This boke sheweth the maner of measuryng of all maner of lande, as well as woodlande, as of lande in the felde, and comptynge the true nombre of acres of the same* (James Nicholson, London, 1537?, and 1540?, 1563,

1565?, 1651). Source, British Library Catalogue. S.T.C gives 1537?, 1550?, 1553?, 1562–3, 1565.

Anon. *An introduction for to lerne to recken with the pen, or with the counters according to the true cast of Algorisme, in hole numbers or in broken newly corrected* (John Herford, St Albans, 1537? [fragment only, British Library?]; 1539 [N Bourman. Bodleian Library only? STC 14118], 1546 [John Herford, London], 1552, 1556, 1574, 1581, 1595, 1629.

Hugh Oldcastle, *A Briefe Instruction and maner how to keepe booke of Accomps.*

Newely augmented and set forth by John Mellis Scholemaister (John Windet, London 1588. [S.T.C. 18794]. Originally by Oldcastle, 1543; not now existing?).

Robert Recorde, [arithmetic], *The Groundes of Artes* (R. Wolfe, London, 1543); additional part by Recorde 1552. 27 editions to 1640. Editions 'revised' by Dee from 1575; 'revised' by Mellis from 1582.

[geometry], *The Pathway to Knowledge* (Reynold Wolfe, London, 1551), and 1574, 1602.

[astronomy], *The Castle of Knowledge* (Reginalde Wolfe, London, 1556), and 1596.

[arithmetic and algebra], *The Whetstone of Witte* (John Kynstone, London, 1557), and 1596.

Leonard Digges, *A Prognostication of right good effect* (Thomas Gemini, London, 1555). That of 1553 not extant. 11 editions to 1605.

A Booke named Tectonicon (Thomas Gemini, London, 1556). 16 editions to 1637.

A Geometrical Practise named Pantometria... lately finished by Thomas Digges (Henrie Bynneman, London, 1571), and 1591.

William Salisbury, *The Description of the Sphere or Frame of the Worlde* (no publisher in copy seen, St. Chantes Inne, in Holbourne, London 1550). S.T.C. gives R. Wyer, same date, different address.

Anthony Ascham, *A lytel treatyse of Astronomy* (William Powel, London, 1552).

William Cunningham, *The Cosmographical Glasse* (Ioan Daij. London, 1559).

John Dee, [known as The Mathematicall Preface] *Preface to The Elements of Geometrie of the most auncient Philosopher Euclid of Megara. Faithfull (now first) translated into the Englishe toung, by H. Billingsley... With a very fruitfull Praeface made by M.I. Dee...* (John Day, London, 1570). Reprinted 1651 and 1661.

Thomas Digges, *A Geometrical Treatise named Pantomentria...*, as Leonard Digges.

Notes

1. The term has been attributed to Herbert Butterfield in the 1948 lectures which became *The Origins of Modern Science*, 1949. Reported by M. B. Hall in *The Scientific Revolution* (Macmillan, London, 1970), p. 1.
2. Leonard Digges, *A Booke Named Tectonicon* (Thomas Gemini, London, 1556), sig. A2.
3. Roger Bacon, *The Opus Majus of Roger Bacon*, (c.1280), translated by R. B. Burke, London 1928 (based on corrected text of Bridge's edition of 1900), p. 261.

Distinguishes between *mathesis* (short middle syllable, meaning knowledge) and *mathesi* (long middle syllable, meaning divination), showing the long-time association of idea of mathematics and magic. The first book on mechanics by an Englishman in English was by John Wilkins, later Bishop of Chester, published under the title *Mathematicall Magick, or Wonders that may be performed by Mechanicall Geometry* (London, 1648).

4. Albert C. Baugh and Thomas Cable, *A History of the English Language* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 3rd edition, 1978), Chapter 8.
5. For a wide-ranging discussion on this subject, see *The Structure of Scientific Theories*. Papers from the Symposium held at Urbana, Illinois, 1969 (F. Suppe ed., Chicago, 1974).
6. First-hand and qualitative accounts by mathematicians and physicists in Jacques Hadamard, *The Psychology of Invention in the Mathematical Field* (Princeton U.P., 1945. Dover reprint of enlarged 1949 edition, New York, 1954).
7. Brief notices in H. S. Bennett, *English Books & Readers 1475–1557* (Cambridge U.P., 1952, 2nd edition, 1969), pp. 166–177, and A. C. Partridge, *Tudor to Augustan English* (André Deutsch, London, 1969), p. 46.
8. A. G. Dickens 'The English Reformation as a Youth Movement', in *The English Reformation* (Batsford, London, 1964, 2nd edition 1989), pp. 334–8. There seems to be some truth in this, but as the expectancy of life of anyone born in the sixteenth century was less than forty years, this fact can colour later opinions.
9. E. F. Bosanquet, *English Printed Almanacs and Prognostications: A Bibliographical History to the year 1600* (The Bibliographical Society, Oxford, 1917).
10. Francis R. Johnson, *Astronomical Thought in Renaissance Europe. A Study of the English Scientific Writings from 1500 to 1645* (Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1935), pp. 138–9. Although Johnson refers to 1560–83, Dee was cultivating contacts immediately after his return from Louvain and Paris in 1550.
11. There may have been another on mathematics, *The Gateway to Knowledge*, but this now seems lost.
12. The numerous editions of his most popular works are testimony to this. Sir Christopher Wren's copy of *The Castle of Knowledge* is in the Bodleian Library, shelfmark Savile K.5(3), noted in J. A. Bennett, *The mathematical science of Christopher Wren* (Cambridge U.P., 1982), p. 127. Wren was installed as Savilian professor of astronomy at Oxford in 1661.
13. The profound intellectual and practical impact of this work lies beyond the scope of this study, largely because it took decades to work out the physical consequences. Within our period there was little or no perceptible effect on the English language resulting from either the concept or the book of Copernicus.
14. As can be seen in the works of Leonhard Euler (1707–83); for example, in the Introduction to the *Additamentum I, Methodus Inveniendi Lineas Curvas Maximi Minimive Proprietate Guadentes...* (Lausanne and Geneva, 1744).
15. Caxton, *Myrrour*, (E.E.T.S. Extra Series, CX), p. 37.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
17. Bennett, *op. cit.*, pp. 116–20, and list, pp. 278 ff.
18. Translated from the French *Le Compost et Kalendrier des Bergiers* (Paris, 1493),

- with new translations and editions to 1656.
19. Although the *O.E.D.* currently repudiates any Arabic connection, a recent authoritative work maintains the Arabic origin of the word as meaning 'climate'. See Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Islamic Science* (The World of Islam Festival Publishing Company Ltd., n.p., 1976), p. 96.
 20. Bennett, *op. cit.*, p. 119, reports that one prognostication made in Flanders threatened Henry VIII with war and misfortune. L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science up to the Seventeenth Century* (8 vols, New York, 1929–58), V (1941) Ch. 11, describes another, known as the 'Conjunction of 1524', in which it was predicted that there would be a return to the Flood because all the planets were to be in Pisces in February of that year.
 21. Translation with comments in Charles Sturge, *Cuthbert Tunstal: churchman, scholar, statesman, administrator* (Longmans Green & Co, London, 1938), pp. 72–4. More and Tunstall first knew each other as students at Oxford University in the 1490s. Tunstall was almost certainly involved in the education of Margaret Gigs, More's adopted daughter, for she is noted as being exceptionally talented in this field; perhaps being the first English woman to be noticeably so (to men's eyes). On the day before his execution, More returned to her the 'algorithmic stone' (whatever that may mean), which he had carried as a memento.
 22. Sturge, *ibid.*, p. 76.
 23. *Ibid.*, p. 72, translation of the dedicatory letter from to More.
 24. David Daniell, *William Tyndale: A Biography* (Yale U.P., London, 1994), p. 229.
 25. Authorship ('master Fitzherbarde') has been disputed. It is between John and his more famous brother, the lawyer Anthony; but the S.T.C. has settled on John.
 26. For the book on husbandry see G. E. Fussell, *The Old English Farming Books from Fitzherbert to Tull 1523 to 1730* (Crosby Lockwood & Son, London, 1947).
 27. O. A. W. Dilke, *Mathematics and Measurement* (British Museum Publications, London, 1987). Chapter 5 treats, concisely, mathematics for the architect and surveyor in ancient Rome.
 28. John Fitzherbert, *the boke of surveyeng and improventes*, introduction, unpaged. The slashes in the original are to distinguish words in close-spaced black letter text.
 29. *O.E.D.* gives 'butt' as 'to mark out limits in surveying', but this sense is not quite right. Note that * signifies a symbol used for '&', or what later became a comma, or to fill in a line of type.
 30. *O.E.D.* gives 1653 as the earliest use of the word 'dial' in the sense of 'surveyor's compass', although used here in 1523. The term (magnetic) 'compass' came into use by way of the mariners' arts – see Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, pp. 21–32.
 31. For a short review of the regulations affecting the book trade see Bennett, *op. cit.*, Ch. 3.
 32. Dickens, *op. cit.*, p. 153.
 33. Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge U.P., 1979 in 2 vols., 1980 in 1), Ch. 4, 'The scriptural tradition recast'.
 34. Bennett, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
 35. Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge U.P., 1954), p. 313.

36. E. Gordon Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade* (The London Bibliographical Society, London, 1905, reprint 1948), p. 70.
37. Altimetry, planimetry, and stereotomy are mentioned, but not longimetry and crassitude.
38. A good general reference is Elspeth Whitney, 'Crafts, Philosophy, and Liberal Arts in the Early Middle Ages, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 90, 1 (1990), pp. 57–163.
39. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 168.
40. Not mentioned by F. R. Johnson, *Astronomical Thought*, 1935, nor Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*, 1954. See A. W. Richeson 'The First Arithmetic Printed in English', *Isis* 37 (1947), pp. 47–56. Richeson asserts 1537 without question-mark, as does M. B. Stillwell, *An Awakening Interest in Science during the First Century of Printing* (The Bibliographical Society of America, New York, 1970). Neither the S.T.C. nor the British Library Catalogue note this edition, which must therefore remain questionable.
41. Question of sources raised by A. W. Richeson (*ibid.*) were traced by P. Bockstaele, 'Notes on the First Arithmetic Printed in Dutch and English', *Isis* 51 (1960) pp. 315–21.
42. Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
43. Or, 'the rule of three', discussed more fully in sections on Recorde's arithmetic and algebra.
44. Anon., *An introduction for to lerne to recken with the pen...* (1546 edition), sig. i, iii.
45. Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 70, reports that Herford was taken to Cromwell in October 1539 following publication of an heretical book printed in St Albans without date or name of printer.
46. S.T.C. 18794 note.
47. Florian Cajori, *A History of Mathematics* (1893; Chelsea Publishing Company, New York, 4th edition, 1985), p. 128.
48. Despite Joy Easton's bibliographical researches on the editions of Recorde's *Groundes*, there is still no definitive list of editions (J. Easton, *Isis* [1967]). S.T.C. gives sixteen editions in the sixteenth century, and eleven for the seventeenth. The edition of 1552 was certainly enlarged by Recorde, and the later 'revised' versions by Dee and Mellis are very little different.
49. Duff, *op. cit.*, pp. 171–2.
50. For the purpose of this paper, in line with D.N.B. and S.T.C., R. Wolfe is regarded as one person.
51. A. Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (2 vols., Oxford, 1691–2), I, col. 84.
52. Introduction by R. L. Poole to John Bale, *Index Britanniae Scriptorum...* (Oxford, 1902). Bale's original account, *Scriptorum Illustrum Brytannie, quam nunc Angliam & Scotiam uocant. Catalogus* (Basle, 1557).
53. Cajori, *History of Mathematics*, p. 123. As put by Leonardo of Pisa, '7 old women go to Rome; each woman has 7 mules, each mule carries 7 sacks, each sack contains 7 loaves, with each loaf are 7 knives, each knife is put up in 7 sheaths. What is the sum total of all named. Ans. 137,256.' Reference is made by Cajori to the Egyptian papyrus written by Ahmes some time before 1700 BC, believed to stem

from a work of 3400 BC.

54. Many of the sources in scientific and mathematical matters dating from around 1200–70 arose from the absorption of Aristotle, Plato, Euclid and Ptolemy into the mainstream of doctrinally acceptable philosophy by the Church authorities. A major problem was that the immediate sources were Arabic and not Christian, and another was that the ancient authors pre-dated Christ.

St Thomas Aquinas attempted to reconcile this dilemma, and one outcome was the promulgation of the Condemnation of 1277, listing 219 prohibited

Propositions (mainly contemporary interpretations of Aristotle's philosophical and scientific works). This severely inhibited new research and development of 'approved' ancient sources, under threat of the Inquisition. Although there were a few scholars active during the next two hundred years (Buridan in Paris, Bradwardine in Oxford, for example), very little advance in the physical sciences was made before the printing opened up the field again.

Consequently, many of the early printed works in Latin and in the vernaculars were catching-up, as it were, and their best sources were from the time before the restrictions were introduced. This helps to explain why even in books not even connected to the works of, say, Aristotle, reference was made to his 'approved' authority in order to attempt to allay the suspicions of the extreme elements in the Church hierarchy.

55. A fifteenth-century translation into English is reprinted in Robert Steele, *The Earliest English Arithmetics* (E.E.T.S. Extra Series No. cxviii, 1922 for 1916). Note on printing, p. vi.
56. Recorde was well aware of sources as a scholar in the Anglo-Saxon language(s), and his library contained a vast number of medieval scientific works, mainly by scholars of Merton College, Oxford. These are found in Bale's *Scriptorum illustrum maioris Brytannie...* (1557); reprinted and introduced by R. L. Poole, *Index Britanniae Scriptorum...* (Oxford, 1902).
57. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
58. See F. R. Johnson and S. V. Larkey, 'Robert Recorde's Mathematical Teaching and the Anti-Aristotelian Movement', *The Huntington Library Bulletin*, 7 (April 1935). This is not a simple matter, and Popper contributed much of value in distinguishing 'passive' and 'active' traditions from ancient times. Karl Popper, 'Towards a Rational Theory of Tradition', in *Conjectures and Refutations* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1963, fifth edition 1974).
- The Church may be seen as 'conservative', and the new scientists 'radical' or 'critical'; both acknowledging the ancients as their fundamental authority. Until Peter Ramus.
59. Fellowship was a system, sanctioned by St Thomas Aquinas, of forming partnerships with profit and loss accounts, allowing distribution of shares and avoiding usury in the use of risk capital.
60. A comprehensive study is in F. P. Barnard, *The Casting-Counter and the Counting Board* (Oxford, 1916).
61. A current dictionary of mathematics relates that the 'rule of three' is from the nineteenth century.
62. Richard Foster Jones, *Ancient and Moderns* (Washington University Studies. St

Louis, 1961), p. 10, is not alone in misunderstanding the situation in his criticism of mathematical works in the sixteenth century as being ‘largely elementary treatises to teach the uninformed’. He is simply unaware of the practical nature of the work being done, and thereby prolongs the battle of those who denigrate the ‘merely practical’ into the present century. W. W. Rouse Ball, in his *History of the Study of Mathematics at Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1889) p. 13, remarks that in 1570 fresh statutes were introduced excluding mathematics from undergraduate study ‘presumably because this study pertained to practical life, and could, therefore, have no claim to attention in a university.’

63. First printed in Venice in 1499, then by Pynson, London, c.1510.
64. Recorde was from Pembroke, Dee and Salysburye were of Welsh origin, and of course the Tudors were also Welsh. J. O. Halliwell, *Connexion of Wales with the Early Science of England* (London, 1840), is remiss in treating only Recorde.
65. The word ‘pathway’ was first used in English by Tyndale (*O.E.D.*). There can be little doubt that in his mind and in Recorde’s were the Latin *quadrivium* and *trivium* – also pathways to knowledge. Recorde enjoyed puns, wordplay and conceits.
66. Reported in L. Digges, *Pantometria* (1571), and again by William Bourne, *Treasure for Travellers* (1578), reprinted in J. O. Halliwell, *Rara Mathematica* (John William Parker, London, 1839). Dee had a large collection of manuscripts by Roger Bacon, in which are described his similar researches of the thirteenth century. It seems most likely that Dee discussed the Bacon manuscripts with L. and T. Digges.
67. What has not been understood by a reporter or chronicler has often been ascribed to magic of some sort; sometimes magic as in ‘mystery’ or ‘miracle’, other times as in ‘witchcraft’ or ‘conjuring with demons’. It is little different today.
68. Here is the almost obligatory key-phrase of the neo-Platonists, from the Book of Wisdom.
69. Preface, opening words.
70. *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* (C. C. Gillispie ed., Scribner’s, New York, 16 vols., 1970–80), ‘Recorde’.
71. For Cheke’s letter, see pp. 204–6; William Turner, *The Names of Herbes in Greke, Latin, Englische, Duche and Frenche wyth the Commune Names that Heraries and Apotecaries Use* (Day and Seres, London 1548). Turner was a fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and probably knew Cheke.
72. F. R. Johnson, *Astronomical Thought*, seems to have first treated this subject.
73. L. Hogben and M. Cartwright, *The vocabulary of science* (Heinemann, London, 1969), p. 23, provides a schedule.
74. F. Cajori, *A History of Elementary Mathematics* (Macmillan, New York, 1896, revised and enlarged 1917, 1929), p. 137 explains that the ‘asses bridge’ is the fifth theorem of Euclid.
75. The literature on this type of ‘square’ is now extensive, most recently, R. Bechman, *Villard de Honnecourt* (Picard, Paris, 1993). Villard de Honnecourt was actively compiling his sketchbooks c.1240.
76. King’s College Chapel (1446–1515), Magdelene (founded 1542) and Trinity (1546), would have provided sufficient building activity in the medieval manner for the use of that particular square. There was no place for it in Renaissance

- architecture.
77. R. F. Johnson, *Astronomical Thought*, p. 132. 'No other book of its type, either in Latin or in one of the European vernaculars, rivals it in its scholarship, literary style, and truly scientific attitude toward ancient authorities.'
 78. *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1556. Star Chamber, Westminster, xx July 1556. R. Wolfe and (an untraced) John Wykes stood surety for Recorde's bail, which prohibited him leaving the locality in which he lived. 'Therle Pembroke' sitting on the Council.
 79. The use of this phrase suggests the continuance of an idiom formed in a society not fully literate, when the spoken word was the norm.
 80. D.N.B. and Frances Margaret Clarke, 'New Light on Robert Recorde', *Isis*, 8 (1926), p. 55.
 81. These are too numerous to go into here, but the entry for him in the *D.N.B.*, cross-checked against events and timings in the lives and deaths of Cheke, Digges, and Recorde, is suggestive.
 82. A topical reference to the first translation into English of Boethius, 1556.
 83. Antonia McLean, *Humanism and the rise of science in Tudor England* (Neale Watson A.P. Inc., New York, 1972), p. 19, where a 'technical advance' or a development in an 'attitude of mind' is discussed. Legibility and social acceptability are certainly relevant. Pynson, printer to Henry VII and VIII, brought roman typeface to London in 1509, but it seems only to have been used for works in Latin until this time.
 84. C. S. Lewis, 'Wit', *Studies in Words* (Cambridge U.P., 2nd edition, 1967), 'If a man had time to study the history of one word only, wit would perhaps be the best word he could chose.' At Recorde's time the meaning was 'intelligence'. But it was also the subject of a Latin pun from the German, see A. de Morgan, *Arithmetical Books from the Invention of Printing to the Present Time* (Taylor and Walton, London, 1847), p. 21 (and later versions by David E. Smith, 1915, and Rupert Hall, 1967).
 85. Recorde's principal new source is Johannes Scheubel (1545, 1551), whom he credits. But also Christoff Rudolf (1525) and Michael Stifel (1544, 1545, 1553). Their work is briefly reviewed in Cajori, *A History of Mathematical Notations* (The Open Court Publishing Company, La Salle, IL, 1928), I, pp. 133–51.
 86. 'Cossike woorkes' was the German expression for algebra.
 87. One example of many: Cajori, *mathematical notations*, pp. 190–99, provides four pages of signs and their uses from the influential works of William Oughtred in the 1630s.
 88. *Ibid.*, pp. 197, 265–6.
 89. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 313
 90. Cajori, *op. cit.*, pp. 270–72, 275. In 1923 The Report to the Mathematical Association of America decided to 'make more use of the fractional form and (where the meaning is clear) of the symbol /, and to drop the symbol ÷ in writing algebraic expression.' On the normal computer keyboard the US standard prevails today.
 91. *Ibid.*, pp. 297–309.
 92. For the significance of inequality in mathematics, see Rosalind Tanner, 'On the

- role of equality and inequality in the history of mathematics', *The British Journal for the History of Science*, I, no. 2 (1962–3), pp. 159–89.
93. Thomas Har(r)iot (1560–1621); together with William Gilbert (c.1540–1603), two of the leading scientists in Europe at the turn of the century; but Hariot published nothing. From his manuscripts his friend Nathaniel Torporley prepared *Artis analyticæ praxis...* for publication in 1631; it contained these important signs. For a short review of Hariot see MacLean, *op. cit.*, pp. 150–55. Extract cited in Cajori, *Mathematical Notations*, pp. 199–200. Also Tanner, *op. cit.*
 94. Cajori, *Mathematical Notations*, p. 168 for Dee; and pp. 285–97 for subsequent developments.
 95. *Ibid.*, pp. 413–19.
 96. But it is not true to say that 'With Recorde's addition of the "equal" sign this algebra became completely symbolic' – Gillispie, *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 'Recorde'. The introduction of letters in place of numerals is of significance in the development of symbolic algebra; and this is first found in the work of Hariot and Viete in the 1590s.
 97. O. Wilde, *The Happy Prince* (1888), reprinted in *The Complete Illustrated Stories, Plays and Poems of Oscar Wilde* (The Chancellor Press, London, 1986), p. 186.
 98. Baldassare Castiglione, *Il Cortegiano* (1528), translated by Hoby as *The Book of the Courtier* (London, 1561; reprinted J. M. Dent and Sons, London, 1974), Cheke's letter prefaces Hoby's translation.
 99. D.N.B. gives 1571?, other standard references 1559?
 100. Wood, *op. cit.*, I, col. 142.
 101. Edward Fiennes de Clinton, 9th Lord of Clinton and Saye, Earl of Lincoln (1512–85). Appointed lord high admiral 14 May 1550 by his old friend Northumberland, and governor of the Tower in 1553 as a part of the Lady Jane Grey conspiracy. Managed to retain favour of Mary on death of Northumberland, and assisted in quelling Wyatt's rebellion. His relationship to Digges, then, is curious.
 102. *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, 1555–7, p. 44.
 103. D.N.B. tantalizingly refers to a document concerning him in the fifth year of Elizabeth's reign, 'though it is not printed in the statutes'.
 104. Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 22–3.
 105. *Ibid.*, p. 165.
 106. D. Chilton, 'Land Measurement in the Sixteenth Century', *Transactions of the Newcomen Society*, XXXI (1957–8 and 1958–9), p. 124.
 107. E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1485–1583* (Methuen & Co., London, 1930), V–VII.
 108. End of the section on architecture, reproduced in Frances Yates, *Theatre of the World* (1969; Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1987). John Day (1522–84) was the publisher for the *Elements of Euclid*, and was the most notable native printer of his generation, publishing also the musical works of Thomas Tallis (as with Greek and arithmetic, discussed with regard to R. Wolf, requiring considerable technical skill), and Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (1563).
 109. E. G. R. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 76, lists many of his contacts.
 110. 'Dee's mathematical Preface is of greater importance than Francis Bacon's

Advancement of Learning, published thirty-five years later, for Dee fully understood and emphasized the basic importance of mathematical studies for the advancement of science' – Yates, *op. cit.*, p. 5. Although Debus has produced a short introduction to the Preface, work on the *Elements* itself is lacking, and would prove valuable. The original translation is thought not to have been by Billingsley at all, and there was a nineteenth-century controversy about Dee being the translator. Dee's hand can be seen in the editing, chapter headings and 'annotations and inuentiones' at the end of Book X.

111. Precedents for such scientific divisions emanate from the lineage of Isidore of Seville, al-Farabi, Hugh of St Victor and Gundisalvo (from the seventh to the twelfth centuries).
112. The mystical (Dionysian) side of Dee comes out in his belief that in naming something he somehow invents it.
113. Source not only for the 'perspective glass' tests by Dee and Digges, but also one of the very few scientists referred to by Leonardo da Vinci. The contents of Dee's library confirms that the primary source material for the Reformation scientists was medieval, including translations from about the turn of the millennium of Arab works; some original and some in translation from the Greek. Similarly Recorde's library.
114. The only recently deceased John Leland (1506?–52) had tried, with limited success, to convince Cromwell in the late 1530s to extend his remit as King's Antiquary to collect on behalf to the king's library because German students were ransacking the repositories of the manuscripts.
115. Yates, *op. cit.*, p. 15, n. 23, citing the seventeenth-century Merton scholar Anthony Wood, *The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*.
116. John Foxe, in *Actes and Monuments* (1563), referred to Dee as 'the great Conjurer', and, despite a later retraction, this appellation stuck beyond the grave. By 1570 Dee must have forgiven the printer of both works, John Day.
117. Yates, *op. cit.*, p. 17, citing Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*.
118. Supplication reprinted in Thomas Hearne, *Johannis, Confratis & Monachi...* (Oxford, 1726), pp. 490–95.
119. The bulk of Dee's original work remained in manuscript, and much is now lost.
120. This first edition of 1571 is no doubt the source of the opinion that Leonard was alive then, but reading the Preface reveals that he is not; though when he died is not stated.
121. A full review of the contents in terms of medieval geometry will have to await another day, for the history of medieval geometry has not yet been written.
122. See n. 66. Hariot tells of using 'perspective glasses' in his Report on Ralegh's expedition to Virginia in 1585; see MacLean, *op. cit.*, p. 150.
123. Descartes (1596–1650), *Discours sur la methode...* (Leyden, 1637).
124. Gillispie, *op. cit.*, 'Thomas Digges', seems to be alone among the references to have noticed this clue.
125. There is as yet no authoritative consideration of the entire work of Thomas Digges. For astronomy, see Johnson, *op. cit.*, and for mathematics, see Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners*.

Richard Hunne

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On Saturday, 29 March 1511, an argument developed between two men. One was a priest, Thomas Dryffeld, and the other was a merchant-tailor of London, Richard Hunne. The occasion was the funeral of Hunne's five-week-old son Stephen, who had died at the home of his nurse, Mistress Agnes Snowe, in Whitechapel. Thomas Dryffeld was conducting the funeral at the local church of St Mary Matfellon, and he demanded as his fee for burying the child the christening gown in which the body was wrapped.¹ The gown was an expensive garment which the priest could have sold. Richard Hunne was one of the wealthiest merchants of London, noted for the scale of his giving to the poor, and he could easily have afforded its price. Yet Hunne refused to give the gown to the priest. He pointed out that for his mortuary fee the priest was entitled, under Church law, to the most valuable possession of the deceased. But as neither a child nor indeed a dead person could be deemed to own anything under civil law, it followed that the priest was not entitled to it. The gown was Richard Hunne's property, not Stephen's. And so the two men parted – bitter enemies.

At first sight the argument seems petty. But behind it stood some of the most important issues of the day. The priest was claiming something to which he was entitled under ecclesiastical law. But Hunne was countering his claim with civil law. And the question, which would not have been lost on either of the two antagonists, nor indeed on any of the many witnesses to their row, was simply: which system of law was to prevail, the law of the Church or that of the king? In other words, Richard Hunne was questioning, long before Henry VIII was to do so, who held the supremacy in this land of England – the king or the pope? He was not to hear the last of it.

Mortuaries, or fees for burying the dead, had long been a cause of bitterness between the clergy and the laity, and not without reason.² When the item the priest claimed was the family's means of livelihood, then it could mean destitution, homelessness and ultimately starvation for those left behind. And much of Hunne's charity would have been expended upon the relief of such families. Hunne's ability to combat the abuse was severely limited. If he challenged it on theological grounds, he would open himself to the deadly charge of heresy. So instead of theology, he was to use the civil laws of England to counter the laws of Rome. And his attention was finally to focus upon one particular law – the Great Statute of Praemunire, first enacted in 1393 under Richard II, though used since that date, when at all, with little effect.³ Hunne's challenge was to hit the London scene like a bombshell, its echoes reverberating through the distant courts of Rome itself, when Pope Leo X found it necessary to thunder timely anathemas in the Lateran against those who would suggest that the clergy should be subject to the secular power. But it was too late. Richard Hunne had set Church and state together on a collision course.

Since 1949, there have been three major contributions to studies of the Hunne affair. They are those of Ogle (see Bibliography), Dickens and Marius.⁴ Ogle's study, heroic

though it was, was necessarily much less informed than either he or we might have wished, for many of the documents have come to light only since his day. Dickens and Marius et al., have added considerably to our appreciation of the political background of the case, with the disadvantage of incompleteness as certain records still lay undiscovered or unappreciated.⁵ This present article brings all the known documents into one cohesive study, and introduces a document of which previous scholars have been unaware, namely a portion of the original coroner's report on the body of Richard Hunne.

Richard Hunne's clash with the Church had its real origins in earlier incidents, in particular the arrest of his neighbour, Joan Baker. Her husband Gervais was, like Richard, a merchant-tailor dwelling in Bridge Street.⁶ And on Wednesday, 18 September 1510 Joan had told the local priest that she 'would do no more reverence to a crucifix in the church than she would do to a dog, for they be but stocks and stones'. A few days later, at the deathbed of Thomas Blake, another merchant-tailor of Bridge Street, Joan loudly uttered many other heresies, leaving the long-suffering priest, John Cawode, no alternative but to have her arrested and taken before Fitzjames, the Bishop of London. In May of 1511, two months after Stephen Hunne's funeral, Joan went before the bishop. The record of her examination has survived, and it makes fearful reading.⁷

Meanwhile, Hunne had teamed up with a friend of his, William Lamberd, in a minor litigation against the priest of St Michael-in-Cornhill, London, in a dispute over tenement rights.⁸ Others had their own axes to grind, and Parliament itself was to sit less than a year later to debate the passing of a bill that would strip the clergy of their age-old immunity against prosecution in the secular courts.⁹ It was a major crisis for the Church, and we can only guess the extent to which Hunne's activities had moved the Commons to debate such a bill.

While the bill was still before Parliament, Dryffeld, the priest of Whitechapel still looking for his mortuary, struck back. On Monday, 26 April 1512, he cited him before the spiritual court at Lambeth. In normal circumstances, such a case as Dryffeld's would have gone before the bishop's court in London. These were not ordinary circumstances: special permission would have been necessary to move the case to Lambeth. On Wednesday, 28 April Richard Hunne received a summons to appear. The court official who delivered the summons was Charles Joseph, whom we shall meet again. Presiding was Cuthbert Tunstall, the future Bishop of London, but now auditor of cases to the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Warham.

Hunne presented himself at Lambeth on Thursday, 13 May. Tunstall pronounced against him out of court and ignored Dryffeld's demand for his immediate excommunication. Instead, Tunstall admonished Hunne to either surrender the gown, or to pay its value of 6 s. 8 d., and there the matter would end. Then Tunstall let him go. Such leniency was typical of Tunstall, although it was doubtless influenced by the way things were going in Parliament just across the water from Lambeth. For in the November of that year both houses were to pass an Act that abolished clerical immunity for all those in minor orders – those below subdeacons, which included the motley collection of summoners, pardoners and bell-ringers. But it pointedly did not include bishops, priests or deacons, and this omission undoubtedly led to the following development in the Richard Hunne affair.

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On 27 December 1512 Richard Hunne entered the church of St Mary Matfellon in Whitechapel. It was the feast of St John the Evangelist. What business he had in Whitechapel that day we cannot know. His own church in Bridge Street was some two miles away, and we would expect him to have attended divine service there. But what we do know is a matter of record.¹⁰ He was seen by Henry Marshall, Dryffeld's chaplain, and Marshall took the extraordinary step of stopping the service. He then loudly denounced Hunne as accursed and ordered him to leave the church, which Hunne did, in some alarm it seems. Hunne now found himself ostracized, publicly at least, by his former business associates and friends. None dare be seen to help him or befriend him in any way, for they would have incurred a like censure.

Hunne employed the services of an attorney, Richard Hawkes, who began proceedings against Marshall for slander in the Court of King's Bench. The case opened on Tuesday, 25 January 1513, and present before the court were the culprit, Henry Marshall, and his own attorney, William Fisher. The court then heard how the defendant:

...in great anger and raging wildly...spoke to the said Richard Hunne insulting-
ly and in a loud voice these hateful words in English, to his physical hurt and
the loss of his good reputation as follows: 'Hunne, thou art accursed and thou
standest accursed. And go thou therefore out of the church. For as long as thou
art in this church, I will say no evensong nor service!'¹¹

We glean from Hunne's writ of slander the notable fact that he was not alone when he entered the church at Whitechapel, for Marshall's words had caused him and '...several other honest persons nearby and their respective servants', to vacate the church in fear of violence. Hunne's Lollard friends were clearly taking an active interest in his deeds, making up the 'several other honest persons'. The thrust of Hunne's complaint before the judges was the fact that Marshall had denounced him as accursed when he had not as yet been excommunicated. Under canon law, the only occasion on which divine service could be stopped was when an excommunicate entered the church. Marshall's words were therefore slanderous.

Confusion seems to have reigned on both sides concerning Hunne's status as an excommunicate or otherwise. In Hunne's later writ of praemunire, he complains how Dryffeld had caused '...various sentences of suspension from sacrament and excommuni-
cation to be brought and charged against the said Richard Hunne', and that this had occurred at Lambeth the previous May. Marshall denied this by pointing out in his own defence in the praemunire that Tunstall had pronounced against Hunne 'out of court', thus inadvertently supporting his antagonist (in the slander writ) who claimed that his excommunication had never been formally pronounced.

Richard Hunne, however, cannot have seen the danger that his complaint now placed him in. For if that were his contention, then the Church was only too willing to make up the deficiency. His attorney, Hawkes, must have sensed the danger, but by now it was too late. Henry Marshall, through Fisher, promptly requested an adjournment of the pro-
ceedings and a day for his reply. This was granted by the judges, who adjourned the case until 'Friday next after the octave of Easter', or Friday, 8 April 1513. It is between the date of the opening of the slander case and the day of its resumption that we must look for the date of Hunne's formal excommunication. The record of the event has not sur-

vived, but its occurrence would certainly explain Hunne's suddenly issuing in reply one of the deadliest writs of the age, that of *praemunire*.¹²

The Great Statute of *Praemunire* made it treasonable to appeal to any higher power than that of the king, or to try a matter in the spiritual court which should rightly have been heard in the king's court. By appealing to such a power, the appellant automatically placed himself outside the king's protection. His wealth could be stripped from him and he could be imprisoned for the rest of his natural life. By implication if not decree, the appellant could be murdered by any of the king's subjects with impunity. But what heightens the drama of Hunne's writ is not so much its dire penalties, for most penalties were dire in those days, but those public figures who were embraced by it.

Although he was to die within the month, Thomas Dryffeld is cited, for it was he who had cited Hunne at Lambeth in the first place. Henry Marshall, Dryffeld's chaplain, is also cited. As is Charles Joseph, the bishop's summoner. Cuthbert Tunstall also appears. William Warham, who was both Archbishop of Canterbury and papal legate in England, ran the court at Lambeth. Warham represented and enforced the pope's authority in the realm, which the pope always claimed was higher than any king's. Warham, however, was also Henry VIII's own lord chancellor: thus, his activities as papal legate, under the Great Statute, could be deemed treasonable indeed.

Hunne's contemporaries must have been astounded. But amongst those contemporaries were the judges of King's Bench, themselves subordinates of Warham as lord chancellor and perhaps even his appointees. They were also servants of the king. Richard Hunne claimed rightly that the Church, in the persons of those named in the writ, had transgressed the royal prerogative as defined in the Great Statute, and all 'prosecutors, maintainers, abettors, supporters and counsellors' of such traitors, 'should be placed outside the Lord King's protection and should forfeit their lands and tenements, goods and chattels...and should be arrested in person', and so on.¹³' This presented the judges with the following dilemma.

If, as servants of the king, they upheld Hunne's undeniably lawful claim, then they would be seen to take from the Church its alleged right and authority to try cases in the spiritual court. They would, moreover, be denying the pope's authority as head of the Church in England, which would also place the pope's authority beneath that of a secular prince. Further, they would be aiding and abetting a pronounced excommunicate of the Church, and under canon law would themselves be excommunicate. Yet if, as good children of holy Church, they upheld the pope's cause, then they would be guilty of treason under the Great Statute for allowing that it was lawful to appeal to a higher authority than that of the king, thus denying the royal prerogative and placing the king's authority beneath that of the pope, himself a foreign prince.

It was an unenviable position to be in. It may be that Hunne and his attorney had hoped to force the judges into a quick decision in their favour: but it backfired badly. What they had failed to anticipate was the tendency of a compromised judiciary to prevaricate and delay judgement indefinitely. For if the judges decided neither for the king nor for the pope, then they could avoid all danger. What followed, therefore, was a series of adjournments. Perhaps the judges shared the clergy's hope that an interminable litigation would ruin Hunne financially and thus fizzle out of its own accord. But if so, then they reckoned without Richard Hunne's dogged determination to see his case through at any cost.

Then, as if to make his own voice heard in the matter, the pope thought it expedient to pronounce in the Lateran Council against any who sought to bring the spiritual power under the heel of the secular. The date was Friday, 5 May 1514, and the pope was Leo X, the same pope who was to thunder so ineffectually against Martin Luther three years later. No doubt the bill recently passed by Parliament depriving the lower clergy of their immunity from prosecution was in his mind. But news of the Hunne case also must have reached him, for it challenged his authority in a novel and dangerous way.

The following month, on Thursday, 22 June, the Convocation of Canterbury opened to discuss the implications of the parliamentary bill, only to hear unexpectedly, on the fourth day, a defence of it given by one of their own, Dr John Taylor, speaker of the Lower House of Convocation. But the clergy had one cause for optimism: the clause in the bill that stated it would run only until the next Parliament. And then, they could be assured, Richard Fitzjames, Bishop of London and as such a member of the Upper House of Parliament, would have something to say on the matter.

Hunne's slander case was re-presented before King's Bench on the same day the Convocation opened, and the by now predictable answer of the judges was to adjourn the case once again, this time to the 'Monday next after the octave of St Michael', or until Monday, 13 November 1514. But Richard Hunne was not to attend that hearing, for it was in October of that year according to Arnold, that he was arrested on a charge of heresy and imprisoned in the Lollards Tower adjoining old St Paul's.¹⁴ Perhaps the king had got to hear of his arrest, for on 23 November Henry VIII summoned Parliament to assemble. It did so in an atmosphere that was becoming more electric by the day. Its task was to debate whether to make the clerical immunity bill of 1512 a permanent feature of English law. Hunne's fate, it must have seemed to many, depended on the outcome, which may be why the following sequence of events occurred as quickly as it did.

What follows is a reconstruction of events as given in the document cited in Appendix I. The importance of the reconstruction lies in its chronological order, which the original document (a haphazard collection of papers) lacks.

The events begin in Eastcheap, just around the corner from Bridge Street. There, between the hours of eight and nine in the morning of Friday, 1 December 1514, John Spalding, alias Bellringer, fell into conversation with John Enderby. Enderby was a barber and a friend of Richard Hunne.¹⁵ John Spalding was one of Hunne's jailers. On being asked how Richard Hunne fared, Spalding replied, 'There is ordained for him so grievous a penance that when men hear of it they shall have great marvel thereof.' His words were overheard by John Rutter, a scrivener, and William Segar, an armourer, two more friends of Hunne's, no doubt. The same day, James, a cook in the bishop's household, was heard to tell five women elsewhere in London that Richard Hunne 'would die before Christmas, or he would die for him'.

The following day, Saturday, 2 December, Richard Hunne was taken from his cell to the bishop's palace at Fulham, there to be examined on certain charges of heresy.¹⁶ The articles laid against him are cited by Foxe, and include the charges that he denied the clergy's right to tithes, had called them Pharisees, stated that they took all and gave nothing, had defended the damnable opinions of Joan Baker, saying that the bishop was more worthy of punishment than she, and, worst of all, had kept certain English books such as Wycliffe's damnable works and the Apocalypse and Gospels in English containing infinite errors, which he read and studied daily.¹⁷

Of more note than what is contained in the charges, however, is what is omitted from them. No mention is made of mortuaries, and none of the far more serious challenge Hunne had laid against the Church in the *praemunire*. Nor is mention made of his holding temporal law to be superior to spiritual. Events in Parliament were clearly making the bishop cautious, for even he could not predict which way things might go. The charges, therefore, must be worded carefully.

Foxe possessed the loose leaves from the bishop's register on which Hunne's examination was recorded (we shall see later how he came by them), and he tells us that Hunne had admitted the charges in a general sense and had placed himself under the bishop's correction.¹⁸ Hunne was seeking an escape. He knew that if he recanted, the bishop would be compelled to release him after certain penances. But the bishop knew that, once released, Hunne could continue his pursuit of the *praemunire*. This could not be allowed to happen. The normal course of events would have seen an abjuration signed by Hunne prior to his release, but no such abjuration was allowed. His submission notwithstanding, he was returned to his cell at St Paul's. He was a prisoner still, and his fate was sealed.

Hunne re-entered his cell in the Lollards Tower at four that afternoon. John Spalding, who had announced his prisoner's impending death only the previous day, took charge of him. He had done so on the instructions of William Horsey, the bishop's chancellor, who had warned him not to allow anyone to communicate in any way with the prisoner without his prior knowledge and consent. Moreover, the prisoner was to have but one meal a day and was to be denied any clean linen. There was a significance to this last order that will become evident later.

At five o'clock Spalding took a piece of fresh salmon to the prisoner along with his own knife, which he retrieved later on the instructions of the bishop's commensary, Dr Head, who had presided at Joan Baker's examination. Hunne gave Spalding what was left of the salmon to take home to the jailer's wife, and that is the last incident that is recorded for that night.

At six the following morning, Sunday, 3 December, Charles Joseph, the bishop's summoner, took horse and rode out of London to a place called Neckhill. He had a cousin there called Barrington, a brothel-keeper. His noisy departure at such an hour, together with his cloak of orange tawney upon a grey horse, was intended to catch the eye of the city's gate-keepers, useful witnesses to have for the alibi he was building. At nine o'clock, Richard Hunne was asked what he wanted for his dinner that day. The prisoner, understandably enough, lacked all appetite. Since his return from Fulham the previous evening, Dr Horsey had entered his cell and fallen on his knees before the prisoner, begging his forgiveness for all that he had done and must yet do. That morning the penitentiary had come to him to 'say a gospel' and administer 'holy water and holy bread'. Richard Hunne, it seems, had been given the last rites.

At noon, once the penitentiary had left the cell, Spalding gave Hunne his dinner and locked Peter Turner, Joseph's son-in-law, in with him. Turner was another who had announced Hunne's coming death only forty-eight hours previously, to a wax-chandler's wife dwelling next to the church of St Mary Spital in Shoreditch, saying that, 'before this day seven-night, Hunne should have a mischievous death'. (He and his father-in-law lived at Shoreditch, as later events were to show.) Then, at one o'clock, Spalding unlocked the cell door and told Turner not to return until noon the next day. He now locked Hunne in the stocks. Later, at six that evening, he unlocked the door again to

admit one William Sampson, an assistant jailer. Sampson gave Hunne a quart of ale and stayed in the cell and conversed with him. Was his brief to persuade Hunne to drop the praemunire, and offer him his life in return? Who knows? Then Spalding and Sampson released Hunne from the stocks in which he had been locked all day, and bound his wrists behind him, leaving him lying on his bed. Then they both left the prison. Spalding was subsequently to claim that he did not return to the Lollards Tower until the following day, but that claim was shown to be false. For the next morning he met Enderby again, this time by the conduit in Gracechurch Street, and told him a different story.

Shortly before midnight Charles Joseph returned to London. He did not ride in on his horse, but left it at the Bell in Shoreditch. Turner was waiting for him, and, as Joseph left the inn on foot, Turner ordered the landlord to leave the horse saddled and ready, even though it was sweating and 'all bemired'. Joseph made his way to the Lollards Tower where he met with Spalding and Horsey, the bishop's chancellor. Spalding had the keys hanging on his arm and a candle to light the way. Joseph followed him up to the cell and Horsey trailed behind. On entering the cell, Horsey cried, 'Lay hands on the thief!' and together Spalding and Joseph attacked the still bound and defenceless prisoner.

We know what happened next from the later testimony of Charles Joseph himself (see Appendix I), and a statement concerning the manner of Hunne's death that was made in another case under Bishop Bonner.¹⁹ Joseph had taken into the cell a long wire or needle. The plan was to bring it to red heat in the candle flame and thrust it hard up into Hunne's nose, thus penetrating the brain whilst leaving no visible sign of violence. The result, however, after several attempts, was merely a violent haemorrhage from the nose, leaving Hunne's jacket drenched in blood. Perhaps in an attempt to stop the prisoner struggling, Spalding gripped his head. But the violence of the assault broke the prisoner's neck, and Richard Hunne died. All that remained was to tidy up the cell and make it appear that the prisoner had taken his own life.

But things had gone horribly wrong, and the culprits were not thinking calmly. The body was washed and dressed in a clean shirt, no doubt made available by Horsey's earlier ban on the prisoner having clean linen. Then Hunne's girdle was made into a loop through which his head was passed and the three assailants lifted his body up to a hook or staple in the wall. As a touch of authenticity, which in the event fooled no one, they combed Hunne's hair, closed his eyes and placed his cap neatly upon his head.

In their haste, however, the three overlooked the many signs of violence that the cell yet contained. Hunne's jacket drenched in blood still lay on the floor, unnoticed in the gloom. In a corner of the cell was a great pool of blood which again the darkness concealed. The stool, on which it was to be pretended that Hunne stood to hang himself, was left inadvertently upon the bed. They forgot moreover to leave the candle burning as they left the cell. As was noted later, a hanging man cannot blow out a candle. And as if all that were not enough, one of them, most likely the chancellor Horsey, left his expensive furred murrey gown draped over the stocks.

The length of time it had took for Richard Hunne to die can be gauged by the fact that the murderous assault began at midnight, yet it was not until 7.15 a.m. that Charles Joseph was seen leaving St Paul's in an agitated and nervous condition. He was seen by at least three people, and they all observed his nervousness. They were able to note the time accurately enough by the great clock of St Paul's which struck the quarters. One of the witnesses was Thomas Chitcheley, a tailor, who encountered Joseph at the north door

of the church. Chitcheley greeted him, saying, 'Good Morrow, Master Charles.' Joseph replied, 'Good Morrow,' as he scurried past. But once he was clear of the door he turned and 'looked upon' the said Chitcheley, in some despair no doubt.

Thomas Symondes and his wife also saw him. Symondes was a stationer (Stationers Hall still stands close to St Paul's) who was setting up his stall in the churchyard. Charles Joseph hurried past him, trying to effect an air of normality by greeting him first. But because of the 'deadly countenance' and 'hasty going' of Joseph, Symondes bade his wife watch him to see where he went. But all she could tell in the gloom of the winter dawn (the sun did not rise until eight o'clock that day) was that he either entered an ale-house next to the alley that joined Paternoster Row, or he went down the alley itself. Evidently he had used the alley, for by eight o'clock he appeared at the Bell again, booted and spurred. He leapt upon his horse and told the landlord to let him out the back way, whence he rode to Stratford-at-Bow some miles to the east of London.

At that very hour his son-in-law Peter Turner was at the Lollards Tower looking for Spalding. But Spalding had already left and was to meet, at nine, with Enderby again in Gracechurch Street. Once more Enderby asked him how Master Hunne fared, to which Spalding replied that he had been alive and well between five and six that morning. Howbeit, Spalding was sorry for him for no one could come to him till Spalding returned. He was careful to show Enderby the prison keys that hung on his girdle. (Spalding may have rejoiced in the truth of his statement of Hunne's being alive and well at such an hour. Which sheds some light at least on the length of time it had taken his assailants to kill him.)

Shortly afterwards, Turner met Sampson after Mass, and Sampson gave him a set of keys to the cell. But he would not accompany him there. Turner rightly suspected that Hunne was now dead, and, in order to provide himself with witnesses as to his own innocence, persuaded two summoners to accompany him to the Lollards Tower. There they discovered, as expected by all no doubt, the body of Richard Hunne hanging from the staple, his face to the wall. Turner then fetched Horsey, who, together with a dozen or so others, went to see the prisoner hanging. Later that day, Monday, 4 December 1514, Peter Turner again met the wax-chandler's wife at Shoreditch, and he said to her, 'What told I you?'

Within only hours perhaps, London was buzzing with the news, and the Church found it expedient to put out the rehearsed announcement that Richard Hunne had hanged himself. Predictably, it was not believed, and the coroner, Thomas Barnwell, was ordered to set up an inquest. The sheriffs and jurors were summoned and sworn, and the following day they made their way to the cell where they found Hunne's body undisturbed. And there they began to undertake a most detailed and painstaking investigation. (What they found there, together with the depositions of witnesses, is to be seen in Appendix I.) It seems that nothing escaped their notice.

The strength of the Londoners' reaction to the news of Hunne's death shocked the bishop, Fitzjames. It was clear that none believed the Church's claim, and that the city's civic officers were determined to bring all to light. Fitzjames therefore decided to attack rather than defend, and he immediately instigated proceedings against Hunne's dead body for heresy. Hunne's corpse was to be subjected to all the indignities of a quite illegal post-mortem trial. The proceedings were begun on Sunday, 10 December 1514, by giving

notice at Paul's Cross of Hunne's English Bible (see Appendix II), with an open invitation to anyone who wished to come and read its Prologue for themselves. There they might see the 'other great articles and damnable points and opinions of heresy' contained therein. The articles of heresy previously alleged against Hunne at Fulham were read out (with not a word of his submission), to which was added the warning that if anyone had seen or heard Hunne reading from this Bible, or if they themselves owned one like it, then they were to come forward between that day and Candlemas next following (i.e., Friday, 2 February 1515), when the bishop would receive them mercifully and they would be charitably dealt withal. But if they did not voluntarily come forward, then they may expect nothing but the full rigour of the law to be executed upon them.²⁰

The very same day, Fitzjames called a convocation of the clergy, where a tribunal was set up to examine witnesses and all the articles of heresy alleged against Hunne, presided over by Fitzjames himself, Bishop Longland of Lincoln and Bishop Young. (As members of the Upper House, these and many other bishops would have been present in London for the Parliament that was about to sit.) A summary of the witnesses's depositions has survived, and its contents bear repeated reading.²¹ Set out in chronological order (which in the original they are not) the depositions reflect something of the determination of Fitzjames to stamp his authority upon the citizens of London and to quash finally all talk of murder.

The first witness on the opening day of the tribunal (Monday, 11 December) was Thomas Brooke, Richard Hunne's servant, and the tribunal heard from him that '...at the commandment of his master of late, he fetched to him being in the tower at Paul's, 4 books. that is to say A book of the Bible in English, a book of the 4 evangelists, a book of the Prick of Conscience, and a book of the 10 commandments, which the said Richard Hunne was wont to keep under lock and key in his own keeping &c.'

Thomas's words can have done the bishop's cause little good. Were the Londoners of the day seriously meant to believe that whilst Hunne was held in close confinement in the Lollards Tower, where not even food or clean linen could reach him without Horsey's consent, he had his servant bring him such incriminating (and irreplaceable) books, and sat in his cell cheerfully reading them under the watchful eye of his captors? That Richard Hunne possessed such books we need not dispute. Lollards such as he commonly kept them and studied them avidly. Indeed, the charge of keeping and reading these books arises time and again against Lollards in registers up and down the land. They may indeed have read them in the privacy of their homes, but not in ecclesiastical prisons. Thomas's deposition, primed no doubt by threats from the bishop or his officers, made Fitzjames look foolish even to his sympathizers. But it appears that nothing was too silly to be said about a heretic.²²

The second witness to be heard that day hardly improved matters. He was Thomas Hygdon, who '...said and deposed that he heard one Roger, the parish clerk of St Botolph's, say that the English Bible which Hunne had was one Thomas Downe's, and that the said Roger said also to him this day that the said book was wont to lie in St Margaret's church in Bridge Street sometimes a month together when he was clerk there.'

The embarrassing element for the bishop in Hygdon's deposition was the fact that this Downe was apparently one of the bishop's own officers, whom he refers to approvingly as 'pervenerabilem virum magistrum *Johannem* Downam' in his sentence definitive

against Hunne.²³ Moreover, Hygdon's testimony not only suggested that the Bible was not Hunne's after all, but Hygdon had compromised, in his eagerness to please the bishop, one of his own parish priests, the long-suffering and much misunderstood John Cawode, whose church St Margaret's was. Fitzjames must have despaired, for Hygdon's deposition dictated that the following morning it would be Cawode's turn to vindicate the integrity of the proceedings.

The next morning, the day on which the members for London were returned to Parliament, Cawode took his place before the tribunal. He informed its members that 'the said Richard (Hunne) had a book called the Apocalypse, to his sight and knowledge, and other books such as the Bible in the mother tongue, namely a great book that he showed him at the time of his examination'. This was, perhaps, more than the tribunal wanted to hear, for, like that of Thomas Brooke, Cawode's deposition was unlikely in the extreme. The Bible concerned is a large and bulky volume, and how Hunne was supposed to have secreted it about his person whilst under examination was not explained. It is moreover unlikely that Cawode was even present at Hunne's examination. He was not one of his accusers, and his presence would not have been required. But Cawode went on to tell the tribunal that Hunne was wont to read this Bible out loud in the doorway of his own house, though he did not explain why this had never been reported, as Joan Baker's words had been. It was all very awkward.

Fitzjames next set before the tribunal on Wednesday, 13 December one Hugh Saunders, in the hope no doubt that if enough mud is thrown, then sufficient is bound to stick for a conviction. Saunders deposed '...that the said Richard told him that he had a beautiful Bible in English with a Prologue'. And that seems to have been the sum of that day's testimony. But it seems that Fitzjames was trying to make a point, namely that the Bible's Prologue matched exactly the further articles of heresy that were shortly to be laid against Richard Hunne (or his dead body) once the trial proper had got under way. Because Hunne owned the Bible, it was to be supposed that he held all the views expressed in its Prologue, which doubtless he did. The Prologue was on trial rather than its owner, the charges being compiled as an afterthought. The whole purpose of the proceedings was to establish that Richard Hunne not only held the damnable view that 'poor men and idiots have the truth of the holy scripture more than a thousand prelates', but also and especially that he defended 'the translation of the Bible and holy scripture into [the] English tongue, which is prohibited by the laws of our mother, holy church'.²⁴

All of which was furthered by the testimony of a man who does not appear in the witness-box until two days after Saunders' somewhat inadequate deposition, namely Bishop Young, who was also one of the three judges. In a court where one's judge is also a witness for the prosecution, anything can happen: we hear Young deposing that Hunne had once argued with him 'agreeably and reasonably' that the Bible should be translated into the English tongue. The likelihood of a Lollard holding a conversation with such an irascible and conservative bishop as Young is only slightly greater than the bishop allowing such a heretic to go unmolested. But the vital point had been established by whatever means possible, and the timely jogging of Bishop Young's memory was corroborated by the testimony of that day's other witness, John Davis, who merely repeated the bishop's allegations.

With the day's depositions now safely on record, Fitzjames either thought that he had enough evidence to proceed, or he feared what might become of his credibility should

more such evidence be heard. Thus on Saturday, 16 December, the post-mortem trial for heresy began. The proceedings were held in the Lady Chapel of old St Paul's with Hunne's body undoubtedly present. A series of thirteen articles were read out against him (these appear in Appendix II). These articles also bear repeated reading, for it is instructive to consider how, with legal sleight-of-hand, the articles begin with the book, then Hunne's book, then with Hunne himself stating all the damnable heresies listed. Whatever its shortcomings, the evidence would do very well for Fitzjames's purpose, and once the four-day proceedings were over, there remained nothing further to do but to hand over the body to the secular arm for its ritual burning.

The secular arm was represented at the trial, as it was at all heresy trials within the city, by the sheriffs of London (for this year Munday and Yarford), who were ironically still busying themselves in the hunt for Hunne's murderers. But perhaps Fitzjames was being subtle in a crude sort of way. After the reading of the sentence of burning, the body was tied to a stake and burnt at Smithfield on Wednesday, 20 December.²⁵ On that same day, having witnessed the burning, its work of righteousness now complete, the convocation was prorogued. Fitzjames must have thought it a job well done. Of especial importance, he had managed to cow the sheriffs into complying with the order to burn Hunne both as an heretic and as a suicide, which would, he hoped, have repercussions upon the jury of the inquest and their coroner. The hope was forlorn.

Two days after the burning, on Friday, 22 December, Charles Joseph returned to his house. His purpose was to retrieve his goods and go into hiding. He left his goods in Stratford and proceeded thence to the village of Good Easter in Essex, where he registered as a sanctuary man. However, by early January he had been found and was locked up in the Tower of London where the king's own council were waiting to interview him. The Tower was not the place where lowly criminals like Joseph were normally thrown. Its use could only be procured by royal assent or command, which, added to the presence of the king's own council, tells us something of the interest Henry VIII was taking in the case. The breaking down of Joseph's alibi and his confession to the murder of Richard Hunne can be read in Appendix I, and it must have been general knowledge in the city by Sunday, 4 February. For on that day, Richard Kidderminster denounced at Paul's Cross the 1512 Clerical Immunity Act as being contrary to the law of God and the liberties of the Church.

The following day, and with Kidderminster's words ringing in its ears, Parliament sat to reconsider the 1512 Act, which would have retained the culpability under law of men like Joseph but which was to expire at this present sitting. But those who hoped for its continuance had reckoned without the intervention of Fitzjames. He stood in the Lords and said that there was a bill before the House that sought to declare that the jury who were inquiring into Richard Hunne's death were true men. He denounced the jury as 'false perjured caitiffs', and said that if the Upper House did not look into the matter then he himself dare not keep his own house for heretics. Richard Hunne's death, he declared, was his own deed and no man's else, and he followed this with a silly story about a man who had recently called to see him. But the story worked, and Fitzjames's speech was enough to tilt the balance in his own favour. Within five days of its first sitting, Parliament threw out the bill, and with its demise both crown and Church were saved (temporarily at least) from an embarrassing and damaging collision.

News of Parliament's decision travelled fast, for on Monday, 12 February 1515, Pope

Leo X obligingly denounced all those who had become clergymen simply to escape the law's retribution for their crimes. It is interesting to speculate whom he would have denounced had Parliament retained the bill. However, notwithstanding the pope's statement and all the politics of the case, the jury pressed ahead with their inquest, examining Joseph's maid-servant, Julian Littel, in her sanctuary at the Bethlehem Chapel of St Paul's on Wednesday, 14 February 1515.

Added to the jury's political indifference was that of the city's aldermen who, on Tuesday, 17 April, found themselves up in arms over yet another impolitic remark by Fitzjames. The bishop had written a letter (see Appendix I) to Wolsey, in which he had slandered the good citizens of London, saying that they were so maliciously set in favour of heresy that they would condemn his chancellor, Horsey, out of hand for Hunne's murder, though he were as innocent as Abel. Fitzjames's remarks were accompanied by a plea to Wolsey to get the king to intervene in Horsey's indictment for murder, although it is ironic that he should now plead for secular intervention in a matter concerning ecclesiastical immunity from prosecution. Moreover, the inquest had not yet delivered its verdict, so Fitzjames's anticipation of its findings is a telling point against him and his chancellor. However, a delegation of aldermen were despatched to speak with the bishop 'for certain pernicious and heinous words...spoken of the whole city touching heresy, specified in a copy of a letter supposed to be written by the said bishop'.²⁶ The wording of the record allowed Fitzjames the diplomatic loophole of denying having written any such letter. What is lacking is any record that might have informed us of the bishop's reply to the aldermen, whose company again included that of the two sheriffs, Munday and Yarford.

Less than a month after the delegation to Fitzjames, the last hearing occurred of Hunne's writ of slander in the Court of King's Bench. The date was Tuesday, 15 May 1515. Not that anything could now be judged of it, for the plaintiff was dead. The *prae-munire* went the same way, and Fitzjames must have thought that it was all over. On Monday, 12 November that year, however, Parliament reassembled for a second session, and Archbishop Warham found it necessary to reconvene the convocation of Canterbury to discuss the further erosion of clerical privileges. A fortnight later, on Tuesday, 27 November, Henry VIII decided to lend the clergy a helping hand. The occasion was Horsey's indictment before the Court of King's Bench for the murder of Richard Hunne. And Henry's action in this was to issue written instructions to his attorney, Sir John Eamley, to find Horsey not guilty.²⁷

There is clearly much in this affair we have not been told. As the Bishop of London's chancellor, Horsey was entitled even after the act of 1512 to claim immunity from prosecution, guilty or not. Yet here we see him arraigned before King's Bench like any common layman on a charge of murder. Moreover, it takes a written instruction rather than a behind-the-scenes whisper from the king himself to get Horsey off. Had Bishop Fitzjames, in an uncharacteristic moment of political sensitivity, instructed Horsey not to claim his immunity from prosecution as a cleric? That would have required a great but unlikely confidence in the outcome of the trial, a confidence that Fitzjames had previously lacked. Perhaps Horsey's acquittal, without the hearing of any further evidence, was merely a string-pulling response by Wolsey to Fitzjames's earlier plea. Perhaps also the judges of King's Bench (no doubt the same judges who had heard Hunne's writs) were not in a mood to acquit Horsey in spite of the cardinal. Indeed, perhaps they had let

it be known that they would ignore even the royal behind-the-scenes whispers, and Horsey's presence before them threatened to drive an embarrassing wedge between the king and his clergy should Horsey be found guilty as the judges intended. Only the promise of a major royal embarrassment could have provoked such an extraordinary intervention on the part of the king. Henry VIII possessed a very long memory when it came to those who embarrassed him, and he was yet to have the last word concerning Dr Horsey.

That came on Monday, 4 May 1523, some seven and a half years later, when Parliament passed a bill for the restitution of Richard Hunne's property to his children.²⁴ Because Richard Hunne had been excommunicated, as well as declared a heretic and a suicide, his property had gone to the king. However the inquest jury had found that he was no suicide, and that fact, coupled with Horsey's scandalous acquittal of Hunne's murder on royal instructions some years previously, had become a political boil both in Parliament and the country that needed urgent remedy. The king had benefited substantially from what had been an unlawful deed. He agreed with Parliament that justice would best be served by the immediate restitution of Hunne's property. However, it was also only just, in the king's eyes at least, that that restitution should be made, not from the royal coffers, but out of the pocket of the man responsible for the unlawful deed, Dr Horsey.

The king duly wrote to Horsey commanding him to restore the full value of Hunne's property, and his letter, like so much else in the Hunne affair, bears repeated reading. In it the king states his awareness of Horsey's guilt in the crime, his instructions to Earnley to acquit him notwithstanding, and then adds what appears to be a new condition: 'We then supposed and intended your amendment, and restitution to be made by you...as well for his death as for his goods, embezzled, wasted and consumed by your tyranny and cruel act so committed...'²⁵ Going on to threaten Horsey with 'our high displeasure', the king warns him that he will be 'further advertised of our mind' should the matter go unattended.

No doubt this was news to Horsey, who by now had taken a living in Exeter. He found himself with a crippling debt, for the value of Hunne's property had been sizeable. It took six years for Horsey to be able to carry out the king's command.

Thus, in Easter of 1529, we read that Roger Whaplod, who had married Richard Hunne's daughter Margaret, and who had successfully petitioned Parliament for restitution of Hunne's goods, employed one Thomas Norfolk to convey a bill to Dr Goderidge, the incumbent of St Mary Spital in Shoreditch. The bill announced that if anyone wished to contribute towards the repair of the water-conduit in Fleet Street, then he would receive from Hunne's estate the sum of £6 13 s. 4 d. towards the same.²⁶ And further, the bill called down mercy upon the Christian soul of Richard Hunne.

Goderidge was to regret having read the bill out, for Whaplod's choice of venue was no accident. St Mary Spital, standing in Shoreditch, was Charles Joseph's parish church, and Whaplod seems to have been rubbing Joseph's nose in the matter of Richard Hunne's good name being officially recognized at last, with all the implications that that carried with it. Inevitably the Bishop of London, now Tunstall, was given knowledge of the affair, and Whaplod, Norfolk and Goderidge were all 'troubled' before him, the incumbent Goderidge being forbidden to say Mass for a time and compelled to read out a humiliating recantation at Paul's Cross.²⁷

Whaplod, whose appearance before the bishop is undated in the official register, was fortunate to have appeared before Tunstall, who was about to be translated to Durham, and not his successor Stokesley.³² He was, however, to run foul of the authorities (Stokesley amongst them) again before long. And the episode sheds a most interesting light upon the closing stages of the Richard Hunne affair.

At some time in the late 1530s, perhaps 1537–8, Richard Hunne's daughter, Margaret, wrote to Thomas Cromwell, whom she addresses as the Lord Privy Seal. Her letter is a most dignified appeal for help for herself, her husband and their seven small children, who are reduced to 'extreme indigence and poverty'.³³ They have been appealing to the king's grace for aid and succour for some years, but to no avail. She compliments Cromwell on being the setter forth, under God and the king's highness, of the Scriptures, but pointedly avoids mentioning the very reason for her writing. It is as if Cromwell is by now so familiar with her case that mentioning it is superfluous. Hence it has often been assumed by scholars that Margaret Hunne was still appealing for restitution of her father's property as late as the late 1530s in spite of the Parliamentary bill restoring that property some fifteen years previously, and in spite of the bill read out in 1529 which announced the dispersal of some of that property in deeds of charity. Clearly her father's property was not the cause of her writing, and we must look elsewhere for the subject of her appeal.

Her husband, Roger, had been in prison for some years. The occasion was his part in a riot that had occurred in 1531 at St Paul's, which had begun with the levying by the king of the sum of £100,000 from the clergy. The sum was an expression (according to the king) of the clergy's gratitude for having such a monarch reign over them.

It fell to Stokesley, Tunstall's successor as Bishop of London, to raise the sum, and his gratitude was such that he decided that the lower clergy should pay out of their small benefices. Therefore, on Friday, 1 September 1531, he announced his intention to call a meeting at St Paul's for the 26th of that month, of a select few of the London clergy, hoping thereby that he would be able to cow just a few of them into accepting the burden. Later this could be represented as an acceptance by all the London clergy. But, unluckily for Stokesley:

...the matter was not so secretly carried, but that all the clergy about the city hearing of it, went thither. They were not a little encouraged by many of the laity, who thought it no unpleasant diversion to see the clergy fall out among themselves. So when they came to the chapter house on the day appointed, the Bishop's officers would only admit some few to enter; but the rest forced the door, and rushed in, and the Bishop's servants were beaten and ill used. But the Bishop, seeing the tumult was such that it could not be easily quieted, told them all, That as the state of men in this life was frail, so the clergy, through frailty and want of wisdom, had misdemeaned themselves towards the King, and had fallen in a praemunire, for which the King of his great clemency was pleased to pardon them, and to accept a little, instead of the whole, of their benefices, which by the law had fallen into his hand: therefore he desired they would patiently bear their share in this burden.³⁴

It is interesting to see the now older and wiser Henry VIII using praemunire to subdue

the Church. We learn from the official report of the riot made at the time by Sir Christopher Hales to the king's council what part Roger Whaplod, Richard Hunne's son-in-law, had to play in all this.³⁵ In that report, which was addressed principally to Sir Thomas More as Lord Chancellor, Hales endeavours to provide the names of both clergy and laity involved in the riot, or at least the names of their ringleaders. Due to the haste of the investigation, most of the names are incomplete with either surnames or Christian names missing. Spaces were left for their later inclusion should they be discovered, but the only missing name that was eventually discovered is that of Whaplode, with *Roger* being supplied by a noticeably later hand in the space provided. It is the only example in the report of the full name later becoming known to the authorities, and it is likely that a special effort had been made to discover it. Why that effort was made is apparent from the following sequence of events.

According to Hales, Roger Whaplod and others had assembled themselves at Greyfriars on Wednesday, 30 August 1531 to plan the riot. (The fact that their planning preceded the bishop's announcement of the meeting at St Paul's by two days speaks of someone on the bishop's staff leaking information.) The riot occurred, as planned, on Tuesday, 26 September, and reading both Hales and Burnet we learn that the riot was conducted in two distinct phases, with the main body rioting at the cathedral's chapter house whilst a smaller contingent (of laymen it seems) broke away and raided the now unattended bishop's palace situated on the other side of the cathedral.

It is here that we encounter the reason behind the urgency with which Roger Whaplod was finally run to earth by the authorities. For it appears to be at this time that certain pages had been cut from the episcopal register of Stokesley's predecessor but one, Fitzjames. They turned up years later in the hands of John Foxe, who was busy compiling his *Actes and Monuments*, wherein he informs us that he was given the pages that dealt with Richard Hunne by none other than Dunstan Whaplod, the son of Margaret Hunne and Roger Whaplod.³⁶ Whether Foxe kept the pages or returned them after copying is unclear, but he does refer to them as 'remaining in the custody of Dunstan Whaplod'.

Stokesley, we read, had calmed the storm at St Paul's by promising that he would review the matter of the £100,00 and see to it that none of the rioters would be punished for their participation: 'Yet he was not so good as his word; for he complained of it to the Lord Chancellor [Sir Thomas More], who was always a great favourer of the clergy; by whose order fifteen priests and five laymen were committed to several prisons.'³⁷ Evidently Roger Whaplod, whom the authorities had been at such pains to trace, was amongst them. Whether Margaret ever obtained his release we do not know. But we do know that by Thursday, 8 August 1560, Roger was dead, and had been for some time. For on that date Margaret appears in the will of one John Hulson as 'Margaret Whaplett, widow', living in rented property in 'Snowrehilstrete', today's Snow Hill off Holborn.³⁸

Richard Hunne's male line seems to have died with him. Apart from his son Stephen, who had died some three and a half years before him, the only other Hunne I have found in London's history is John Hunne. He was an ordained priest, though perhaps a Lollard also, who, in 1441, was sentenced to death on a trumped-up charge of complicity to cause the death through witchcraft of Henry VI. He escaped punishment by 'showing his charter', but it is interesting to speculate that Lollardy, along with its inherent hatred of

the established Church, ran in the Hunne family from at least John's time. What ruins the speculation, however, is the lack of any record that would tell us that Richard Hunne was descended from him.

The Whaplods are better represented in the records, the earliest occurrence of the name that I can find being in the Account Book of the Merchant-Taylors Company for 1439 (Guildhall Library). Evidently the family had originated in the Norfolk village of Whaplod, which lies, ironically, close to that of Spalding and not too far from the village of Horsey. Hugh Whaplod, perhaps one of the seven children of Margaret and Roger, joined the Worshipful Company of Scriveners some time before 1 July 1561. But the family name appears for what I believe is the last time in the Vintners Company records of 1679, where a Whaplett of Fetter Lane applied to the company for help in rebuilding his house after the Great Fire of London. And there the line seems to end.

The case of Richard Hunne is rich in documentation. But what has always been lacking is any original document from the inquest on his body. However, at my instigation, in 1988 the Public Record Office searched for such a document, and eventually found an almost illegible document that might have something to do with the coroner's report.⁴¹ Only the first few words could be made out due to the fact that the ink had at one time been washed off the parchment, perhaps when the records were doused and evacuated from Chancery Lane during the Great Fire of London. Infra-red photographs were made of both sides of the document, and what emerged has cast not a little light upon the inquest. On the reverse side is an inscription in Latin, which reads in English:

Delivered by the hands of Richard Broke, recorder of London, in the name of William Boteler, knight, mayor of the said city and one of the king's justices for the gaol of Newgate, on Monday next after the octave of the Purification of the Blessed Mary in this same term, to be determined &c.⁴²

The date translates as Monday, 11 February 1516.⁴³ Given the inquest's opening date of Tuesday, 5 December 1514, that means that the inquest lasted 433 days. I am not aware of any inquest in England's history lasting longer than that, but its extraordinary length was doubtless due to the complex political issues involved rather than the settling of any knotty forensic problems. Further, the hitherto lost report vindicates a good many authorities on the Hunne affair whose integrity has lately been impugned by certain scholars. Foxe is one of those vindicated, of course, and another is a remarkable pamphlet that lies today in the Parker Library, Cambridge the text of which is reproduced in Appendix I.⁴⁴ For the last section of that pamphlet is a translation into English of the obverse of the newly discovered coroner's report.

In the Appendix I have omitted the pamphlet's Preface, for this is merely a general complaint against the abuses of the Church. However the preface does help us to date the pamphlet to 1537, for it mentions the recent betrayal and execution of William Tyndale, which occurred on Friday, 6 October 1536.⁴⁵ Moreover, and in spite of its anonymity, we know that it comes from the workshop of Peetersen van Middelburch of Antwerp, for he had already issued in 1535 an edition of Tyndale's revised New Testament using the same typeface.⁴⁶

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One of the more surprising, and least appreciated, aspects of the Hunne affair, is the influence that Richard Hunne exercised upon the mind of Henry VIII. Many people influenced, or tried to influence, the king's mind over the years, and their remains now litter the history books as they once littered the scaffold. But Richard Hunne's fight against the Church and his cases at law, seem to have grasped the king's imagination in a way that few others did. Hunne's writ of praemunire must have been one of the first things to awaken the king's mind to the folly of having as one's lord chancellor a prelate who was sworn to uphold the claims of a foreign prince, namely the pope. Warham's successor, Wolsey, was greatly to enlarge the king's doubts. The king appointed, after Wolsey, the first layman in centuries to hold down the office of lord chancellor, namely Sir Thomas More, who was no friend of Lollards like Richard Hunne.

Not that Richard Hunne was the first to turn to the Great Statute for legal succour. What made his use of it so notable at the time was the viciousness of the Church's reaction and its determination to make of Richard Hunne an example before the king's own subjects of what would follow if they likewise challenged the Church's authority. This, done in the name of a foreign prince who claimed supremacy over all the kings of the earth, can have done their cause little good, for it focused the king's attention upon not just the nefarious deeds of the Church, but upon some of its legal claims. That his fears and interest were aroused by these events is evidenced not only by his allowing the extraordinary use of the Tower of London and his own council in investigating Hunne's murder, but in his later use of the same laws that Hunne invoked to bring down Wolsey and the papacy. Other reformers, Tyndale amongst them, held the king's attention only fleetingly. But Richard Hunne's influence remained, and was to bear its ripest fruit in the Reformation Parliament of 1534.

Appendix I

The enquiry and verdict of the quest panelled of the death of Richard Hunne which was found hanged in Lollards Tower.⁴⁵

The 5th and the 6th day of December, in the 6th year of the reign of our sovereign Lord King Henry the VIII. William^{*} Barnwell, Coroner of London, the day and year abovesaid, within the ward of Castle Baynard of London, assembled in a quest whose names afterward do appear, and hath sworn them truly to enquire of the death of one Richard Hunne, which lately was found dead in the Lollards Tower within Paul's church of London. Whereupon, all we of the inquest together went up into the said tower, where we found the body of the said Hunne hanging upon a staple of iron, in a girdle of silk, with a fair countenance, his head fair combed, and his bonnet right sitting upon his head, with his eyes and mouth fair closed, without any staring, gaping or frowning. Also without any drivelling or spurring in any place of his body. Whereupon, by one assent all we agreed to take down the body of the said Hunne, and as soon as we began to heave the body, it was loose. Whereby, by good advisement, we perceived that the girdle had no knot above the staple, but it was double cast, and links of an iron chain which did hang on the same staple were laid upon the same girdle whereby he did hang. Also, the knot of the girdle that went about his neck, stood under his left ear, which caused his head to lean toward his right shoulder. Notwithstanding, there came out of his nostrils 2 small

streams of blood to the quantity of 4 drops. Save only these 4 drops of blood, the face, lips, chin, doublet, collar and shirt of the said Hunne was clean from any blood. Also, we find that the skin both of his neck and throat beneath the girdle of silk, was fret and phased away with that thing which the murderers had broken his neck withal. Also, the hands of the said Hunne were wrung in the wrists, whereby we perceived that his hands had been bound.

Moreover, we find that within the said prison was no mean whereby any man might hang himself, but only a stool, which stool stood upon a bolster of a bed so tickle that any man or beast might not touch it so little but it was ready to fall. Whereby we perceived that it was not possible that Hunne might hang himself, the stool so standing. Also, all the girdle, from the staple to his neck, was too little for his head to come out thereat. Also, it was not possible that that soft silken girdle should break his neck or skin beneath the girdle. Also, we find in a corner, somewhat beyond the place where he did hang, a great parcel of blood. Also, we find that upon the left side of Hunne's jacket, from the breast downward, be great streams of blood. Also, within the flap of the left side of his jacket, we find a great cluster of blood, and the jacket folden down thereupon, which thing the said Hunne could never fold nor do after he was hanged. Whereby, it appeareth plainly to us all that the neck of Hunne was broken, and the great plenty of blood was shed before he was hanged. Wherefore, all we find, by God and all our consciences, that Richard Hunne was murdered. Also we acquit the said Richard Hunne of his own death.

Also, an end of a wax candle which, as John Bellringer saith, he left in the prison burning with Hunne that same Sunday at night that Hunne was murdered. Which wax candle we found sticking upon the stocks fair put out, about 7 or 8 foot from the place where Hunne was hanged. Which candle, after our opinion, was never put out by him for many likelihoods which we have perceived. Also, at the going up of Master Chancellor into Lollards Tower, we have good proof that there lay on the stocks a gown, either of murrey or crimson ingrain, furred with shanks. Whose gown it was, we could never prove, neither who bare it away. All we find that Master William Horsey, chancellor to my lord of London, hath had at his commandment both the rule and guiding of the said prisoner by all the time of his imprisonment. Moreover, all we find that the said Master Horsey, chancellor, hath put out Charles Joseph of his office, as the said Charles hath confessed, because he would not deal and use the said prisoner so cruelly, and do to him as the chancellor would have had him to do. Notwithstanding the keys' deliverance to the chancellor by Charles on the Saturday at night before Hunne's death, and Charles riding out of the town on the Sunday in the morning ensuing, was but a convention made betwixt Charles and the chancellor for to colour the murder. For the same Sunday that Charles rode forth, he came again to town the same Sunday night and killed Richard Hunne, as in the depositions of Julian Littel, Thomas Chitcheley, Thomas Symondes, and Peter Turner doth appear.

After colouring of the murder betwixt Charles and the chancellor conspired, the chancellor called to him one John Spalding, bellringer of Paul's, and delivered to the same bellringer the keys of the Lollards Tower, giving to the said bellringer a great charge, saying, I charge ye to keep Hunne more straitly than he hath been kept, and let him have but one meal a day. Moreover, I charge ye, let nobody come to him without my licence. Neither bring shirt, cap, kerchief, or any other thing, but that I see it before it come to

him.

Also, before Hunne was carried to Fulham, the chancellor commanded to be put upon Hunne's neck a great collar of iron, with a great chain, which is too heavy for any beast to wear and long to endure.

Moreover, it is well proved that before Hunne's death, the said chancellor came up into the said Lollards Tower, and kneeled down before Hunne, holding up his hands to him, praying him of forgiveness for all that he hath done to him, and must do to him. And on the Sunday following, the chancellor commanded the penitentiary of Paul's to go up to him and say him a Gospel, and make for him holy bread and holy water, and give it to him, which so did. And after the chancellor commanded that Hunne should have his dinner. And the same dinner time Charles' boy was shut in prison with Hunne, which was never so before. And after dinner, when the bellringer fetched out the boy, the bellringer said to the same boy, Come no more hither with meat for him until tomorrow at noon, for Master Chancellor hath commanded that he shall have but one meal [a] day. And the same night following, Richard Hunne was murdered, which murder could not have been done without consent and licence of the chancellor, and also by the witting and knowledge of John Spalding, bellringer. For there could no man come into the prison but by the keys being in John Bellringer's keeping. Also, as by my lord of London's book doth appear, John Bellringer is a poor innocent man. Wherefore, all we do perceive that this murder could not be done but by the commandment of the chancellor, and by the witting and knowing of John Bellringer.

Charles Joseph, within the Tower of London, of his own free will and unconstrained, said that Master Chancellor devised and wrote with his own hand all such heresies as were laid to Hunne's charge. Record John God, John True, John Pasmer, Richard Gibson, with many other.

Also, Charles Joseph saith that, When Richard Hunne was slain, John Bellringer bare up the stairs into the Lollards Tower a wax candle, having the keys of the doors hanging on his arm. And I, Charles, went next to him, and Master Chancellor came up last. And when all we came up, we found Hunne lying on his bed. And then Master Chancellor said, Lay hands on the thief! And so all we 3 murdered Hunne. And then I, Charles, put the girdle about Hunne's neck. And then John Bellringer and I, Charles, did heave up Hunne, and Master Chancellor pulled the girdle over the staple. And so Hunne was hanged.

The deposition of Julian Littel, late servant to Charles Joseph, by her free will unconstrained the 14th day of February in the 6th year of our sovereign lord King Henry VIII, within the chapel of Our Lady of Bethlehem, shewed to the inquest.

First, Julian saith that the Wednesday of night after the death of Richard Hunne, that Charles Joseph, her master, came home into his house at 10 of the clock in the night, and set him down to his supper. Then Julian said to him, Master, it was told me that ye were in prison. Charles answered, It is merry to turn the penny. And after supper, Charles trussed [a] parcel of his goods and, with help of Julian, bare them into Mistress Porter's house to keep. And that done, Charles said to Julian, Julian, if thou wilt be sworn to keep my counsel, I will show thee my mind. Julian answered, Yea, if it be neither felony nor treason. Then Charles took a book out of his purse, and Julian swore to him thereupon. Then Charles said to Julian, I have destroyed Richard Hunne! Alas, master, said Julian.

How? He was called a honest man! Charles answered, I put a wire in his nose! Alas, said Julian, Now be you cast away and undone! Then said Charles, Julian, I trust in thee that thou wilt keep my counsel. And Julian answered, Yea, but for God's sake, master, shift for yourself! And then Charles said, I had lever than 100 pounds⁴⁷ it were not done. But that [which] is done cannot be undone! Moreover, Charles said then to Julian, Upon Sunday, when I rode to my cousin to Barrington's house, I tarried there and made good cheer all day till it was night. And yet before it was midnight, I was in London and had killed Hunne. And upon the next day I rode thither again, and was there at dinner, and sent for neighbours and made good cheer. Then Julian asked Charles, Where set you your horse that night ye came to town? And wherefore came you not home? Charles answered, I came not home for fear of bewraying! And then Julian asked Charles, Who was with you at the killing of Hunne? Charles answered, I will not tell thee! And Julian saith that upon the Thursday following, Charles tarried all day in his house with great fear. And upon Friday following, early in the morning before day, Charles went forth (as he said). He went to Paul's, and at his coming in again he was in great fear, saying hastily, Get me my horse! And with great fear and haste made him ready to ride, and bade Mistress Porter's lad lead his horse into the field by the back side. And then Charles put into his sleeve his mace or masor, with other plate, and borrowed of Mistress Porter both gold and silver. But how much I am not sure. And Charles went into the field after his horse, and I brought his budget after him. Also, upon Friday in Christmas week following, Charles came home late in the night, and brought with him 3 bakers and a smith of Stratford. And the same night they carried out of Charles' house all his goods by the field side to the Bell at Shoreditch. And early on the morrow conveyed it with carts to Stratford. Moreover, Julian saith that the Saturday at night before the death of Hunne, Charles came home and brought with him a gurnard,⁴⁸ saying it was for Hunne. And Charles' boy telled to Julian that there was also ordained for Hunne a piece of fresh salmon, which John Bellringer had. Also, Charles said to the said Julian, Were not this an ungracious trouble, I could bring my lord of London to the doors of heretics in London, both of men and women, that be worth a 1000 pounds.⁴⁹ But I am afeared that the ungracious midwife shall bewray us all! Also Charles said unto Mistress Porter in like wise, and more larger, saying of the best in London. Whereto Mistress Porter answered, The best in London is my lord mayor! Then Charles said, I will not skill him quite, for that he taketh this matter hot! Whereas Charles Joseph saith he lay at Neckhill with a harlot, a man's wife, in Barrington's house the same night, and there abode until the morrow at 11 of the clock that Richard Hunne was murdered. Whereupon he brought before the King's Council for his purgation that foresaid bawd Barrington's wife, and also the aforesaid harlot. Which purgation we have proved all untrue, as right largely may appear as well by the deposition of Julian Littel as of Thomas Chitcheley, tailor, and of John⁵⁰ Symondes, stationer, with other, as of Robert Johnson and Peter Turner.

The deposition of Thomas Chitcheley, tailor.

The said Thomas saith [that] the same Monday that Richard Hunne was found dead, within a quarter of an hour after 7 o'clock in the morning, he met with Charles Joseph coming out of Paul's at the nether north door, going toward Paternoster Row, saying, Good morrow, Master Charles! And the said Charles answered, Good morrow, and turned back when he was without the church door and looked upon the said Chitcheley.

The deposition of Thomas Symondes, stationer.

He saith [that] the same morning that Hunne was found dead, that within a quarter of an hour after 7 o'clock in the morning, Charles Joseph came before him at his stall and said, Good morrow, Gossip Symondes! And the same Symondes said Good morrow to him again. And the wife of the said Symondes was by him. And because of the deadly countenance and hasty going of Charles, the said Thomas bade his wife look whither Charles goeth. And as she could perceive, Charles went into an alehouse standing in Paternoster Row by the alley leading into the Rood of [the] North Door,⁵¹ or into the alley, whither she could not tell.

The deposition of Robert Johnson and his wife dwelling at the Bell in Shoreditch where Charles Joseph set his horse that night that he came to town to murder Richard Hunne.

The said Robert saith that Charles Joseph sent his horse to his house upon a holy day at night about 3 weeks before Christmas by a boy. Which horse was all besweat and all bemired. And the said boy said, Let my father's horse stand saddled, for I cannot tell whether my father will ride again tonight or not! And the said horse stood saddled all night. And in the morning following, Charles came booted and spurred about 8 of the clock, and asked if his horse was saddled. And the servant answered, Yea! And the said Charles leapt upon his horse and prayed the host to let him out at his back gate, that he might ride out by the field side. Which host so did. And because he was uncertain of the day, we asked him if he had heard speak of the death of Hunne at that time or not. And he answered, Nay! But shortly after, he heard of it. Nevertheless, Peter Turner, Charles' son-in-law, which brought the horse by night into the Bell, Robert Johnson's house, confessed it was the same night before that Hunne was found dead in the morning.

Moreover, the Friday before Hunne's death, Peter Turner said to an honest woman, a wax-chandler's wife dwelling before St Mary's Spital gate, that before this day seven night, Hunne should have a mischievous death. And the same day at afternoon that Hunne was found dead, the said Peter came to the same wife and told her that Hunne was hanged, saying, What told I you?

Also James, the chancellor's cook, the Friday before Hunne's death, said to 5 honest women⁵² that Hunne should die or Christmas, or else he would die for him. And on the Monday that Hunne was found dead, the said James came to the same women and said, What told I you? Is he not now hanged?

And we of the inquest asked both of Peter Turner and of James Cook, where they had knowledge that Hunne should so shortly die. And they said, In Master Chancellor's place, by every man!

The deposition of John Spalding, bellringer.

First, the said deponent saith that on Saturday, the second day of December, anno 1514, he took the charge of the prison at 4 of the clock at afternoon by the commandment of Master Chancellor, and so took the keys. Whereupon, he gave commandment to the said deponent that he should let no manner of person speak with the prisoner except he had knowledge of them. And so, at 5 of the clock the same day, the said deponent went to the prisoner, himself alone, and saw him and cherished him, where he gave the said deponent a piece of fresh salmon for his wife. And after that, the said deponent saith that

he went to Master Commensary's³³ to supper with his fellow, where he remembered that he had left his knife with the said prisoner. Whereupon, by the counsel of Master Commensary, he went to the prisoner and fetched his knife, where he found the prisoner saying of his beads. And so the said deponent required his knife of the said prisoner. And the said prisoner delivered the knife to the said deponent gladly. And so departed for that night.

And after that, on the Sunday next following, the said deponent came to the prisoner at 9 of the clock, and asked him what meat he would have to his dinner. And he answered, But a morsel. And so the said deponent departed and went to the chancellor into the choir. And he commanded that he should take the penitentiary up to the prisoner with him, to make him holy water and holy bread, and made the said deponent to depart the prison house for a while. And after that, he brought him his dinner and locked Charles' boy with him all dinner while unto the hour of 1 of the clock. And so let the lad out again and asked him what he would have for his supper. And he answered that he had meat enough. And so departed until 6 of the clock.

And then the said deponent brought with him a quart of ale. And at that time one William Sampson went with the said deponent to see the prisoner where he was, and saw him and spake together. And so from the hour of 6 aforesaid unto 12 o'clock on the morrow, the said deponent came not there. And when he came there, he met the chancellor with other doctors going to see the prisoner where he hanged.

The deposition of Peter Turner, son-in-law of Charles Joseph.

First he saith that his father-in-law rode out of the town on Sunday the 3rd day of December anno 1514, at 6 of the clock in the morning, wearing a coat of orange tawney on a grizzle coloured horse, trotting.

He saith that on the Saturday next before that, one Button's wife gave knowledge to the said deponent that his father should be arrested by diverse sergeants as soon as he could be taken. And thereupon, the said deponent gave knowledge to his said father-in-law at the Black Friars at the waterside. Whereupon he avoided. And the same night, Master Chancellor gave the keys to John Bellringer, and gave him charge of the prisoner. And on the said Sunday, the said deponent, with John Bellringer, served the said prisoner of his dinner at 12 of the clock. And then John Bellringer said to the deponent that he would not come to him unto the morrow, for my lord had commanded him that the prisoner should have but one meal's meat of the day. Notwithstanding that, the said John Bellringer, after that he had shut Paul's church doors, went to the foresaid prisoner with another with him, at 7 of the clock at night the said Sunday. And the said deponent saith that he came on the Monday at the hour of 8 of the clock in the morning, to seek John Bellringer, and could not find him, and tarried until the high mass of Paul's was done. And yet he could not find John Bellringer. And then, John Bellringer's fellow, one William, delivered the keys to [the] deponent. And so the said deponent, with 2 officers of my lord's being summoners, went to serve the said prisoner. And when they came, the prisoner (they said) was hanged, his face to the wallward. And upon that, the said deponent immediately gave knowledge to the chancellor. Whereupon the chancellor went up with the master of the rolls and Master Subdean, with other doctors unknown to the number of a dozen and their servants.

The deposition of John Enderby, barber.

The said John Enderby saith, the Friday before the death of Richard Hunne, betwixt 8 and 9 of the clock in the morning, he met with John Bellringer in Eastcheap and asked of him how Master Hunne fared. The said Bellringer answered saying, There is ordained for him so grievous penance that when men hear of it they shall have great marvel thereof! Witnesses that heard John Bellringer say these words: John Rutter, scrivener, and William Segar, armourer. Also the said John Enderby saith, the same Monday that Richard Hunne was found dead, he met with the said John Bellringer at the conduit in Gracechurch Street about 9 of the clock in the morning, asking the said bellringer how Master Hunne fared. The said bellringer answered saying, He fared well this day in the morning betwixt 5 and 6 of the clock. Howbeit, I am sorry for him, for there can nobody come to him until I come. For I have the keys of the doors here by my girdle! And shewed keys to the said Enderby.

The deposition of Alan Cresswell, wax-chandler.

The said Alan saith that John Granger, servant with my lord of London in my lord of London's kitchen, at such time as the said Alan was cering^{s4} of Hunne's coffin, that Granger told to him that he was with John Bellringer the same Sunday at night that Richard Hunne was found dead of the morrow when his keeper set him in the stocks, insomuch the said Hunne desired to borrow the keeper's knife. And the keeper asked him what he would do with his knife. And Hunne answered, I had lever kill myself than to be thus treated! This deposition the said Alan will prove as farforth as any Christian man may, saying that Granger shewed to him these words of his own free will and mind, without any question or enquiry to him made by the said Alan. Moreover, the said Alan saith that all that evening Granger was in great fear.

The deposition of Richard Horsenail, bailiff of the sanctuary town called Good Easter in Essex.

The said Richard saith, the Friday before Christmas day last past, that one Charles Joseph, summoner to my lord of London, became a sanctuary man. And the foresaid Friday he registered his name, the said Charles saying that it was for the safeguard of his body. For there be certain men in London so extreme against him for the death of Richard Hunne that he dare not abide in London. Howbeit the said Charles saith he acknowledgeth himself guiltless of Hunne's death, for he delivered the keys to the chancellor by Hunne's life. Also, the said bailiff saith that Charles paid the duty of the said registering both to him and to Sir John Studeley, vicar.

The copy of my lord of London's letter sent to my lord Cardinal.

I beseech your good lordship to stand so good lord unto my poor Chancellor now in ward and indicted by an untrue quest for the death of Richard Hunne, upon the only accusation of Charles Joseph made by pain and durance, that by your intercession it may please the king's grace to have the matter duly and sufficiently examined by indifferent persons of his discrete council in the presence of the parties or there be any more harm done in the cause. And that upon the innocency of my said chancellor declared, it may further please the king's grace to award a placard unto his attorney to confess the said indictment to be untrue when the time shall require it. For assured am I, if my Chancellor be

tried by any 12 men in London, they be so maliciously set *in favorem hereticae pravitatis*, that is, are so set upon the favour of heresy, that they will cast and condemn my clerk though he were as innocent as Abel! *Quare si potes beate pater adiuua infirmitates nostras et tibi in perpetuum devincti erimus!* That is, Wherefore if you can, blessed father, help our infirmities and weakness, and we shall be bound to you forever! Over this, in most humble wise, I beseech you that I may have the king's gracious favour, whom I never offended willingly, and that by your good means I might speak with his grace and be favourably heard at any time it may so please his grace and you. And I, with all mine, shall pray for your prosperous estate long to continue.

Your most humble orator,

R. L.⁵⁵

The words that my lord of London spake before the lords in the parliament chamber.

Memorandum, that the bishop of London said in the parliament chamber that there was a bill brought to the parliament to make the jury that was charged upon the death of Hunne true men! And said and took upon his conscience that they were false, perjured caitiffs. And said furthermore to all the lords there then being, For the love of God look upon this matter. For if ye do not, I dare not keep mine own house for heretics! And said that the said Richard Hunne hanged himself, and that it was his own deed and no man's else. And furthermore said that there came a man to his house (whose wife was appeached of heresy) to speak with him. And he said that he had no mind to speak with the same man. Which man spake and reported to the servants of the same bishop, that if his wife would not hold still her opinions, he would cut her throat with his own hands, with other words more.

The sentence of the quest subscribed by the Coroner.⁵⁶

The inquisition indented and taken at the city of London, in the parish of St Gregory, in the ward of Baynard Castle in London, the 6th day of December, in the year and reign of King Henry VIII the 6th year, afore Thomas Barnwell, coroner of our sovereign lord the King, within the city of London aforesaid. Also, afore James Yarford and John Munday, sheriffs of the said city, upon the sight of the said body of Richard Hunne, late of London, tailor, which was found hanged in Lollards Tower. And by the oath and proof of lawful men of the same ward, and of other 3 wards next adjoining, as it ought to be after the custom of the city aforesaid, to enquire how and in what manner wise the said Richard Hunne came unto his death. And upon the oath of John Barnarde, Thomas Sterre, William Warren, Henry Abraham, John Aborowe, John Turner, Robert Allen, William Marler, John Button, James Page, Thomas Pickhill, William Burton, Robert Bridgewater, Thomas Busted, Gilbert Howel, Richard Gybson, Christopher Crofton, John God, Richard Holt, John Pasmere, Edmond Hudson, John Awncell, Richard Couper, John Tynie. The which say upon their oath that where the said Richard Hunne, by the commandment of Richard, bishop of London, was imprisoned and brought to hold in a prison of the said Bishop's called Lollards Tower, lying in the cathedral church of St Paul in London, in the parish of St Gregory, in the ward of Baynard Castle aforesaid, William Horsey of London, clerk, otherwise called William Heresy, Chancellor to Richard, bishop of London, and one Charles Joseph, late of London, summoner, and

John Spalding of London, otherwise called John Bellringer, feloniously as felons to our lord the King, with force and arms against the peace of our sovereign lord the King, and dignity of his crown, the 4th day of December, the year of the reign of our sovereign lord the 6th aforesaid, of their great malice, at the parish of St Gregory aforesaid, upon the said Richard Hunne made affray, and the same Richard Hunne feloniously strangled and smothered, and also the neck they did break of the said Richard Hunne, and there feloniously slew him and murdered him. And also the body of the said Richard Hunne afterward, the same 4th day, year, place, parish and ward aforesaid, with the proper girdle of the same Richard Hunne of silk, black of colour, of the value of 12 pence, after his death, upon a hook driven into a piece of timber in the wall of the prison aforesaid, made fast and so hanged him against the peace of our sovereign lord the King and the dignity of his crown. And so the said jury hath sworn upon the holy Evangelist that the said William Horsey, clerk, Charles Joseph, and John Spalding, of their set malice, then and there feloniously killed and murdered the said Richard Hunne in manner and form abovesaid, against the peace of our sovereign lord the King, his crown and dignity.

Subscribed in this manner,

Thomas Barnwell, Coroner of the city of London.

Appendix II

The Prologue of the Wycliffe Bible Attributed to Hunne's Ownership Compared with the Post-mortem Articles of Heresy Objected Against Hunne (According to John Foxe) by Bishop Fitzjames of London⁵⁷

Article of Heresy, as per Foxe	Corresponding sentence in MS147
I. First, the said book damns all holy canons, calling them ceremonies and statute of sinful men and uncunning and calls the Pope Satan and Antichrist	i. ...with out kepinge of cerymonyes & statutes of sinful men...that ben maad in the type of sathanas & of antecrist (fo 1v.)
II. It damns the Pope's pardons, saying they be but leasings	ii. ...the pardons of the bisshopis of rome that ben only leasings (fo. 10r., col. 1, l. 16)
III. Item. The said book of Hunne's says that kings and lords, called Christian in name and heathen in conditions, defile the sanctuary of God, bringing clerks full of covetousness, heresy and malice to stop God's law, that it cannot be known, kept and freely preached	iii. ...sume cristen lordis in name & hetthen in condisions, defoule the senctuarie of god & bryngen in symonyent clerkis ful of covertise, erresie & ypocrisie & malice to stoppe goddis lawe that it be not knownen & kept & freely prechid (fo. 10r., col. 1, l. 30)

IV. The said book says that lords and prelates pursue full cruelly them that would teach truly and freely the law of God, and cherish them that preach sinful men's traditions and statutes, by which he means the holy canons of Christ's church	iv. ...& pursuen ful cruelly hem that wolden teche treuly & frely the lawe of god and prechen, & mayntenen & cherische hem that prechen fablis (fo. 10r., col. 1, l. 46)
V. That poor men and idiots have the truth of the hly Scriptures more than a thousand prelates and religious men and clerks of the school	v. ...pore men & idiotis in comparison with clerkis of scole...have the treuthe of holy scripture agens many thousand prelatis & religiouse that ben geven to worldly pride & covetise (fo. 10r., col. 1, l. 59)
VI. That Christian kings and lords set up idols in God's house, and excite the people to idolatry	vi. ...specialy lordis settent idolis in goddis hous (fo. 10r., col. 2, l. 31)
VII. That princes, lords and prelates so doing be worse than Herod that pursued Christ, and worse than [the] Jews and heathen men that crucified Christ	vii. ...he that geveth thus the cure of soulis to onresonable men is worse than eroude that pursued crist & worse then jewis & hethen men that crucifiden crist (fo. 10r., col. 2, l. 23)
VIII. That every man swearing by our lady, or any other saint or creature gives more honour to the saints than to the Holy Trinity, and so he says they be idolaters	viii. ...for comunly thei swere bi oure ladi of Walsingham, sent joon the baptist, seint edward, sent thomas of caunterbiry & suche other sentis (fo. 11r., col. 1, l. 24)
IX. He says that saints ought not to be honoured	ix. ...In al the olde lawe it is not founde where god grauntith to swere bi eny creature but oonly bi his owne name (fo. 11r., col. 1, l. 42)
X. He damns adoration, prayer, kneeling and offering to images, which he calls stocks and stones	x. ...& in gevying it to deed stockis and stones (fo. 11r., col. 2, l. 36)
XI. He says that the very body of the Lord is not contained in the sacrament of the altar, but that men receiving it shall thereby keep in mind that Christ's flesh was wounded and crucified for us	xi. ...& to kepe in mynde sweetly & profitable that cristis fleshe was wounded & crucified for us (fo. 13v., col., 2, l. 20)

XII. He damns the university of Oxford with all degrees and faculties in it, as art. civil [law], canon [law], and divinity, saying that they hinder the ture way to come to the knowledge of the laws of God and holy Scripture	xii. ...the first grete synne is geven in the universte...[there follows here a list of vices, among them the stressed and repeated charge of sodomy]
XIII. He defends the translation of the Bible and the holy Scripture into the English tongue, which is prohibited by the laws of our mother, holy Church	xiii. ...worldly clerkis axen greetly what spirit makith ydiotis hardi to translate now the bible in to englische sithen the iiiii gret doctouris dursten never do this. This replication is so lewid that it nedith noon answere...for these gret doctouris were noon englisch men, neither weren conversant among englische men (fo. 18v., col. 2, l. 51)

In the light of recent attempts to denigrate either the integrity of John Foxe or his ability to copy his sources faithfully, it is instructive to compare the list of further articles of heresy objected against Richard Hunne as Foxe presents them, with certain key sentences from the Prologue of the Wycliffe Bible that is attributed to Hunne's ownership, but which Foxe would not have seen. As we can see, so close is their correspondence that we are entitled to accept Foxe's list of articles as authentic even though the original list may be lost. This comes as little surprise to those who are used to relying upon Foxe where the original records have perished, because wherever Foxe can be tested in this way he is invariably shown to be very faithful indeed to his sources. (Joan Baker, Hunne's neighbour, the original of whose own examination has survived, seems also to have been very familiar with this Prologue.)

For a powerfully argued case identifying Parker MS147 (the Wycliffe B version) as the Wycliffe Bible used at Hunne's post-mortem trial, see Ogle, pp. 113—31.

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Notes

1. The church no longer stands, its site being the present-day gardens that occupy the space between Whitechapel Lane and Adler Street of the Whitechapel Road. The outline of the church's foundations, however, has been preserved.

2. For a general complaint of this and other clerical abuses, see Christopher St Germain, *Treatise concernynge the diuision betwene the spiritualtie and temporaltie* (Thomas Berthelet, London, 1532[?]).
3. Statute of Paremunire, 1393, Statutes of the Realm, ii, pp. 84–6.
4. A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (1964), pp. 90–96; Richard Marius, *Thomas More* (1984), pp. 123–41.
5. Wunderli, for example (see Bibliography), expresses puzzlement over the case, as do many others.
6. Known today as Fish Street Hill, it used to be part of the small parish of St Margaret's, the site of whose church is now marked by Wren's Monument (it was the first church to be burnt down in the Great Fire of London). Hunne's house stood roughly on the site of today's Britannia pub.
7. *London Episcopal Register Fitzjames*, fo 25r. (Kept at the Guildhall Library Manuscript Room, shelfmark 9531/9).
8. *Corporation of London Record Office Repertories*, ii (1505–13), fo 122r. The litigation concerned tenements in Westcheap, to which the priest and wardens of St Michael's claimed title. The case was to be resolved before the Court of Aldermen by Christmas of 1511, but no record survives to tell us the outcome. Wunderli (p. 218) thinks that this litigation prompted Dyffeld's action at Lambeth.
9. For the wording of the bill, see *Statutes of the Realm*, iii, p. 386. As an Act of Parliament, it is designated 4Henry8.1512.c.II.
10. Public Record Office Document KB27/1006, m. 36.
11. *Ibid.*
12. PRO Doc. KB27/1006, m. 37.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Richard Arnold, *Customs of London* (Guildhall Library, 1521[?]), unpaginated.
15. Enderby became a barber on 1 March 1513. For his indentures, see *Lond. Episc. Reg. Fitzjames* (Guildhall Library 9531/9) under that date.
16. The palace still stands, its grounds open to the public. Fitzjames's coat of arms can be seen gracing the porter's lodge. Hunne's examination for heresy took place in the chapel, which has also survived.
17. John Foxe, *Actis and Monuments*, IV(ed. J. Pratt, London, 1877), pp. 183–4.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 184.
19. During the examination of Robert Smith by Bonner, Smith threw back at the bishop: 'both you and your predecessors have sought all means possible to kill Christ secretly; record of Master Hun, whom your predecessor caused to be thrust in at the nose with hot burning needles...' (See Foxe, VIII, p. 351.)
20. Foxe, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 186–7.
21. MS 775, Trinity College Dublin. D.3.4. fo 124. b. (cit. J. Fines, 'The Post-mortem Condemnation for Heresy of Richard Hunne, *English Historical Review*, Ixxviii, pp. 528–31).
22. As a happier postscript, Thomas Brooke was not left destitute at the break-up of his master's house, but was to set up a small shop in Bridge Street, aided no doubt by his master's Lollard friends (Richard Arnold, *op. cit.*).
23. Foxe, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 189.
24. These articles appear in the Dublin MS, in the 5th and 13th of the later articles of

- heresy against Hunne, and in the Bible's Prologue. See below.
25. PRO Documents, Chancery significations, file 126.
 26. Minutes for the Court of Aldermen for Tuesday, 17 April 1515, Repertory III, fo 17 (Guildhall Library).
 27. PRO Document, KB27/1019, Rex rot. 4.
 28. Letters and Papers (Henry VIII), III, 2, 3062(4): 'Roger Whaplod and Margaret his wife, daughter of Ric. Hunne deceased. Grant to them and to their executors for ever of all Hunne's lands and tenements, and all leases and deeds realting thereto.'
 29. Foxe, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 198.
 30. *Ibid.*, V, p. 27.
 31. *Ibid.*, V, p. 28.
 32. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 586.
 33. PRO Document, SP1/162, RH163.
 34. Burnet, History of the Reformation, I (Oxford, 1816), p. 209.
 35. PRO Document, SP 147.
 36. Foxe, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 198: '...as of the bishop's registers and special records remaining in the custody of Dunstan Whapplot, the son of the daughter of the said Richard Hunne...'
 37. Burnet, *op. cit.* I, p. 209.
 38. Chanc. Inq. P.M. 5Eliz. pt. 2. no. 34. (Guildhall Library). Stow's *Survey of London*, p. 343 (see Bibliography), describes Snow Hill in 1598 as being, 'all replenished with fair building'. Which implies that the earlier tenements in which Margaret lived during the 1560s had been somewhat run down. Evidently her circumstances had not improved in the twenty-three years or so since she had written to Cromwell.
 39. PRO Document KB9/468, m. 14, recto and verso.
 40. *Ibid.*, verso.
 41. Accordin to Stow, *op. cit.*, 'There be in this city...twenty-six aldermen; whereof yearly, on the feast day of St Michael the archangel, one of them is elected to be mayor for the year following, to begin on 28th October' (p. 474). George Monoux, under whose mayoralty the inquest on Richard Hunne was opened, was in office from 28 October 1514 to 27 October 1515. It is therefore in the February of the *following* year, 1516, during the mayoralty of the grocer, William Butler, that the inquest ended, and not in February 1515 as many have suspected by assuming that the date of Julian Littel's deposition (14 February 1515) marked the closing stage of the inquest.
 42. Parker Library, SP 445, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
 43. The pamphlet was published at around the same time Margaret Hunne wrote to Cromwell. Were its publication and her letter entirely disconnected events? The collection of documents represented in the pamphlet is a lawyer's bundle, perhaps that belonging to Christopher St Germain, a celebrated lawyer who, like Thomas More, probably attended the inquest on Hunne, and whose hand is heavily apparent in the wording and phraseology of the Preface.
 44. Cambridge University Library, Syn. 8.53.91.
 45. Parker Lib. SP 445. Reproduced by kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

46. *For William, read Thomas.*
47. I had lever than C lib.
48. a fish.
49. that bene woorth M. lib.
50. *For John, read Thomas.*
51. The rood of the north door of St Paul's was a famous place of pilgrimage (a rood being an effigy of Christ crucified).
52. 'men' in the original, but clearly a typographical error.
53. The bishop's commensary at this time was Dr Thomas Head, who had played a prominent role in Joan Baker's examination for heresy.
54. 'seryng', i.e., waxing.
55. Ricardus Londiniensis (Richard of London).
56. What follows is a fair translation into English of PRO Document 9/468. m. 14, r. and v., the newly discovered coroner's report.
57. Document MS147, Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Reconstructing Tyndale in Latomus: William Tyndale's last, lost, book

Robert J. Wilkinson M.A.

John Foxe tells us that during the sixteen months Tyndale was in Vilvorde Castle, from May 1535 to his execution on 6 October 1536,

there was much writing, and great disputation to and fro, between him and them of the university of Louvain, in such sort, that they all had enough to do, and more than they could well wield, to answer the authorities and testimonies of the Scripture, whereupon he most pithily grounded his doctrine.¹

Tyndale's three accusers were all professors and doctors of theology of the University of Louvain: the Belgian archives list them as Ruward Tapper, dean of St Peter's Church in Louvain; Jan Doye, canon of St Peter's; and Jacobus Latomus, also canon of St Peter's.² All three were distinguished: Tapper was chancellor of the university, Doye about to be rector. The most significant, however, was Jacques Masson, Jacobus Latomus. Now sixty, he had for nearly twenty years been a leading controversialist against Erasmus, and a chief opponent of Luther and other European reformers. He was a most experienced inquisitor.

Henry Walter, in his Parker Society edition of Tyndale,³ described the imprisoned reformer defending the doctrines he had taught in a series of replies to attacks made upon him by the theologians of Louvain. 'But of these', he continued, 'whether conversations only or written answers to written charges, no relic remains'.⁴ Parker may have had in mind a passage in Foxe which describes how on the morning of his death Tyndale delivered a letter to the keeper of the castle which the keeper himself brought to the house of Pointz in Antwerp shortly after. 'Which letter with his examinations and other disputations', says Foxe, 'I would might have come to our hands: all of which, I understand did remain, and yet perhaps do, in the hands of the keeper's daughter.'⁵ These documents never did come into Foxe's hands and disappeared without trace. There matters rested. A Latin text, however, written against Tyndale by one of the three theologians amongst the commissioners appointed by the queen-regent to try him, clearly reflected the text of Tyndale it sought to refute.

In the late nineteenth century, Tyndale's first modern biographer, Robert Demaus, gave some nine pages of general analysis of that reflected text.⁶ J. F. Mozley in his 1937 biography of Tyndale considered Latomus's argument in four impressionistic pages, but ignored Tyndale's theses.⁷ David Daniell in 1994 told the story in greater detail: Latomus 'tells posterity that while Tyndale was in prison for Lutheranism, he, Tyndale, wrote a book on *Sola fides iustificat apud Deum*, that is, faith alone justifies before God. That book has not survived, though it is not hard to reconstruct, both from knowledge of what Tyndale had written before and the way that Latomus replies.'⁸ A recent study from the

Pontificia Universita Gregoriana in Rome⁹ analyses well Latomus's strategy in his arguments, noting frequently how 'punctual' Latomus is, how carefully precise. All who have commented have noted the observable control and even courtesy given by Latomus to Tyndale as the great scholar he was.

What follows in the present article is an attempt to give for the first time a fuller reconstruction of what Tyndale wrote in his dispute with Latomus. The two parts of *Sola fides justificat apud Deum* made Tyndale's last book. Latomus's *Three Books of Confutations against William Tyndale* (*Confutationum adversus Guilielmum Tindalum libri tres*) were written, in some form, within six years of Tyndale's death, a fact which might comment on Tyndale's continued importance. They were first printed in Latomus's *Omnia Opera*, published by his nephew in 1550, six years after his uncle's death; but there they are prefaced by a letter to his friend Livinius Crucius dated 12 June 1542, in which he summarizes the position.

He explains how William Tyndale, while imprisoned for the Lutheran heresy, wrote a book on this theme: that faith alone justifies before God. In this book (which would, of course, also have been in Latin): 'he strove to take away all the merit of good works, for as the foundation and key (as he called it) of the understanding of sacred Scripture as salvation, he started from this premise: that God grants us everything freely through Christ, having meanwhile no regards to works.'¹⁰ (Latomus may here give us a different title of Tyndale's book, as again at the beginning of the second confutation; namely, *The Key to the Understanding of Scripture as Salvation* (*Clavis intelligentiae salutaris sacrae scripturae*). We shall see, however, that this is a common phrase of Tyndale's, and it is perhaps unlikely that a manuscript with such a confined circulation was in practice dignified with a title. Nevertheless we need a title for the work here recovered and there can be none better than *Clavis &c.*)

Latomus tells Livinius Crucius that 'on this occasion' he wrote three books. In the first he took away Tyndale's 'Key' and replaced it by another, 'showing that in the faithful who have been previously justified by faith, the merits of good works have a place, and that the just, advancing by these good works, earn the crown of glory granted by the Just Judge.'¹¹

Tyndale then wrote a second book, 'more fully on the same assertion, and on other articles, indeed on virtually all articles in which Lutherans contradict the sound teaching of the Church'. Latomus tells his friend that he replied again to Tyndale's examples and reasoning in his own second book which overthrew the bases of Tyndale's arguments. Then Latomus added a third book in which he briefly and clearly set out what should be believed on each point.¹²

When these remarks are set against Latomus's *Three Confutations* themselves, it becomes apparent that his first *Confutation* is a reply to Tyndale's first book dealing with the major theme that faith alone justifies before God without respect to works. The second *Confutation* is a reply to that part of Tyndale's second book which deals 'more fully on the same assertion'. The third *Confutation*, however, though it begins with summary statements pertinent to the issues covered in the first and second confutations, proceeds to deal with 'virtually all articles on which Lutherans contradict the sound doctrine of the Church'. The observation of this relationship is clearly critical for the reconstruction of Tyndale's lost books.

It may appear surprising that Latomus should compose and distribute a refutation of

a prisoner's manuscript written for his own eyes and under his effective control. One may instructively recall Tyndale's dear friend John Frith, who while in the Tower of London, composed a manuscript statement of his views upon the Lord's Supper. This was certainly not written for More, but three copies found their way to him by treachery. Though Frith's book remained in manuscript, More began to compose a reply which was printed, and copies were sent to Antwerp – a sort of *quid pro quo* for Lutheran material entering England. One may also recall the difficulty Frith had in acquiring one of these to which to reply.¹³ Tyndale was a scholar of considerable repute. The refutation of his heresies was a significant defence of the faith, worthy of a wider audience.

There is no reason to doubt that the confutations are substantially Latomus's replies to Tyndale's arguments, though it is evident that in the form we have them they are addressed to Livinius Crucius. Latomus has of course been able to exercise full control over the presentation of the debate. He told Livinius Crucius (ominously) at the end of his introductory letter that though he feared his work would do Tyndale little good, nevertheless he hoped others would gain somewhat from it.

We must remember that Latomus's position is not to determine whether or not Tyndale was a heretic. Before Latomus was called in, Tyndale had already been convicted many times over of being a Lutheran, which was enough. Latomus understands what he has to do as being to show Tyndale how theologically contradictory his position is, and to bring him back to orthodoxy before it is too late.

The conventions of direct address should not deceive us; Tyndale is not really the imagined reader of the work as we have it. Livinius Crucius stands for the wider audience. One may instructively compare the third-century Alexandrian Christian scholar Origen's refutation of his pagan opponent in the *Contra Celsum*. Celsus' work *The True Discourse* is lost, but Origen's obsessive determination not to let a single objection of his opponent pass unanswered – sustained over eight unwieldy books – has ironically preserved the very book he sought to destroy. One can read *The True Discourse* by reflection, as it were, in Origen. Closer to home, one may think similarly of More's *Confutation of Tyndale's Answer*.¹⁴ Latomus makes no such mistake. His technique is sophisticated.

Consider:

For example, you [that is, Tyndale] take something from Paul's Epistle to the Romans chapter one; then with eyes closed you pass on to the third chapter, disregarding the second, in which there is matter which might make you change your mind: for in that chapter Paul speaks plainly of good works and of bad, and of what God will render to them in the day of judgement.¹⁵

Latomus then quotes Romans 2:6 'He will render to every man his deeds'. That is to say, he lays a charge of selective quotation which he purports to expose: but he does this by his own selective quotation. He has presented verbatim the text he accuses Tyndale of ignoring, but himself passes over the texts Tyndale uses. These he neither quotes, refutes nor properly identifies. Further he has inserted his own gloss – 'Paul speaks plainly of good works' – concealed as a simple description of the argument. This is controversial writing of great skill. The three books of the *Confutations* are elegant and urbane, courteous even; but they are the work of a master controversialist who does not make blun-

ders.

Even Latomus, however, cannot utterly avoid giving us the shape of Tyndale's lost work. And these traces, together with an appreciation of the unity and coherence of Tyndale's own controversial position as we know it from his other works, enable us to reconstruct somewhat more than the bare bones of *The Key to the Understanding of Scripture as Salvation*.

The key in Tyndale's extant works

Before venturing into detailed work of reconstruction, we should note certain characteristics in all that has survived of Tyndale. We shall find that the reconstruction matches his mind as we know it. Here will be developed the key to the Scriptures, and its contrary the veil, the latter seen as produced by misleading glosses. The Gospel itself generates controversy, as illustrated by the binding and loosing of Matthew 16.

Thus, readers of Tyndale's extant works can have little doubt that the above title is right and utterly characteristic. At a time when Tyndale's technical achievements as a translator and a master craftsman in our own language are only just being generally recognized,¹⁶ we have to make a double effort to realize that for him this translation was only half the story. Tyndale was not merely a classical or Semitic philologist (however triumphant an achievement that 'merely' was in 1520s and 1530s). He was engaged notoriously in bringing the Word of God to ordinary men and women. And they needed two things: the book in the vernacular, and someone to tell them how to read it. Tyndale's Prologue to *The Exposition of I John* (September 1531) is clearly programmatic here:

As it is not enough that the father and the mother have both begotten the child and brought it into this world, except they care for it and bring it up, till it can help itself; even so it is not enough to have translated, though it were the whole Scripture into the vulgar and common tongue, except we also brought again the light to understand it by, and expel that dark cloud which the hypocrites have spread over the face of the scripture, to blind the right sense and true meaning thereof. And therefore are there divers introductions ordained for you, to teach you the profession of your baptism, the only light of the scripture, one upon the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, and another called 'The Pathway into the Scripture'. And for the same cause have I taken in hand to interpret this Epistle of St John the evangelist to edify the layman, and to teach him how to read the scripture and what to seek therein; and that he may have to answer the hypocrites, and stop their mouths withal.¹⁷

A similarly comprehensive passage is found in the preface to *The Obedience*.¹⁸ Tyndale provided both the translation and also what we might call today the biblical hermeneutic to enable people to read. Teaching ordinary men and women to read the Bible was for Tyndale not merely a matter of providing them with large numbers of glosses in the margins. It was to teach a standpoint from which to proceed, an integrating set of assumptions which might be applied to make sense of any biblical text whatever. Tyndale calls this the 'key'. It is the Gospel or the baptismal confession, were people but taught it.

Tyndale was doing something for the first time for his fellow countrymen and women, and he himself was bringing about the set of circumstances which necessitated the innovation.¹⁹ Before Tyndale there was no place imaginable for the key he provided, but he made it a necessity.

Tyndale's hermeneutic has four basic components.

First is the provision of a vernacular Bible, the necessity of which he supposed it superfluous to rehearse in the Cologne 1525 Prologue. (Professor Daniell has drawn our attention to the explosive nature of this apparently dismissive throw-away line.)²⁰

Second, the provision of *whole* testaments with the clear but frustrated intention that *whole Bibles* should ultimately be available to read. Read as a whole book the New Testament is clearly a different interpretative challenge from reading the component books *separatim*. When placed alongside the Hebrew Bible, the reader's task reaches dizzying levels of complexity and the relation of the parts to the whole becomes problematic. Tyndale aimed to provide for a reading of the whole Bible.

Third, Tyndale rejected the Four Senses of Scripture in favour of a literal reading (the end of *The Obedience* is the key text here).²¹ With that, the entire inherited tradition of Christian interpretation of the Old Testament and much New Testament exposition was threatened. Tyndale's theory and practice in this respect need a full and close examination, for which this is not the occasion, though it should be stressed that Tyndale's literal sense is still essentially a Christian reading of the pre-Christian Hebrew Bible. But leaving the point roughly hewn will not detract from its significance.

The last component of Tyndale's hermeneutic was, of course, Luther's reformed Gospel of justification by faith alone, and it was Tyndale who was responsible for Luther's first appearances in English. Tyndale's extensive attack in *The Obedience*²² on John Fisher's sermon in St Paul's on 11 September 1526, when Luther's books were burnt, illustrates clearly how he saw the link between the reformed faith and exegesis: a corrupt Church denying evangelical faith and promoting its own power through error and malice must be committed also to the distortion or suppression of the Scriptures.

Taken together these four components make up the interpretative strategy for understanding the Scripture. This integrative reading is the key. The symbol is particularly appropriate. It is one of Tyndale's commonest figures, but also one of his richest. The key unites both hermeneutic questions and the fundamental issue of how people are saved (the passage we have referred to in *The Obedience*²³ is effectively catechetical): but all its multiple senses arise ultimately from Tyndale's continued comments on Matthew 16:16 ff. Tyndale's translation in his 1534 New Testament is

Simon Peter answered and said: Thou art Christ the son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said to him: happy art thou Simon the son of Jonas, for flesh and blood hath not opened unto thee that, but my father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter: and upon this rock I will build my congregation. And the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee, the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou loosest on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.

The margin has 'Keys.' and 'Bind and loose.'²⁴ This text concerns Peter, and thus papal pretension; the foundation of the congregation; the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and

binding and loosing, to which we shall see Tyndale gives a variety of senses. The unity of these concerns around this symbol arises from the exposition of the text, and their theological coherence is what Tyndale is arguing for under the symbol. The last section of *The Obedience*, as we have seen, shows Tyndale sensitive to a wanton use of allegory and symbol to show what is not in Scripture. For him this is false prophecy. It is important to distinguish his own practice from this if one is to argue for his status as a biblical theologian of distinction.

We can illustrate the consistent attention Tyndale paid to these matters from, first, the 'prologge' to the 1525 Cologne New Testament which was expanded sometime before September 1531 into *The Pathway in to the Scripture*. Its basis is of course Luther's 1522 'Vortheide', but remodelled so as to be now Tyndale's text.²⁵ The 'prologue' shows why Scripture should be in the vernacular; what are the Old and New Testaments; what is the Gospel; what is the law which we must hold ever before our eyes; and what is a right faith which both 'delighteth' in the law and yet understands that we can never fulfill it; what is nature and what is grace; justification by faith; the relation of faith works and love; different types of justification (before God or before the world); works as the fruit of the spirit and not as an independent source of justification before God; and so on. He also touches on obedience to rulers and the sacraments. This too is clearly catechetical. Characteristically Tyndale goes on to relate his whole hermeneutic here to the symbol of the keys and binding and loosing:

Here you see the nature of the law and the nature of the evangelion; how the law is the key that bindeth and dammeth all men, and the evangelion [is the key that] looseth them again. The law goeth before, and the evangelion followeth. When a preacher preacheth the law he bindeth all consciences; and when he preacheth the Gospel, he looseth them again. These two salves (I mean the law and the gospel) useth God and his preacher, to heal and cure sinners withal.²⁶

For Tyndale to know the Gospel is

...to have all the scripture unlocked and open before thee so that if thou will go in, and read, thou canst not but understand. And in these things to be ignorant, is to have all the scripture locked up; so that the more thou readest it, the blinder thou art, and the more contrariety thou findest in it, and the more tangled art thou therein, and canst nowhere through: for if thou had a gloss in one place, in another it will not serve.²⁷

The key symbol is now functioning in a different sense. The issue in the text immediately above is hermeneutic. In the one before it was the conviction of sin and the release of the Gospel. But the two senses are not wantonly superimposed. Tyndale's theological sophistication is in the exposition of the link between the two.

Thus the key is 'the profession of our baptism which we be never taught'.²⁸ To say this is to approach Scripture in the light of the whole Gospel. The initial teaching which will open all Scripture to everyone, 'so that if thou will go in and read thou canst but understand', is clearly more than glosses. Given the uninformed notoriety that Tyndale's marginal notes have achieved it is worth noticing that his use of the term 'glosses' is almost

always derogatory. The quotation above also showed his awareness that without the key ‘if thou had a gloss in one place in another it will not serve’. In the Prologue to *The Exposition of I John* he speaks of the ‘leaven of false glosses’.¹⁰ In *The Exposition on Matthew*, on 5:17, Tyndale paraphrases Christ as saying:

I do but only wipe away the filthy and rotten glosses wherewith the scribes and Pharisees have smeared the law, and the prophets; and rebuke their damnable living, which they have fashioned, not after the law of God, but after their own sophistical glosses, feigned to mock out the law of God, and to beguile the whole world, and to lead them in blindness.¹⁰

As the biblical text here asserts that Christ is not come to abolish the Law and the Prophets, it has an obvious and strategic relevance to Tyndale’s Lutheran notion of the Law which we must hold ever before our eyes and in which the faithful rejoice. The scribes and Pharisees are read here as ever as Catholic priests. He goes on similarly in the 1525 ‘prologge’ to accuse ‘our great pillars of holy church’ of having ‘nailed a veil of false glosses on Moses’s face to corrupt the true understanding of his law,’ and thus being unable to ‘come in’.¹¹ The veil is from 2 Corinthians 3: we shall meet it repeatedly as the opposite of the key.

The Epistle ‘to the reader’ at the end of Worms New Testament of 1526 contains the key in distilled form. ‘Mark the plain and manifest places of the scriptures, and in doubtful places see thou add no interpretations contrary to them; but (as Paul saith) let all be conformable and agreeing to the faith. Note the difference of the law and of the gospel.’¹²

In the same year came *The compendious Introduccion Prologue or Preface unto the Epistle of Paul to the Romans*, which Tyndale subsequently expanded for inclusion in his revised New Testament of November 1534. It is, of course, again based upon Luther – this time the ‘Vorrhede auf die Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Romern’. The last five paragraphs are Tyndale’s, and straightaway we find his interest in teaching Bible-reading and the symbol of the key: ‘The sum and whole cause of writing this Epistle, is, to prove that a man is justified by faith only: which proposition whoso denieth, to him is not only this Epistle and all that Paul writheth, but also the whole scripture so locked up, that he shall never understand it to his soul’s health.’¹³

The Parable of the Wicked Mammon of May 1528 continues in similar vein.¹⁴ It will be enough merely refer to the full title of the Jonah prologue (before June 1531).¹⁵ The prologue to *The Exposition of I John* (September 1531) has

For as the doctrine which we should be taught before we were baptized, and for lack of age is deferred unto the years of discretion, is the key that bindeth and looseth, locketh and unlocketh, the conscience of all sinners; even so that lesson, where it is understood, is only the key that openeth all the scripture, and even the whole scripture in itself, gathered together in a narrow compass, and brought in to a compendiousness. And till thou be taught that lesson, that thine heart feel the sweetness of it, the scripture is locked and shut up from thee, and so dark that thou couldest not understand it, though Peter, Paul, or Christ himself did expound it unto thee; no more than a blind man can see, though thou set a candle before him, or shewedst him the sun, or pointedst with thy finger unto

that thou wouldest have him look upon.³⁶

Binding and loosing appear more controversially in the long comment on 1 John 2:2, where Tyndale refers to their use in relation to the fiction of purgatory.³⁷ On 2:22 we learn further that the bishop of Rome ‘preacheth a false binding and loosing with ear-confession, which is not in the trust and confidence of Christ’s bloodshedding.’³⁸ What we have here is a further expansion of the symbolism of Matthew 16. We have met binding and loosing in matters evangelical and hermeneutic. Now the symbol (and of course the underlying text) is being exploited controversially in new directions. Nor is this illegitimate. Clearly if Tyndale was right in his first two uses of the text, it must follow that the Bishop of Rome was wrong in his two uses of it. The controversy arises from the Gospel itself, as Tyndale himself knew. This helps us to understand why Tyndale should have used the title Key when writing for Latomus. The key may be hermeneutic and catechetical, but this makes it inevitably controversial given Tyndale’s view of the corrupt state of the Church. One other text, Luke 11:52, gives the symbolism of the key another controversial turn. It was the text with which Tyndale began his ‘lost’ book. ‘Woe be to you lawyers: for ye have taken away the key of knowledge; ye entered not in yourselves, and them that came in ye forbade.’³⁹ In the margin against this verse in the 1534 New Testament we find simply ‘Key’.

With an eye now to the sharpened controversial possibilities of the idea of the key we consider the title of *The Exposition of Matthew V–VII* of (probably) early 1533: ‘An exposition upon the v.vi.vii chapters of Matthew, which three chapters are the key and door of the scripture, and the restoring again of Moses law corrupt by the Scribes and Pharisees. And the exposition is the restoringe again of Christ’s law corrupt by the papists.’⁴⁰

In the Prologue we again meet the malicious Philistines who stopped the wells of Abraham from *Wicked Mammon*:⁴¹ and the key, the closed door, false glosses and the veil of Moses. All these are explained. One could not hope for a clearer demonstration of the remarkable consistency of Tyndale’s interlocking biblical symbology.

Tyndale’s lost work: his first book

Latomus began his first *Confutation* in a courteous, scholarly and systematic way. So that he might concentrate on the areas of their disagreement, he listed seven theological points upon which he and Tyndale agreed – or almost agreed. He hesitated, but decided not to make an issue of the fact that Tyndale apparently put faith before charity. Nevertheless, he reminded Tyndale that of faith, hope and charity, the greatest is charity. That point he set aside for another time. One cannot believe that Tyndale began in such an indirect manner: he would begin with the key, as we have seen him do so often in his extant works. Thus we may reasonably imagine that when Latomus turns to the points of their disagreement, and writes, ‘First, we do not agree on the key of the understanding of Scripture as salvation’, he has before him the beginning of Tyndale’s book. Tyndale ‘repeatedly’ (*suepe*) explained the key; that faith alone in the mercy of God through Jesus Christ – through the grace of Christ and through the works of Christ – justifies us in God’s eyes – without respect to any merit or goodness of our own works. This is

Tyndale's text and it is, of course, quite unacceptable to Latomus, who proposes a different key to salvation, namely conversion to the Lord.

Latomus then immediately quotes two texts: 2 Corinthians 3:14 and 2 Timothy 3:14. The latter reads:

But continue thou in the things which thou hast learned, which also were committed unto thee seeing thou knowest of whom thou hast learned them and forasmuch also as thou has known holy scripture of a child, which is able to make thee wise unto salvation through the faith which is in Christ Jesus. For all scripture given by inspiration of God, is profitable to teach, to improve, to amend and to instruct in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect and prepared unto all good works.⁴²

(I shall give all Bible quotations in Tyndale's version: this has the value of making clear to us how he understood the passage even when of necessity, as in this work, he was quoting in Latin, most probably from the Vulgate. This will not obscure any of Latomus's arguments.)

Latomus understands 'faith' here to mean Catholic orthodoxy: but it takes very little to persuade us that here he is following Tyndale's quotations. We might confidently expect, from what we have seen of Tyndale's extant work, to find the veil after the key and, of course, 2 Corinthians 3 is that very text. 2 Timothy 3, with its reference to Timothy's saving knowledge of Scripture, its suitability for teaching salvation by faith, and the consequent production of good works, neatly encapsulates the whole of Tyndale's Gospel. We cannot doubt that Latomus has only mentioned these texts because Tyndale did. The use of this text commends itself as Tyndale's on two other grounds. Tyndale as we know from the 1534 Prologue to the Second Epistle to Timothy saw the 'jeopardous time toward the end of the world' mentioned in the third and fourth chapters 'fulfilled in our spirituality unto the utmost jot'.⁴³ That is to say, Second Timothy spoke predicatively to his own day. And there is yet more to his situation. For the passage quoted is preceded by the Apostle's recollection of his own suffering patiently born for the Gospel, which concludes: 'Yea and all that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecutions.'⁴⁴ 'Persecution' marked Tyndale in the margin. No passage could (in Tyndale's own reading) better speak to his personal circumstances in Vilvorde Castle.

Latomus believed that faith meant orthodoxy and that consequently it is infidelity which closes the mind. He quotes 2 Corinthians 4:3. 'If our gospel be yet hid, it is hid among them that are lost, in whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ which is the image of God, should shine unto them.'⁴⁵ No further argument is presented by Latomus. The verse follows naturally from 2 Corinthians 3:14, for it is but a continuation of the Apostle's argument and might well have been quoted from Tyndale treating the veil more largely. Its polemical meaning used in that way would be quite clear. It is also imaginable that Tyndale stopped short of the verse, that Latomus picked it up (cleverly insinuating the sort of incomplete quotation of which he later explicitly accuses Tyndale) and interpreted it in his own favour: the hidden Gospel is orthodox faith which requires fidelity to the authority of the Church which blind infidels cannot see. Of course Latomus read the text like that, but the question is, did he introduce it into the argument first? One cannot be

certain, but as the other texts hereabouts seem to be Tyndale's, we may provisionally credit him with this one too. He used this text in *An Answer to More*.⁴⁶

Latomus now moves directly to refute Tyndale's interpretation of Luke 11:52. From our knowledge of Tyndale's extant works, we can have no doubt that Tyndale used this text, nor of what he used it to say. Latomus's view is different: 'the key is an allegorical understanding of the mystery of redemption which had been given to the Jews in the Law and the Prophets'. The lawyers in Luke 11 should have recognized that the Christ was present in their midst from Old Testament passages which, though mysterious, predicted him. That is why 'the Law was our schoolmaster unto the time of Christ' (Galatians 3:24).⁴⁷ Latomus interpreted that phrase to mean that the Old Testament prophesied Jesus, and thus by this very 'historical' view avoided any possibility of an existential Lutheran confrontation with the Law today. Gentiles, he continued, only met these mysterious predictions in the Old Testament *after* they had become Christian. Thus in no sense, says Latomus, does the key (the law as a cryptic predictor of Messiah) act in any way as a necessary stage in bringing Gentiles 'to be pricked in their hearts or bound in their consciences before being loosed by the key of the sweet promises'.⁴⁸ Latomus's argument is a traditional one and he may well have introduced Galatians 3:24 as the usual proof text. On the other hand one should observe that the Galatians text is quoted in the Prologue to *The Exposition of Matthew*.⁴⁹ It is there used immediately after the key, the wells of Abraham and the veil to show 'that the law is the very way that bringeth unto the door Christ'.⁵⁰ We may thus believe that Tyndale so used it here. Latomus, it emerges with some probability, is following Tyndale's texts, but providing the orthodox gloss. Finally we may observe that the debate here touches on the question of Tyndale's literal interpretation of the Hebrew Bible at its point of greatest hermeneutic significance. His Lutheran notion of law prevents the reduction of Moses to cryptic prediction or wanton allegory. The Prologue to Leviticus is helpful here,⁵¹ and one might recall the injunction in the Exodus Prologue to 'make not Moses a figure of Christ with Rochester'.⁵²

There follows the passage we have already discussed (above, p. 254) in illustration of Latomus's controversial technique, where Tyndale passes from an unidentified passage in Romans 1 to another in Romans 3, though omitting 2:6. There is no doubt that the Romans 1 text is verse 17 (what else?): 'For I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, because it is the power of God unto salvation to all that believe, namely to the Jew, and also to the gentile. For by it the righteousness which cometh of God is opened, from faith to faith. As it is written: The just shall live by faith.'⁵³

Interestingly when Latomus begins his summary of orthodox doctrine at the beginning of the third *Confutation* he writes: 'I am not ashamed [non enim erubescimus] for the gospel or for our mother the church, knowing what I have learned and from whom.'⁵⁴ Here the great Catholic theologian joins up the Reformer's two texts (2 Timothy 3:14 and Romans 1:17) in his own way.

The text in the third chapter of Romans is equally obvious, though one may argue where Tyndale stopped. He surely began at verse 19 and proceeded sufficiently far to illustrate the key of the knowledge of the law and the key of the sweet promises of the Gospel – that is at least as far as verse 25.

'Likewise', says Latomus, 'you subjoin another passage from [2] Corinthians but omit the 8th and 9th chapters, where Paul urges the Corinthians to be generous to the poor saints, where among other things he says of the reward of this work; "... he which

soweth little shall reap little: and he that soweth plenteously shall reap plenteously. And let every man do according as he hath purposed in his heart, not grudgingly, or of necessity. For God loveth a cheerful giver.”⁵⁵

This again is the strategy of selective quotation (which we have seen above) to lay the charge of selective quotation, omission of Tyndale’s texts, and quotation of his own under an interpretive gloss disguised as a description. It is repeated once more. Tyndale quoted what he chose from Galatians (not necessarily just one text) but omitted 6:6 which is glossed by Latomus as having obvious reference to ‘Receiving according to desert’. The quotation is then further extended.

One hesitates initially to identify the text in 2 Corinthians. But it is perhaps instructive to look at the passage in *The Obedience* where Tyndale contrasts the law as the ‘minister of death and damnation’ with the Gospel as the ‘ministration of justifying and of the spirit’.⁵⁶ The text is, of course, 2 Corinthians 3 again. Tyndale has just used this favourite chapter and the contrast is thematically suitable and appropriate at this point in the argument. One may thus feel reasonably certain about this identification.

What Tyndale chose from Galatians is also open to surmise. He might have taken ‘but faith which by love is mighty in operation’ which was the mangled proof in the St Paul’s sermon by Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, which Tyndale castigated in *The Obedience*.⁵⁷ But if he did we cannot suppose he made much of it, given Latomus’s willingness to overlook the question of faith and charity (for the moment). Surely it is more likely that the following passages from chapter 2 and 3 commended themselves: ‘[We]...know that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ. And therefore we have believed on Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the law; because that by the deeds of the law no flesh shall be justified.’

This is most suitable and balance and point are maintained by ending the quotation where we have done. The margin gloss supports us: ‘Deeds of the law justify not: but faith justifieth. The law uttereth my sin and damnation and maketh me flee to Christ for mercy and life. As the law roared unto me that I was damned for my sins: so faith certifieth me that I am forgiven and shall live through Christ.’⁵⁸

In chapter three the margin alerts us with ‘The law curseth: but faith blesseth. For faith only maketh the conscience alive.’ The biblical text is surely right, for it is ‘That no man is justified by the law in the sight of God is evident. For the just shall live by faith.’⁵⁹

Latomus proceeds now to both Hebrews and Matthew as before, quoting the texts which Tyndale omitted. We shall maintain our current assumption that Latomus is following Tyndale’s passages in sequence. Tyndale, he tells us, dealt with other passages of Scripture in the Epistle to the Hebrews, which book might have instructed him not only concerning faith, but also works and their reward. Latomus instances Hebrews 6:10; 10:35; and 11:24 (misquoted as chapter 2). Again it is not clear how many passages Tyndale quoted. The Prologue to Hebrews of 1534 deals extensively with the treatment of post-baptismal sin in the book, as one might expect, but towards the end Tyndale remarks:

Moreover there is no work in all scripture that so plainly declareth the meaning and significations of the sacrifices, ceremonies and figures of the old testament, as this epistle: in so much that if wilful blindness and malicious malice were not

the cause, this epistle only were enough to weed out of the heart of the papists that cankered heresy of justifying by works, concerning our sacraments, ceremonies and all manner tradition of their own invention.⁶⁰

This serves to remind us of the liturgical dimension of works which relates to the understanding of the Mosaic cultus – Latomus's schoolmaster – and takes us back again via the Prologue to Leviticus to the rejection of the four senses of Scripture in *The Obedience*. More to our immediate point, it indicates that Tyndale found his theme in Hebrews. There is a marginal gloss at the beginning of chapter 11 (the faith chapter) which reads: 'Faith and trust in Christ only, is the life and quietness of the conscience, and not trust in works, how holy soever they appear.'⁶¹

The Exposition on Matthew (on Matthew 5:2) shows Tyndale using the chapter to show that 'by faith saints overcame kingdoms and obtained the promises'⁶² and in *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* he used Hebrews 11 to show 'how the holy fathers were saved through faith, and how faith wrought in them'.⁶³ Nevertheless, as a proof-text there are problems with the eleventh chapter. Latomus quoted 11:24 where faithful Moses 'had respect unto the reward',⁶⁴ and we should see the marginal note at the head of the chapter as a warning ('...and not trust in works how holy soever they seem')⁶⁵ – just like the one we met above by Latomus's text from Romans 2:6 ('[God] will reward every man according to his deeds').⁶⁶ The passage cannot be taken so, but you must, as Tyndale would put it, 'soyl' [solve] it.

A far more suitable text for Tyndale is 'Joshua's Rest' in Hebrews 3 and 4. At the end of chapter 3 is: 'we see that they [the Israelites who perished in the desert] could not enter in because of unbelief.' (Gloss: 'As faith is the ground of all grace, even so is unbelief the root of all sin').⁶⁷

Faith, and the law and its works, have been paired in all Tyndale's quotations we have so far either taken from Latomus or conjectured, and it is not difficult to see the balancing member here in Hebrews 4: 'For he that is entered in his rest doth cease from his own works as God did from his.' (Gloss: 'Sin is our work, from which all must cease that enter into the rest of a quiet conscience in Christ').⁶⁸

If we are correct in this identification, it may be noted that Tyndale has widened his argument from faith and works of the law to argue that 'sin is our work' which is a rather different point.

When we come to Matthew, Latomus is a little more helpful. He tells us that Tyndale quoted the blessings given freely by the Spirit, but failed to add to Matthew 5:11 the very next verse, 'Rejoice and be glad for great is your reward in heaven'.⁶⁹ Latomus then proceeds to expound 6:6. We can read Tyndale's own interpretation of the beatitudes, and indeed his interpretation of 5:7 in *The Exposition on Matthew*.⁷⁰ Recalling the persecution context we saw behind his quotation from 1 Timothy 3, we note a similar setting for Tyndale's verse here. Not just in the immediate text of 5:10 and 11: 'Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye when men revile you and persecute you, and shall falsely say all manner of evil sayings against you for my sake.'⁷¹

The whole of Tyndale's meditation on these verses in *The Exposition* is a comfort to those who suffer for the faith. When we come to his comments on 5:12, his own circumstances in Vilvorde Castle are strikingly anticipated. After reading his exposition

there⁷² one realizes it was no controversial trick to omit ‘Great is your reward in heaven’. Latomus now leaves Tyndale for a while to argue his own understanding of Paul and justification. This is by no means trivial, but I pass over it here as unhelpful in our reconstruction.

So far we have recovered a sequence of quotations which we have every reason to believe Tyndale would have used. These I have set down in Part A of the chart at the end of this essay. Taken together they constitute an argument we know to be Tyndale’s, expressed in his favourite symbols. That what we have recovered is a string of quotations should not surprise us. We remember that Tyndale’s style embraces passages of dense biblical material as well as more independent composition. We have before us one of the more biblical sections.

But there is need for caution. It now becomes apparent that Latomus is treating the areas of their disagreement in the same systematic fashion as he did their points of agreement:

Likewise we disagree on this head: you make no distinction between works which come before first justification and those which follow it in so far as concerns the power and efficiency of deserving before God, while I distinguish them as Holy Writ compels us to do. Works going before do not earn justification, but works going afterward deserve beatitude.⁷³

Latomus argues from Matthew 20:8 (the labourers’ hire) and Matthew 25:14 (the parable of the talents). No argument of Tyndale’s is presented here, nor any text. This is hardly surprising, for as he did not make the distinction which Latomus asserts, nor would have conceded its existence, he is hardly likely to have expounded it here. I have, however, set Latomus’s argument out at some length here because it may help us in our reconstruction a little later.

Latomus moves to the next point of disagreement: that by subsequent works nothing is gained by a man justified by faith, because those works do only declare, but do not increase, the inner goodness. This is exactly Tyndale’s position, and Latomus gives some clues to his arguments. What however is hidden by this systematic and tidy approach, is where in Tyndale’s book these arguments occurred. Tyndale, we are told, used a simile, namely that the fruit declares the tree good or bad but does not make it good or bad, and by this he sought to reconcile Paul and James, saying that Paul spoke of justification before God and James of outer justification before one’s neighbour. Again we need have no doubt as to the accuracy of Latomus’s remark. The distinction between those righteous before God and those righteous before the world is familiar. Tyndale explains the distinction in *The Exposition on Matthew* when commenting on the verse ‘Blessed are they which hunger and thirst for righteousness’ where he also speaks of the ‘fruits...of a Christian man’.⁷⁴ One finds the distinction also in ‘W.T. unto the Reader’ in the 1534 New Testament under the heading Repentance.⁷⁵ *The Wicked Mammon* both uses the distinction between these two righteousnesses, and also expounds the tree simile, and shows that at root it is ‘the similitude that Christ maketh in Matt vii and xii’.⁷⁶ The tree and fruit are found first in the ‘prologue’ to the 1525 Cologne Quarto, which became the *Pathway*.⁷⁷ *The Wicked Mammon* uses the distinctions between the two kinds of righteousness: ‘Was not Abraham justified of his deeds when he offered his son Isaac upon

the altar (James 2.) His deed justified him before the world: that is it declared and uttered the faith which both justified him before God and wrought that wonderful work, as James also affirmeth.^{1*}

Latomus tells us that Tyndale argued his case with reference to Abraham circumcising himself in Genesis 17, which he averred did not justify him: and by reference to Abraham's obedience in offering Isaac in Genesis 22. Latomus then puts his own case, and passes to criticize the tree simile offering a better likeness and supporting texts.²*

The nexus of texts with which Latomus here indicates that Tyndale reconciled Romans and James is fairly obvious. The texts are surely Romans 4, where Abraham is justified by faith (before his circumcision), and James 2, 'Was not Abraham justified by works?'³* These texts inevitably involve reference to Genesis 17 and 22. The resolution comes through 'the similitude Christ maketh in Mat vii and xii' and by the distinction of inner and outer justification. Clearly all this belongs together. We cannot tell where. Such an argument might follow naturally from Tyndale's discussion of Romans 3:19–25. On the other hand, Latomus could still be reading Tyndale in sequence. We shall shortly see that this is probably the case.

The next item in Latomus's systematic presentation of disagreements is Tyndale's assertion that we deserve nothing of God, because he has no need of our works, and they bring him no advantage: they are his gifts and the advantage of them returns unto us. God acts in this respect, explains Latomus, 'as if he had need'. He urges Matthew 25:40 (where the verses 'in as much as' catches his own 'as if') and similarly Matthew 10:41.⁴* Tyndale, however, ignores these 'open' passages, and declares that: God's granting everything freely for Christ's sake is to be taken to mean that to those divinely chosen he grants nothing on account of their preceding merits. Tyndale thus thinks it injurious to God, and showing ingratitude in man, if the latter should ask it as a reward for his good actions. This is confirmed for Tyndale by forms of prayer 'for thy goodness sake', 'for thy mercy', 'for thy name', 'for thy word'. Latomus returns a host of counter-examples (for Abraham's sake, Deuteronomy 9:27; for David's sake, 2 Kings 20:6)⁵* and asks, does Tyndale think all these examples are overcome by Tyndale's simile of the doctor and patient? Tyndale asserted that the patient deserves nothing of the doctor because the medicine helped the patient not the doctor.⁶*

Latomus then tells us that Tyndale asserted that God grants everything freely, which is probably an allusion to Romans 8:32. With his characteristic professional accuracy, Latomus indicates that Tyndale meant this of 'those divinely chosen', and this confirms the text, for Romans 8:30 reads: 'Moreover which he appointed before, these he also called. And which he called, them also he justified, which he justified, them he also glorified.'⁷* The gloss shows Tyndale saw here precisely the place of good works – 'God chooseth of his own goodness and mercy: calleth through the gospel; justifieth through faith and glorifieth through good works.' Glorification through good works does not, of course, mean for Tyndale the beatification Latomus understands. It may be useful at this point to note a certain similarity between the blessings freely given (*gratis donantur*) of the Spirit in the incomplete quotation from Matthew 5:12 and God giving all things freely (*largientis*) in the allusion to Romans 8:32. At present we are uncertain where to place these quotations, the remarks about prayer formulae, or the simile of doctor and patient.

Latomus now proceeds to a long and sophisticated discussion, with authorities, of jus-

tification by faith and the merits of works both in Christ and in the believer, which again we omit. He indicates clearly that Tyndale had challenged him to say that grace precedes good works. Latomus can say this and more, yet nothing he says prevents him drawing the conclusion that still those goods works earn the reward of everlasting life 'for he that cometh to God must believe that God is and that he is a rewarder of them that seek him.'⁶⁵

When Latomus adds 'what I have said is not at variance with Luke 15 [he means Luke 17:10]'. The text is: 'we are unprofitable servants. We have done that which it was our duty to do'. We can have no doubt that this is Tyndale's text. Tyndale's margin has 'In works may no faith be put, for by them is no man justified before God but by Christ's blood only'.⁶⁶ The servant parables of Jesus must feature inevitably in any discussion of the merit of works based upon the biblical text. Latomus, we may recall, has already made use of Matthew 20 and 25, and the continuation of the latter 'For I thirsted and ye gave me no meat...&c'⁶⁷ he also lays in service. Luke 17:10 must have been Tyndale's decisive answer to these passages, the text by which he 'soyled' the others.

Latomus cleverly reinterprets the scenario presupposed in Luke 17. Then the debate turns to the question of God's distributive justice. Latomus concludes that Lutherans, 'your sectaries', can allow no place in God's treatment of the justified, but must interpret 'thou renderest to every man according to his works'⁶⁸ as applying to evildoers only. This is not Latomus conducting Tyndale's argument for him: such is not his way. He produces texts to argue against this understanding (Romans 2:6; 2 Corinthians 5:10; 2 Timothy 4:8; 2 Thessalonians 1:6–7) and does so because the distinction has already been introduced. He goes on to concede that God cannot be made a debtor to his own creature (Tyndale's text had been Romans 11:35: he also proved the point from Isaiah), yet argues that this is not entailed in his position. Latomus asks in passing 'Who is there who will ask God why he did so? Who will be his advisor and say God ought to have decided not in this way but otherwise?' This is a quotation of Isaiah 40:13. Thus one suspects this passage (with the nations like a drop from a bucket) is that which Tyndale used, together with Romans 11:35, to show God was no debtor to his creatures. Latomus continues with: a like answer may be made to your objection that our work is not useful to God but may be useful to our neighbour. Considering this last quotation of Tyndale with the material which has gone before, we find it entirely as Tyndale would have argued: that God gives all things by the Spirit to those justified; that his distributive justice is seen only in his dealings with the unjustified, otherwise he would be in debt to his creatures: and that the significant distinction here is between what is useful to God and what is useful to our neighbours.⁶⁹

Latomus gives us no more but pursues his own argument and then adds: but more of this in the second book. This may be the tiniest of editorial glosses – just a few helpful words tacked on the end. There is of course no doubt that it is editorial; it cannot be part of the real reply to Tyndale because Tyndale had not yet written his 'second book' to which the second *Confutation*, here referred to, is a reply. On the other hand, more suspicion may be justified: if the first book of Latomus has been brought to an end by a writer who already knows what is yet to come in the second book, it is possible that his editorial activities are greater than a final note. Indeed the possibility is open of a broader reshaping of the *Confutations* after the debate itself was over. Thus we may not know exactly what texts (and when) were placed before Tyndale or how much they resembled the current text of our *Confutations*. We can, however, not proceed from such suspicions

– that we cannot be sure of the precise text of the documents actually exchanged between the two men in prison – to a more reckless scepticism. There is no doubt that Latomus has here produced a serious and scholarly refutation of Tyndale's work, and that Tyndale did hold the views which Latomus says he did. Nor can it be doubted that what may be recovered of Tyndale's work is in fact the whole outline. We now turn to consider this.

If one looks at the tabular summary below, in which are recorded Tyndale's texts under Latomus's controversial headings, one sees that although Latomus argues systematically by disputed topic, nevertheless the sequence of quotations from Tyndale revealed displays a logical and attested course of argument that one cannot imagine being much altered. I suggest that Latomus did in fact follow Tyndale sequentially, and that his analysis by heading is not necessarily incompatible with this. If one writes a response to anyone's text, one has both to deal with that text and order one's own comments about some points. Latomus headings arise naturally from the place in Tyndale's text which had been reached, and to raise his points where he did required no feats of intellectual gymnastics; in fact it was all rather obvious. Further when we consider similar controversial literature of the time (and we need go no further than Tyndale's *Answer to Sir Thomas More* and More's subsequent reply), we find the opponents moving sequentially through the text before them.

But the point needs more substantiation. The quotations in the Part A are clearly sequential. The key and the veil and even Galatians 3:24 are utterly characteristic of a Tyndale beginning, as we have shown at some length. That he should begin with the great Lutheran texts from Romans is an obvious move. The quotations which follow are used in a fashion that we can show Tyndale used. They, further, each share a common balance of law and faith which makes them difficult to separate. If our conjectural identification of the Hebrews texts is correct, the sequence may have ended with texts further deepening the contrast but also with a more exhortational force. That we noted persecution contexts at the beginning and end of the sequence in 2 Timothy and Matthew we cannot claim as a rhetorical *inclusio*, as they do not lie on the surface of the text. But there is no doubt the first section is one sequential list.

The contents of the Part B form one argument making a single point and cannot be separated. The question is: did the material in Part B stand between the material of Parts A and C in Tyndale? I believe it did. First, because we have a growing presumption of sequential quotation. Second, because a discussion of the relationship between faith and works belongs almost inevitably after a sequence of texts contrasting the law and faith. Third, because we may perhaps find a thread of argument which binds together the last quotation in section A (that is Matthew interpreted to speak of the blessings given by the Spirit) and the first quotation in section C, the Romans 8 quotations, God giving us all things freely with his Son. These two texts may well form an *inclusio* with the material of section B which reconciles faith and works by the figure of the tree and the fruit of the spirit lying between them.

The last part of Tyndale's book was concerned to argue that works done after justification do not earn merit. What we can know of this we find under section C, where Latomus tackled Tyndale's assertion that God had no need of our works. The simile of the doctor and the patient, the parable of the unprofitable servants, and the confining of God's distributive justice to the unjustified all argue that God is not man's debtor and has no need of our works. It is also characteristic of Tyndale that he ended his argument by

a reminder that though God has no need of our works, our neighbour has.

What we have therefore have discovered (by virtue of our sections for Latomus's controversial headings) is a three-part work. Part one declares that faith is the key (section A), part two inevitably has to explain the relationship between faith and works (section B) and the last section denies the merit of good works. Given the necessity of part B as a transitional passage to the coherence of parts A and B we may perhaps subsume it under one of the other parts – let us say under part C. We then have a text which corresponds exactly to Tyndale's book as Latomus described it in his introductory letter to Livinius Crucius: 'he wrote a book on this theme that faith alone justifies before God. In that book he strove to take away all the merit of good works...' We may feel confident that we have now for the first time reconstructed that book with a fair degree of probability.

Tyndale's second book

Two considerations give further confidence in our reconstruction of Tyndale's book above. The first is *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* (1528). We have used the book sparingly in reconstructing Tyndale's last work, but if it is now compared with our reconstruction the similarities are striking. That is not to say they are the same book, but they deal with the same issues, with the same arguments, texts, metaphors and symbols. There is a convenient analysis of the structure of *The Wicked Mammon* in Daniell,⁹⁰ which it is interesting to compare with our reconstruction. As we read the text itself, the conviction grows stronger that the book we have reconstructed above really is a Tyndale text. The second consideration is the beginning of the second *Confutation*. This, asserts Latomus's introductory letter to Livinius Crucius, answers Tyndale's reply to Latomus's first *Confutation*. 'Therefore he wrote a second book more fully upon the same assertion, indeed on virtually all articles in which Lutherans contradict the sound doctrine of the church'.⁹¹

The second *Confutation* replies again to that same assertion; the third *Confutation* is the text which deals with the other Lutheran articles. Thus the second *Confutation* begins by stating that 'same assertion'. It has two parts: that faith is the key to the saving understanding of Scripture and that (and here Latomus quotes): 'God the father so grants all things freely through Christ that he gives nothing in respect of any work or because of any work inward or outward.'⁹² Throughout this second book, says Latomus, Tyndale used all his prolix collections and assertions to support this. He 'attributed much to the grace of God and the gifts which God gives to his elect through Christ when he justifies those who have been called pouring into their hearts the Holy Spirit'.⁹³ This 'same assertion' is quite in line with Tyndale's first book as we have reconstructed it. It is also clear from Latomus that it was by a reiteration of his two fundamental points that Tyndale began his second book.

Latomus offers a brief denial of the second point before accusing Tyndale of taking away all merit even from the just man by saying (and he quotes):

... that a man does not deserve from God glory or eternal life by any works of his own, any more than Paul on his journey to Damascus deserved to be justi-

fied by Christ, since by those works and intentions Paul deserved not justification but eternal damnation, or 'deserved' it only in the same way as Adam's sin deserves to be redeemed by Christ's Passion, as Gregory says 'O felix culpa, which deserved to have such and so great a redeemer.'⁹⁴

Latomus allows himself to pause but for a moment to clarify Gregory's sense. Then he sets out in further detail Tyndale's argument: God gave to the blessed Paul, from the beginning, that perfection which his soul now possesses, or will possess after the resurrection: and that God yet willed him to remain in this world, and to do what he did in time in his office as teacher and apostle.⁹⁵ Thus Paul with all his good works merited nothing, just as the blessed angels deserve nothing by the service which they minister to us and under God procure our salvation. Paul did not merit anything by his good works at any time when he was in this life. This constitutes a denial of any merit towards God, to which merit God according to justice grants eternal life. Then, says Latomus, Tyndale added the remark that he did not wish to argue about words or be contentious.

It may be the case that Tyndale used no Scripture in this argument. At least Latomus gives no texts. But from what we know of Tyndale elsewhere, it is surprising to find him not grounding his whole case in the very words of the Bible. Is it possible to know what texts Tyndale would have used to establish the argument sketched out with such clarity by Latomus above? I think it is. Acts 9 tells the story of the conversion of Saul to Paul. Saul's murderous intent towards the church at the very moment of his conversion is the point which Tyndale has taken from the narrative. But his argument then moves on to assert that (for the reasons stated) 'Paul with all his good works merited nothing'. At this point we may notice the 1534 marginal references at Acts 9. They are not, as one might expect, to the obvious parallel accounts of the conversion in Acts 22 and 26. Rather, they direct our attention to 1 Corinthians 15 and 2 Corinthians 12.⁹⁶ When one turns up the passages, one realises immediately that they are essentially expositional, and the argument they briefly annotate is that reported by Latomus. 1 Corinthians 15 does have a passing reference to the Damascus Road, but observe where the weight of the passage lies:

...and last of all he was seen of me, as of one born out of due time. For I am the least of the apostles, which am not worthy to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the congregation of God. But by the grace of God I am that I am. And his grace which was in me, was not in vain: but I laboured more abundantly than they all, not I, but the grace of God that is with me.⁹⁷

One cannot doubt that, for Tyndale, this passage is about Paul with his good works meriting nothing. There is nothing in 2 Corinthians 12, the second marginal reference, about the Damascus Road, but the marginal note there (rather implausibly) relates the man who was taken up into paradise in some way to Acts 9. The whole of 2 Corinthians 11 and 12, however, to which the marginal note gives us the entry, are about Paul's 'boasting'.⁹⁸ They list his exploits and his visions, but then pass through the thorn in his flesh to the Lord's assurance that his grace was sufficient for him. Paul then confesses his own weakness, knowing that thus the strength of Christ might dwell in him. Both of these margin references are markers to the exposition Tyndale placed before Latomus.

Latomus now turns to ‘examples’ which Tyndale gave in making his case; yet it would appear that there is only one allegory in view. Latomus argues against it under three heads but he never gives us Tyndale’s comparison itself. From Latomus’s disagreement, we gather it concerned a man who cultivated his field at an agreed price, and others who cultivated their fields without an agreement. Tyndale had asserted that their works were ‘of one quality and value’. What was the point of Tyndale’s parable? It is by no means clear, but I suggest that Tyndale is replying specifically to a point raised by Latomus in his first *Confutation*. Latomus made as one of his headings of disagreement Tyndale’s failure to differentiate between works which precede first justification, and those which follow it. He quoted servant parables from Matthew 20 and 25 to illustrate his point. Tyndale had apparently said nothing on the topic which we conjectured was of Latomus’s own introduction. What we know of this parable of Tyndale would appear to assert that the intrinsic value of works is in no way altered by the contractual (i.e. covenantal) status of the labourers. It is thus a suitable riposte to Latomus point. That this interpretation is correct is made probable by Latomus’s assertion when criticizing the shortcomings of the parable: ‘Meritorious works by their very nature *setting aside any agreement or positive ordinance*, possess dignity, value and perfection, which qualities are absent from non-meritorious works.’⁹⁹

The words underlined match the contract in the parable with the covenant in Christian conversion.

In his defence of the merit of good works, Latomus criticizes Tyndale’s statement that: ‘man is an instrument with which God works; therefore in any good work no praise is due to man, any more than to the sling or stone or sword with which David slew Goliath’.¹⁰⁰ The argument of instrumentality we know to be Tyndale’s. It was taken to be a denial of free will by his opponents, and Tyndale’s point is thus found more fully expounded in *The Answer to Sir Thomas More’s Dialogue* in 1531:

...in respect of God we do but suffer only, and receive power to do all our deeds, whether we do good or bad: as Christ answered Pilate, that he could ‘have no power against him except it were given him from above’; and no more could Judas neither. But in respect of the thing, wherein or wherewith we work, and shed out again the power that we have received, we work actually: as the axe doth nothing in respect of the hand that heweth, save receive; but in respect of the tree that is cut, it worketh actually and poureth out again the power that it hath received.¹⁰¹

Such an argument is well placed here. So far in this book, after an initial restatement of his two fundamental propositions, Tyndale has shown that works prior to justification bring no merit (the case of Paul); he has shown that there is no difference between works before and after justification to counter Latomus’s assertion in his first *Confutation* (the parables of the labourers’ hire, and of the talents, in Matthew 20 and 25) and now we learn that good works of the justified are essentially the works of the Spirit – God working in us.

Latomus had urged God’s covenants as an argument against Tyndale’s instrumentality (for does not, say, Deuteronomy 10, indicate clearly what one must *do* to be deserving?). He tells us that Tyndale mentioned covenants, including erroneously a ‘pact with

the devil'. Turning to consider the devil and sin, Latomus states that Tyndale had said that we sin because our charity towards God and our neighbour is not as warm as Christ's. This Latomus refutes. He then finds Tyndale in error in saying that concupis-
cence in holy men is the greatest sin but not accounted to them.¹⁰²

The brevity of the preceding summary must not conceal from us that we are approaching the heart of Tyndale's second book, and that here in précis is much of his Gospel. There is perhaps no clearer guide to Tyndale's thought here than 'W.T. unto the Reader' at the beginning of the 1534 New Testament. Having spoken of the hypocrites who leav-
en the Scripture with false glosses and those who lock it up where it should save the soul (the third paragraph recapitulates all the themes we examined earlier), Tyndale states the correct approach to understanding Scripture, which is through the covenants made between God and us which are the profession of our baptism.

Wherefore I have ever noted the covenants in the margin and also the promis-
es. Moreover where thou findest a promise and no covenant expressed there-
with, thou must understand a covenant. For all the promises of the mercy and
grace that Christ has purchased for us are made upon condition that we keep the
law. As for an example: when the scripture saith (Matthew 7) 'Ask and it shall
be given you: seek and ye shall find: knock and it shall be opened unto you'. It
is to be understood, if that when thy neighbour asketh, seeketh or knocketh to
thee, thou then shew him the same mercy which thou desirest of God, then hath
God bound himself to help thee again, and else not.¹⁰³

Here then is a crucial link of Gospel and hermeneutics where the marginalia mark out both promise and (always) obligation. *The Wicked Mammon* indicates how seriously Tyndale took this duty of showing mercy; he speaks of indigent Christians having 'as good a right to thy goods as thyself' and the man who withholds them as a thief.¹⁰⁴ Earlier in that work he remarked that in the face of another's need men (wrongly) believe they do no wrong in keeping honestly earned wealth.¹⁰⁵ The very beginning of *The Exposition in Matthew* emphasizes that it is no accident that Christ began his first sermon with poverty of spirit, a virtue quite contrary to that of covetousness.¹⁰⁶ His exposition of Matthew 6:19–21¹⁰⁷ exposes covetousness as 'the mortal foe and sworn enemy both of true doctrine and true living', and shows covetousness is to blame for pretty well every-
thing. In *The Practice of Prelates* Tyndale traces the decay of Christendom to covetous-
ness, and none of his controversial writings fails to level an accusation of covetousness against the Pope and the priesthood.¹⁰⁸ This is the ethical centre of Tyndale's preaching:
we sin because our charity is not as warm as Christ's.

Latomus disputes with Tyndale that it is because of God's 'pact with the devil' that the devil dominates over sinful man. Tyndale's text here was undoubtedly the 'proto-
evangelium' in Genesis 3; '...I will put hatred between thee [the serpent] and the woman,
and between thy seed. And her seed: and that seed shall tread thee on the head, and thou
shall tread it on the heel'.¹⁰⁹ Tyndale places this first in his list of covenants in *The Pathway*¹¹⁰ before Abraham and others. The difference between Latomus and Tyndale is explicable when we remember that for Tyndale 'whatsoever is not of faith, that same is sin'¹¹¹ and that one cannot escape the devil (sin, death, hell) without this seed of the
woman which is Christ.¹¹² *The Pathway* further provides a description of our natural state

as 'our fellowship with damned devils, under the power of darkness and rule of Satan'.¹¹³ who is described as 'our lord, and our ruler, our head, our governor, our prince, yea, and our god'.¹¹⁴ But it is in the exposition of 1 John 3:8–9, as we might expect, that perhaps the clearest account is given of the contrast between those whose father is the devil and the sons of God.¹¹⁵ Latomus and Tyndale have very different notions of sin, and these are naturally parallel to their different notions of the merit of good works. A further helpfully instructive confrontation of the two views may be found in *The Answer to Sir Thomas More*.¹¹⁶

We have here then the core of the first part of Tyndale's second book: a Lutheran account of the work of Christ in the justified, which is expressed inevitably in the warmth of a man's charity to his neighbour. And by contrast an account of covetousness as the most powerful and destructive of vices which betokens the paternity of the devil. Latomus tells us that Tyndale was wrong to say that concupiscence was the greatest sin in holy men. We may wonder therefore to what extent the 'hypocrites' were castigated here.

Latomus now passes to a long and carefully worded definition of merit, supported by appropriate Scriptures. Within Latomus's own three-volume work, this is the climax of his treatment of Tyndale's attack upon the merits of a just man's works. It is long and precise and is clearly intended as the victor's summary. Again, we shall omit this, except insofar as it helps our reconstruction.

At one point in this passage Latomus writes to Tyndale: 'You say there is no such thing as good deserving, because if God did not render to the just man his reward or life everlasting, He would be doing him no injustice: nor is God obliged by the just man's good work to reward him; ergo [a consequence Latomus denies] the just man is not deserving in the sight of God.'¹¹⁷

Well, the point is clearly Tyndale's; *The Exposition on Matthew* makes it at length.¹¹⁸ But where should the fragment be placed? Here or elsewhere with similar material? In another place in this passage Latomus says:

...but you say this is a good argument: life everlasting is granted to the just out of grace and because of grace: therefore not out of works for what is given out of grace is not owed, and what is given out of works is owed. Now it is impossible for the same thing to be owed and not owed to the same person and by the same person, for thus speaks the Apostle in Romans 4:4 and 11:6, and Ephesians 2:8–9.¹¹⁹

These passages are:

Romans 4:4: To him that worketh, is the reward not reckoned of favour: but of duty. To him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, is his faith counted for righteousness.¹²⁰

Romans 11:6: If it be of grace, then it is not of works. For then were grace no more grace. If it be of works, then is it no more grace. For then were deserving no longer deserving.(The margin has 'Grace and works are contrary things.')¹²¹

Ephesians 2:8: For by grace are ye made safe through faith, and not of your-

selves. For it is the gift of God, and cometh not of works, lest any man should boast himself.¹²²

Latomus himself makes reference after this passage to 1 Corinthians 4:7: ‘What hast thou, that thou hast not received? If thou have received it, why rejoicest thou (*quid gloriaris*), as though thou haddest not received it?’¹²³ and 1 Corinthians 1:31: ‘He that glorieth let him glory in the Lord.’¹²⁴

We have here a good series of Tyndalian texts, and they seem make a single point, with which we are familiar. It is similar to the argument about boasting we met at the beginning of Tyndale’s second book, when dealing with Paul. We may be tempted to place these remarks there, but we shall provisionally leave them here at this point in our reconstruction, as this has proved the correct procedure until now.

The purpose of these passages when taken altogether is, however, not quite to make the point about boasting, though they also carry that message. Both of the statements of Latomus quoted above show that the thematic interest in these quotations is the ‘reward’ of eternal life. Thus we read there ‘God did not render to the just man his reward or life everlasting...’ and ‘Life everlasting is granted to the just...’¹²⁵ Tyndale may thus be imagined at this point to have turned to the final ‘reward’ of the just. This is made almost certain when we find that Latomus next says: ‘nor does it tend against the notion of desert that God’s love towards the predestinated and elect, by which he first loved us, is eternal.’¹²⁶ The argument of Tyndale is this: God does not give the just a final reward for their works: rather their final lot has been assured by his love for them from the beginning. A passage from *The Answer to More* will enable us to see how Tyndale would have argued this point and in connection with Paul. The passage also sums up much of the teaching of our reconstructed second book with respect to the work of God in fallen men.

Nay, God is ever fatherly-minded toward the elect members of his church. He loved them, ere the world began, in Christ (Eph. i). He loveth them while they be yet evil, and his enemies in their hearts, ere they be come unto the knowledge of his Son Christ, and ere his law be written in their hearts; as a father loveth his young son, while he is yet evil, and ere it know the father’s law to consent thereto.

And after they be once actually of his church, and the law of God and faith in Christ written in their hearts, their hearts never sin any more though (as Paul saith, Rom vii) the flesh doth in them that the spirit would not. And when they sin of frailty, God ceaseth not to love them still; though he be angry, to put a cross of tribulations upon their backs, to purge them and to subdue the flesh unto the spirit or to all-to [altogether] break their consciences with threatening of the law, and to fear them with hell: as a father, when his son offendeth him, feareth him with the rod, but hateth him not.

God did not hate Paul, when he persecuted, but had laid up mercy for him in store; though he was angry with him, to scourge him and to teach him better. Neither were those things laid on his back, which he afterward suffered to make satisfaction for his fore sins but only to serve his brethren and to keep the flesh under. Neither did God hate David when he had sinned, though he was angry with him. Neither did he after suffer to make satisfaction to God for his old sins,

but to keep his flesh under, and to keep him in meekness, and to be an example for our learning.¹²⁷

After Latomus's full and scholarly presentation of the orthodox definition of merit which formed the climax of his refutation of Tyndale's basic theme, he obviously felt sufficiently confident that his readers would now see the truth clearly and comprehensively for him to try a new controversial technique quite contrary to his previous practice – verbatim quotation. After Latomus's magisterial definition, verbatim quotation will display Tyndale's absurdity 'so that the reader may see', even if Tyndale closes his eyes to it. (That Tyndale himself is not the intended reader could not be clearer.) Latomus quoted a passage and then, phrase by phrase, he worked through it. It is an impressive and detailed hatchet-job, and, most persuasive, for every phrase of the heretic is shown to be utterly misguided. We lay aside, however, Latomus's attacks, to quote Tyndale's conclusion to the first part of his second book verbatim and without interruption:

Works are the last things that are required in the law, and they do not fulfill the law before God. In works we are always sinning, and our thoughts are unclean. The charity which would fulfill the Law is colder than ice among us; we live therefore by faith as long as we live in the flesh, and by faith we conquer the world, 'for this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith' (1 John 5:4). Our faith is in God through Christ, because his charity by which he overcame all the temptations of the devil is counted to us. From faith then comes it that the promise is firm to the seed of them that believe that by the deeds of the law, there shall no flesh be justified in the sight of God.' (Romans 3:20)¹²⁸

We have already seen that after an initial restatement of his two major theses, Tyndale addressed the subject of works prior to justification. He showed in answer to Latomus that there was no intrinsic difference between works before and after justification, and then explained how our good works were to be understood as God working in us (his instruments). How this is so, we now know him to have explained by describing man's natural depravity (the pact with the devil) and the gift of salvation. We noted how seriously Tyndale took the duties (covenants) which come with the promises. This led him to expect great charity of the justified, and to see covetousness as the vice responsible for the corruption of the church. The passages which followed showed that eternal life is not a reward for good works but has been God's gift to the elect from before the world began. The whole matter is summarized at the end of this first part of the second book in a typically Tyndalian way (we recall the 'Rehearsal' at the end of *The Obedience*)¹²⁹ in the final quotation we have preserved verbatim.

Tyndale's Second Book and the Second Part

Latomus's third *Confutation* is something of a disappointment. It answers the second part of Tyndale's second book, in which he wrote on 'virtually all the articles in which the Lutherans contradict the sound doctrine of the church'.¹³⁰ The articles are answered clearly and competently but there is virtually no interaction with Tyndale. One cannot help

feeling that all this is perhaps a little off-the-peg: but it serves Latomus's purpose perfectly. His purpose is to place a clear and authoritative statement of true doctrine in respect of the disputed articles before the reader. Latomus's pretext is that Tyndale had asked his opinion on the points under dispute – and he is giving it. But, for our purposes of reconstruction, we have little more than the headings of the dispute. These are listed in the analysis of the second part of Tyndale's second book, below.¹³¹

We know Tyndale's views on these disputed articles, and so we may proceed briefly to indicate what Tyndale would have said under the various heads. Whilst it cannot be proven that the order of the articles is Tyndale's, the prominent position of the keys argues for this, and the final article about the pope embraces the other disputed articles in a way we can easily imagine from his pen. Latomus however must be responsible for the positive wording of some of the headings (e.g. articles 5, 15 and 16). The articles develop the theological and ecclesiastical consequences of the two great Lutheran doctrines upon which Tyndale had based his book; that a person is justified by faith alone, and that the justified does not earn merit by good works. Taken together, the articles constitute an assault upon the hierarchy of the church, the priesthood and the religious. They redefine the sacraments and deny purgatory and the cult of the saints. These articles should not therefore be seen as an appendix to the arguments of the first part of Tyndale's second book, but rather their immediate practical challenge.

Many of the articles will be familiar to readers of *The Obedience. The Answer to More* similarly provides useful explications of Tyndale's doctrines in a controversial context, but nearly all Tyndale's work might be laid under contribution on some point or other. We may be excused if we pass over the conflicting definitions of faith and charity (articles 1 and 2), for we have discussed these extensively. Latomus gives us one of his rare clues in this book to Tyndale's text, but it is merely to say that Tyndale held that faith necessarily or naturally produced charity and that he supported this by reference to 2 Peter 15.¹³² Similarly we have no need to delay over the keys, article 3. Latomus lets us know that Tyndale blamed the holy Fathers of the Church for being 'blind and fleshly-minded' for disagreeing with his interpretation in which he attributed: '...the power of opening and closing only to one who as a preacher declares to the sinner his just sentence of damnation and makes him run to seek grace, like Peter preaching on the day of Pentecost.'¹³³

We have met this before almost word for word. This is Tyndale's favourite image for attacking the pope and the priesthood. Peter exercises his keys in preaching, not in any of those illegitimate 'bindings and loosings' to which the priests pretend.

Let us now turn to the priesthood, article 4. Sir Thomas More rebuked Tyndale for setting down 'senior' instead of 'priest' as his translation of *presbyteros* in the New Testament.¹³⁴ Tyndale had by then fixed upon 'elder', but the enormity remained.¹³⁵ For the office of the New Testament *presbyteros* had nothing to do with the Church's priesthood. Tyndale denied (in the *Answer to More*) that the 'oiling and the shaving' had any part in the office.¹³⁶ He explains in *The Obedience* that the priest is an elder chosen by the congregation to preach and no mediator. The priesthood is not a sacrament.¹³⁷ 'W.T. unto the Reader' explains the term for English Bible readers: '...They be officers and servants of the word of God, unto which all men both low and high that will not rebel against Christ must obey as long as they preach and rule truly and no longer.'¹³⁸

That close, 'and no longer', is momentous. Latomus in addressing this last point

(making article 5) indicates that Tyndale justified withdrawal from obedience or subjection to prelate, superior or bishop on the grounds that he was a bad man who did not live by the rule of God's law. His text was 2 Thessalonians 3:6 'withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh inordinately'.¹³⁹ Latomus continues: 'you are wrong in saying that if a bishop be not blameless but drunken or a brawler or immoral, either he is not a bishop, or that he is not to be obeyed when his teaching or commands are not good.'¹⁴⁰ It is because Tyndale sees the elder as both a servant and an appointee of the household that he allows the household to dissent from him. Latomus believes that a consecrated priest is a servant of God, who has set him up over his fellow servants and by whom alone he will be judged.

The priesthood is still in view when we turn to article 6, where Latomus devotes considerable space to restating the true doctrine with respect to vows, and also oaths in article 7. The discussion deals with vows of matrimony and continence and makes fairly obvious the issue. Tyndale had attacked the celibacy of the clergy and religious, which was confirmed with a vow. Martin Luther had married a nun: this was a notorious and emblematic case of broken vows. No one who has read More's *Confutation of Tyndale's Answer*, or even just dipped into it, can be unaware of the overpowering presence of this issue.¹⁴¹ The issue however is not merely personal or biographical. A passage from *The Exposition on 1 John* shows how the criticism of vows of celibacy arises directly from central doctrine: '...out of the false presumption of works sprang the wicked vows of religion which they vow to make satisfaction for sin and to be higher in heaven instead of the life of penance Christ taught us in the gospel, to tame the flesh, and to crucify the members withal...'.¹⁴²

This may be followed by Tyndale's succinct statement of his position in *The Answer to More*: 'Lawful vows are to be kept, until necessity break them. But unlawful vows are to be broken immediately.'¹⁴³ But no reader of Tyndale can believe that his animus against the Church was merely a doctrinal deduction. He thought that the Church which he saw was corrupt. It despised matrimony and vowed celibacy but whored, it vowed poverty but indulged in covetousness, and it vowed obedience only so that it might be disobedient to all the laws of God and man (*Exposition of 1 John*).¹⁴⁴ What Tyndale says about vows comes from doctrine but also from experience.

Neither Latomus nor Tyndale is prepared to interpret Christ's words in Matthew 5:32 as a prohibition of all oaths – particularly in a judicial context.¹⁴⁵ What Tyndale found forbidden there was swearing between neighbour and neighbour and in all private business and daily communication. In *The Exposition of Matthew*, on 5:33–7, he explained that 'one must not swear to do wrong, and certainly one is bound only to break such oaths.'¹⁴⁶ 'For customizable swearing, though we lied not, doth rob the name of God of his due reverence and fear'. Although judicial oaths are necessary on occasion, Tyndale deprecates in *The Obedience* judges who 'break up the consciences of men after the example of Anti-christ's disciples and compel them to forswear themselves by the almighty God and by the holy gospel of his merciful promises, or to testify against themselves...'.¹⁴⁷ Such was Caiaphas's way. It was also the way some reformers had been handled.

Fasting (article 8) was part of the rhythm of pre-Reformation life. Adults were required to fast for about seventy days in the year, the bulk of these in Lent. The Lutheran Gospel compelled a reappraisal of this customary religious practice. Tyndale wrote in *The Exposition of Matthew*: 'The true use of fasting...is to tame the flesh unto the spirit

that the soul may attend to the word of God and pray through faith.' Fasting is not a work which earns merit. Like almsgiving and prayer, there are no rules about when to do it, but the justified will control their desires through diet.¹⁴⁸ Nor is it accidental that this passage in *The Exposition* links inseparably prayer, almsgiving and fasting as necessary symptoms of a lively faith. Latomus's article 13, 'On the Justification of the Impious', describes how the orthodox convert makes use of these three to 'obtain the Grace of God more easily'.¹⁴⁹ Such a view is of course impossible for Tyndale, and his remarks about fasting give a pointedly different account of the matter.

In August 1534 George Joye assisted in the printing of a pirated version of Tyndale's New Testament. It contained unauthorized alterations, one of which drew forth an immediate intervention from Tyndale himself which we now read as 'William Tyndale, Yet Once More to the Christian Reader'. Joye had in places removed the word 'resurrection' and substituted 'life after this life'. He had turned a false gloss into Tyndale's biblical text and polluted the source. While the word 'resurrection' remained in its proper places in the text the doctrine was clear:

I believe according to the open and manifest scriptures and catholic faith, that Christ is risen again in the flesh which he received of his mother the blessed virgin Mary, and body wherein he died. And that we shall all both good and bad rise both flesh and body, and appear together before the judgment seat of Christ, to receive every man according to his deeds. And that the bodies of all that believe and continue in the true faith of Christ, shall be endued with like immortality and glory as is the body of Christ.¹⁵⁰

But if the biblical text was perverted by false translation at any point, then people might be misled, and there could be no way to correct false doctrine.

Beyond this certain article of faith, Tyndale was agnostic. He was uncertain over the whereabouts of departed souls who await the resurrection, though he was not persuaded they were already in glory. But no matter: the doctrine was clear, provided only the text was allowed to stand.

The doctrine may have been clear, but it was not the teaching of the Church. 'The heathen philosophers denying (the resurrection) did put that souls did ever live.' By this blend of paganism and Christianity the pope had put the souls of the departed in heaven, hell and purgatory, thus 'destroy[ing] the arguments wherewith Christ and Paul prove the resurrection' (*The Answer to More*).¹⁵¹ The consequences of this reasoning were enormous: the pope's 'poetry' (that is, fiction) of purgatory was emptied, and the cult of the saints and their powers of intercession rendered groundless. This was to strike deep into the heart of the Church's religious life; it recast all notions of the relations between the living and the dead; it rendered otiose masses for the dead and the social configurations within the parish which promoted them; it touched the wealth, power and very function of the church. Changing notions of the world to come imperilled the very fabric of this world. Purgatory became that daily struggle by which in this world we attempt to tame the flesh.¹⁵² The saints became examples that we should 'submit ourselves to be scholars of the same school' (*The Answer to More*).¹⁵³ And once again the revolution proceeds from the two basic doctrinal assertions of the first and second books of the 'the Key'. As Tyndale wrote in *The Obedience*: 'We pray God to save us through the merits of deserv-

ings of the saints (which saints yet were not saved by their own deservings themselves').¹⁵⁴

That is, if no merit attaches to the works of the justified, the saints can have none with which to help us. Latomus quoted Augustine at Tyndale in protest at his denial of the saints' merits and the assistance of their prayers. On the other hand Tyndale too could muster authorities and we find him doing so on the related issue of the images of the saints (article 11) in *The Answer to More*, where he asserts the veneration of images was not allowed in the early church and that they should be removed from churches. The temptation they present to a false faith is almost irresistible, as we may learn from the Old Testament narratives: they do not remain memorials or signs but become 'believed in', that is idols.¹⁵⁵

Tyndale's account of the sacraments (articles 14 and 15) is similar. Sacraments are signs which contain the spiritual promises of God in Christ; that is to say, they preach the word of God to us to save us. This is, of course, essentially the same account as that Tyndale gave of the priesthood, as well as of what might be a theoretically acceptable image, did not charity prevent us putting temptation in people's way. The only sacraments which survive this criterion are those of the body and blood of Christ and baptism. In respect of Tyndale's precise sacramental theology, it is helpful to recall Tyndale's advice by letter to John Frith in the Tower not to let the physical issues which threatened to split the reformers cloud what was really important – the apprehension of the Gospel from the sign.¹⁵⁶ Tyndale, however, did write more extensively on the sacraments but perhaps thought publication untimely. 'The Supper of the Lord' was apparently found amongst his papers and not printed until after his death: it shows affinities with Frith and enraged More. Tyndale is no longer considered the author.¹⁵⁷ Similarly, *A brief declaration of the sacraments* was also found among his papers, and not printed in London until 1548. There he considered the sacraments as among the 'things indifferent', which may be held or rejected without danger of damnation, the inner faith being what makes the sacrament of the altar a rich experience – again a view which More furiously denied.¹⁵⁸

Tyndale discussed the other sacraments in *The Obedience*: they are the impositions of hypocrites who believe in salvation by holy works, and are driven by covetousness. They are examples of the 'false bindings and loosings'¹⁵⁹ of those who have locked up the kingdom of heaven and hidden the key, and may we not imagine that material very similar to the polemical passages we have examined in the extant works appeared in this last book?

It is at this stage unnecessary to address article 16 on the authority of the Roman pontiff. There is adequate evidence of Tyndale's view in what has gone before. How Tyndale went on to conclude the third book is entirely conjectural, but it may not be too fanciful to imagine a return to Matthew 16 and the keys. The beginning of Latomus's third *Confutation* mentions Tyndale's resentment of those who kept him prisoner and treated him like a malefactor, but the text allows for this to be a deduction of Latomus as much as a final complaint of Tyndale. Perhaps we shall imagine some storm about the rock, such as we met earlier in *The Obedience*.

However uncertain Tyndale's last lines are, the bulk of his last book lies clear before us. We have retrieved the structure of his text, the biblical quotations he took for support, and the allegories he 'borrowed'. More importantly we may claim that the theological arguments of his work are quite revealed, that they are complete, and that they are undoubtedly Tyndale's. Four hundred and sixty years after the daughter of the prison-

keeper at Vilvorde took this document into her hand as a memorial of that ‘*homo doctus, pius et bonus*’ (as Tyndale’s accuser Dufief admitted), who none the less spoke to ordinary people by the beautiful simplicity of his language, his saintly life and the Word that was in him, we have now for the first time read some of the lost book again. Would that we might submit ourselves to be scholars of the same school as he.

Summaries

The three tables that follow allow an overview of what has been reconstructed of Tyndale’s assertions in his two books.

1. *Tyndale’s first book.*

A. The key is faith alone without respect of works.

The Key itself	
Veil	2 Corinthians 3
	2 Timothy 3 (persecution)
Key	Luke 11:52
	Galatians 3:24 (Law)
	Romans 1:17 (faith)
	Romans 3:19–25 (Law and faith)
	2 Corinthians 3 (Law and faith)
	Galatians 2 (Law and faith)
	Hebrews 3 and 4
	Matthew 5:12 (persecution)
	(all given freely)

Works before and after justification are to be distinguished according to Latomus, who quotes Matthew 20:8 and 25:14; see 2C

B. By subsequent works nothing is gained for a person justified by faith.

Works like fruit of tree
Matthew 7 & 12
Genesis 17 and 22
Romans 4 and James 2

C. God does not need our works.

Romans 8:30–32 (all given freely)
Doctor and patient
Prayer formulae
Luke 17:10 (unprofitable servants)
God’s distributive justice confined to treatment of wicked

God not our debtor (*Romans* 11:35; *Isaiah* 40:15)
Works useful, however, to our neighbours

2. *The first part of Tyndale's second book*

A. The Two Fundamental Principles

Faith is the key to saving understanding, and no merit attaches to the works of the justified

B. The Conversion of Paul

No merit attaches to his works before conversion and no merit attached to his works after conversion (*1 Corinthians* 15 and *2 Corinthians* 12 – Paul's 'boasting')

C. The Parable of the Contracted and Uncontracted Labourers

A reply to Latomus's distinction in this first *Confutation* between works before and after justification

D. The Good Works of the Justified are essentially God working in us Instrumentality

E. The Covenants of God

Promise and obligation
The pact with the devil
The nature of sin
Children of God and children of the devil
Charity and concupiscence
The concupiscence of 'holy men'

F. The 'Reward' of Eternal Life and Predestination

Links with 'boasting' in B for structural closure
Romans 4:4; 11:6; *Ephesians* 2:8–9

G. Final Rehearsal preserved verbatim

3. *The Disputed articles for the second part of Tyndale's second book*

(The order of the articles may be Tyndale's, especially given the prominent place of the keys. The wording of some articles is obviously due to Latomus.)

1. On faith
2. On charity
3. On the keys
4. On bishops, priests and deacons

5. On obedience even to a bad prelate
6. On vows
7. On oaths
8. On fasting
9. On the saints reigning with Christ
10. On the relics of the saints
11. On the images of Christ and the saints
12. On purgatory and prayers for the dead
13. On the justification of the impious
14. On the sacraments
15. On the efficacy of the sacraments and that he who worthily receives them receives Grace
16. On the authority and prelature of the Roman pontiff over the Church and over any member of it

Notes

1. John Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, 8 vols. (4th edition, rev. and corrected by J. Pratt; Intro. by J. Stoughton, 1877), V, p. 128.
2. Paul Fredericq, *Corpus documentorum Inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis Neerlandicae* (Gent, 1900), IV, pp. 80 and xxviii. And see David Daniell, *William Tyndale: A Biography* (London, 1994), p. 375.
3. *Doctrinal Treatises and Introduction to Different Portions of the Holy Scriptures* (Henry Walter ed., The Parker Society, Cambridge, 1848 [hereafter PS I]), p. lxiii.
4. *Ibid.*, p. lxxiii.
5. Foxe, *op. cit.*, V, p. 128.
6. Robert Demaus, *William Tyndale: A Biography* (popular edition, revised by Richard Lovett, 1904), pp. 520–29.
7. J. F. Mozley, *William Tyndale* (1937), pp. 328–32.
8. Daniell, *op. cit.*, pp. 376–8.
9. Jos. E. Vercruyse, SJ, ‘Latomus and Tyndale’s Trial’, in *William Tyndale: Church, State and Word* (CUA Press, forthcoming).
10. See below, p. 345 (my own translations throughout).
11. See below, p. 345.
12. See Mozley, *op. cit.*, pp. 328–9.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 246–7.
14. Thomas More, *The Confutation of Tyndale’s Answer* (Louis A. Schuster, Richard C. Marius, James P. Lusardi and Richard J. Schoeck eds., *Complete Works of Thomas More* [hereafter CWM], 3 vols., 1973).
15. See below, p. 347.
16. See Daniell, *op. cit.*, *passim*.
17. *Expositions and Notes on...The Holy Scriptures...together with The Practice of Prelates* (Henry Walter ed., The Parker Society, Cambridge, 1849 [hereafter PS II]), p. 144.
18. PS I, 156.

19. The long 'General Prologue' found in some later manuscripts of the second Wycliffite translation, written apparently between 1395 and 1397, sets out in English, and in detail, ways of understanding the Old Testament in particular, with copious reference to the Fathers. Some Wycliffite Bible manuscripts also contain translations into English of Jerome's prefatory matter to his fourth-century Latin translation, which became the Vulgate. But both the aim and the circulation of these was necessarily limited. Tyndale's first printed work, the 'prologge' to the aborted 1525 Cologne New Testament (expanded in the *Pathway*, 1530); the *Compendious Introduction to Romans* (1526); the three-page Epilogue to his 1526 Worms New Testament; the Prologue to Jonah; the Prologues in the Pentateuch of 1530; and all the Prologues in the 1534 New Testament: many pages in all his doctrinal treatises – these, printed and increasingly widely read in Britain, were true keys to reading the Bible: short, strong and pithy.
20. Daniell, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
21. PS I, 303–31.
22. PS I, 208–24.
23. PS I, 156.
24. *Tyndale's New Testament* (David Daniell ed., London, 1989), p. 42.
25. Daniell, *William Tyndale*, pp. 119–33. Anthea Hume's unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 'A Study of the Writings of the English Protestant Exiles 1525–35' (University of London, 1961), contains an excellent analysis of the relation of Tyndale and Luther here.
26. PS I, 21, in the *Pathway*, version.
27. PS I, 27.
28. PS I, 27–8.
29. PS II, 139.
30. PS II, 39.
31. PS I, 28.
32. PS I, 389.
33. *Tyndale's New Testament*, p. 223.
34. PS I, 46.
35. *Tyndale's Old Testament* (David Daniell ed., London, 1992), p. 628.
36. PS II, 139.
37. PS II, 161–2.
38. PS II, 182.
39. *Tyndale's New Testament*, p. 111.
40. PS II, 3.
41. PS I, 46.
42. *Tyndale's New Testament*, P. 317.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 314.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 317.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 264.
46. PS III, 191.
47. *Tyndale's New Testament*, p. 278.
48. And see PS I, 48.
49. PS II, 4.

PS II, 3.

Tyndale's Old Testament, pp. 145–50.

Ibid., 85: and see *Obedience*, PS I, 209. The errors in the St Paul's sermon, by John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, on the occasion of burning Lutheran books, are the subject of a section of *The Obedience*, PS I, 208–24.

Tyndale's New Testament, p. 225.

f. 190, verso.

Tyndale's New Testament, p. 269.

PS I, 307.

PS I, 223. The Galatians test is 5:6; *Tyndale's New Testament*, p. 279.

Ibid., p. 276.

Ibid., p. 277.

Ibid., p. 347.

Ibid., p. 356.

PS II, 20.

PS II, 20.

Tyndale's New Testament, p. 358.

Ibid., p. 356.

Ibid., p. 226.

Ibid., p. 350.

Ibid., p. 350.

Ibid., p. 25.

PS II, 16–31.

Tyndale's New Testament, p. 25.

PS II, 29–31.

See below, p. 349.

PS II, 22.

Tyndale's New Testament, pp. 9–10.

PS I, 50.

PS I, 14.

PS I, 119.

See below, pp. 349–50.

Tyndale's New Testament, pp. 229–9 and 354–5.

Ibid. pp. 55–5 and 34.

Tyndale's Old Testament, pp. 271, 533.

See below, p. 350.

Tyndale's New Testament, p. 233.

See below, p. 352.

Tyndale's New Testament, p. 119.

Ibid., p. 56.

PS I, 62.

The Exposition of Matthew, PS II, 22.

Daniell, *William Tyndale*, pp. 385–6.

See below, p. 345.

See below, p. 354.

See below, p. 354.

94. See below, p. 354.
95. See below, p. 354–5.
96. *Tyndale's New Testament*, p. 177.
97. *Ibid.*, pp. 257–8.
98. *Ibid.*, p. 271.
99. See below, p. 355.
100. See below, p. 356.
101. PS III, 174–5.
102. See below, p. 357.
103. *Tyndale's New Testament*, p. 5.
104. PS I, 99.
105. PS I, 70.
106. PS II, 16.
107. PS II, 99–102.
108. PS II, 254 ff.
109. *Tyndale's Old Testament*, p. 18.
110. PS I, 9–10.
111. Romans, 14:23: *Tyndale's New Testament*, p. 240.
112. PS I, 10.
113. PS I, 14.
114. PS I, 17.
115. PS II, 190.
116. PS III, 195–200.
117. See below, p. 358.
118. PS II, 31.
119. See below, p. 358.
120. *Tyndale's New Testament*, p. 228.
121. *Ibid.* p. 236.
122. *Ibid.*, p. 283.
123. *Ibid.*, p. 247.
124. *Ibid.*, p. 245.
125. See below, p. 358.
126. See below, p. 359.
127. PS III, 111–12.
128. See below, p. 360–361: *and Tyndale's New Testament*, pp. 341 and 228.
129. PS I, 331–44.
130. See below, p. 345.
131. See below, p. 281.
132. *Tyndale's New Testament*, p. 333.
133. See below, p. 363.
134. Thomas More, *CWM*, pp. 182–4.
135. See *Tyndale's New Testament*, p. xxix; and see PS III, 116 ff.
136. PS III, 19.
137. PS I, 254 ff.
138. *Tyndale's New Testament*, p. 11.
139. *Ibid.*, p. 306.

140. See below, p. 265.
141. See Daniell, *William Tyndale*, pp. 276–7.
142. PS II, 163.
143. PS III, 185.
144. PS II, 197.
145. *Tyndale's New Testament*, p. 26.
146. PS II, 55–6.
147. PS I, 203.
148. PS II, 94.
149. See below, p. 369.
150. *Tyndale's New Testament*, p. 15.
151. PS III, 180.
152. PS III, 142.
153. PS III, 184.
154. PS I, 290; see pp. 286–96.
155. PS III, 182–3.
156. Mozley, *op. cit.*, pp. 248–9; see Daniell, *William Tyndale*, pp. 218–19.
157. See Anthea Hume, 'English Protestant Books Printed Abroad, 1525–1535: An Annotated Bibliography', in *CWM* 8, ii, 1083.
158. Daniell, *William Tyndale*, p. 222.
159. PS I, 252 ff.

Book Review

Peter Auksi, *Christian Plain Style: The Evolution of a Spiritual Ideal.* Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995, \$49.95.
ISBN 0-773-51220-9.

'In the beginning was the Word': but how does God speak? Oracularly, as at Delphi? Figuratively, as in the Book of Revelation? Threateningly, as through some Hebrew prophet? Or simply and plainly, as in the sayings, and particularly the parables, of Christ? There appears to be, as Peter Auksi puts it, 'an aura of moral virtue' as well as religious reasons for settling for the clarity of the latter. More pressing, however, is the question how one passes on the Word in sermon, exhortation, homily or lesson. Why do we feel that it is best to be plain and simple, and as Chaucer's Franklin blusfly put it, avoid all Ciceronian 'colours of rhetoric' and use only 'such colours as growen in the mede...'? George Herbert in two short poems (strikingly entitled 'Jordan', thus recognizing the firm divide of the alternatives) said, 'Shepherds are honest people, let them sing...Who plainly say, My God, my King'; and 'There is in love a sweetness ready penn'd/Copy out only that, and save expense.'

Those poems have recently been much discussed in the context of English seventeenth-century 'Plain Style'. More recently, work has been done, like that of Brian Vickers, on the Greek and Roman rhetoricians as influences on literature in English. James Murphy has surveyed medieval and early modern rhetoric. We have seen in the second half of this century the revival of attempts to analyse, rather than simply register, the very complex rhetorical influence of the Bible. Northrop Frye's *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature* (1982) comes to mind. Further, Hebrew scholars like Robert Alter, and critics of the New Testament like Frank Kermode, have begun to shed light on the way the rhetorics of the originals are transmitted and received, in the light of the latest critical theories.

The sayings and parables of Jesus, however, are often spiritually more subtle than the label 'plain and simple' would suggest. A sermon or homily addressing them needs to be able to catch some elusive senses, even if not 'at two removes', as Herbert has it. Can a simply 'plain' style work? Are not some more complex literary devices in order? After all, God's creation is itself marvellously complex, as we go on and on discovering. Can Scripture itself, in all its variety, illuminate the problem?

What we have not had, until now, is a book surveying the whole field of the uneasy relationship of Christianity and rhetoric, a marriage that began in Scripture, developed in the early Fathers, grew through the medieval richness to its height at the Renaissance and then suddenly declined at the end of the seventeenth century. Peter Auksi has supplied that book. He is learned, wise and lucid. He analyses a most formidable battery of primary sources from classical, biblical, patristic, medieval and Renaissance times, reporting easily on Latin and Greek texts, comfortably (and comfortingly) at home in the myriad technicalities of rhetoric. His survey has outstanding value in that only when he has

surveyed each field can he convincingly demonstrate the historical impulse of the western Church to simplify the arts that it had taken over.

The plain style, he notes, ultimately derives from the presence in the Bible ‘of two polarities: divine simplicity and human simplicity’. Matters, of course, are never quite so simple, and what that statement means sets Auksi first of all digging at the roots of secular classical philosophy, particularly the major Greek rhetorical traditions, of Aristotle, Isocrates and Dyonisius of Halicarnassus.

I have always been intrigued by the fact that William Tyndale, appalled to find that theology in the Oxford of his day was founded on study of Aristotle and not Scripture, worked, alongside his study of Erasmus’s Greek New Testament, on translating into English an oration of Isocrates (a translation since lost). This was partly a demonstration of his competence in Greek, which must have been high as Isocrates is far from easy. But it must also have shown that he knew and could work with the highest forms of classical Greek rhetoric, with effects on all his work that we have so far hardly begun to understand, particularly in his aims towards rhetorical simplicity.

Peter Auksi cannot write a dull sentence. On the first page is a fascinating account of the etymology of ‘simple’ through the Latin *simplex* and cognates that mean, surprisingly, folding. When Auksi in the third chapter leaves the classical world for the biblical, he notes: ‘As a guide to any mode of artistic practice, the Bible is not a promising text.’ He has already, however, given us the best short account that I have come across of the pioneering work of the German scholars Norden, Curtius and Auerbach, so that we know that the unique power of the styles of the Bible will be comprehensively presented. (Auksi’s account of Auerbach on *humilis* is exceptionally useful.) This chapter is, moreover, much more interestingly wrestling with the problems of artistic creativity inside, and in the light of, Scripture – when does creativity lead to idolatry? How does Paul’s combination of humility and artlessness work?

There follows a superb chapter on Augustine and Paul: the unchronological order is a little troubling at first, until one grasps that Auksi wants the dozen pages on the rhetoric of Paul, as fine an account as one could wish for, to be, very properly, the springboard of the second half of the book. As a student of the Reformation, I shall come back again and again to those pages; for, rightly referring to John Coolidge’s 1970 *Pauline Renaissance*, Auksi understands that the immense power of the Reformation across Europe came from the rediscovery of Paul – and not only the doctrine of justification by faith: Paul’s antitheses (particularly of flesh and spirit), his driving rhythms, rich to the point of carelessness with rhetorical schemes and tropes, his rapid-fire parataxis, his building of climaxes, all generate, most strangely, a plain and simple presence – Auksi later remarks, of Christianity, ‘the early medium of communication was the warmly personal epistle’.

A solid and compelling chapter on ‘The Church Fathers and Christian Style’ leads to their rich and confused heritage, a territory where clarity must be the only guide, ‘Medieval Rhetoric’. This long and detailed study of precisely what it means for a homiletic manual, for example, to depend not on Cicero but ‘the Holy Ghost and...artless speakers such as Christ and Paul’ includes pages on Wyclif.

Analysis of Luther, Calvin and Zwingli follows, compellingly. So clear is this chapter, that one can only look forward with impatience to Auksi on Tyndale – who gets no mention in the Index, and is only in eight words in an endnote. The omission of Tyndale

is both surprising and serious, for the next two chapters, on ‘Renaissance Plainness’ and ‘Spiritual Rhetoric and the English Reformation’ would have both different and better foundations were he present. Though he did not write a manual of rhetoric, Tyndale gave us more than enough to go on: and his influence on the manner of English Christian prose, and verse, is vast. Tyndale attacked ‘poetry’, by which he meant not high imaginative verse but the meretricious adornment of truth, and the use of decoration as cosmetic disguise of untruth. Erasmus is present here in the discussion of the flight from Cicero, as are many writers, some much less known.

Yet to discuss ‘Spiritual Rhetoric and the English Reformation’ without analysing the effects of the English Bible does look unbalanced. It is as if Auksi is suddenly blind to a colour of the spectrum – as, for example, he can mention Reuchlin and Melanchthon without noting their colossal impact on the study in Europe of Hebrew and Greek respectively, and the following transformation of understanding of Scripture, leading to seminal translations into vernaculars across the continent. Auksi is as always fresh and interesting – a mention of how the establishment of scientific English prose under the Royal Society at the Restoration was influenced by Paul’s rhetoric through John Wilkins could itself be a major study – but my only caveat about this splendid book is that what could have been a grand climax, analysing the impact of the Bible in English, is not there. He could argue, and no doubt will, that his subject was rhetoric and homiletics: yet he can quote Northrop Frye, ‘the simplicity of the Bible is the simplicity of majesty, not of equality...its simplicity expresses the voice of authority’, without apparently seeing the implications, just as Frye used the Authorized Version and seemed unaware of Tyndale. At a time when historians are being dragged (by Christopher Hill and others) into recognition that the most significant thing in sixteenth and – especially – seventeenth-century England was not economics, nor the philosophy of monarchy, nor even rising populism, though all had their place, but the English Bible, particularly the Geneva Bible and its notes, it is a pity that the one book that everyone read, the avatar of Christian Plain Style, properly treated, or even mentioned. Such a concentration would also have led him to the more significant Dissenters, rather than his slightly odd conclusion with Methodists and Quakers.

On three occasions that I noted, Auksi’s attention – or that of his editor – slipped. The phrase ‘the church triumphant’ does not mean what he thinks it does: the word *kerygma* is somewhat older than Frye’s use of it; and the story of the woman with the alabaster box in the Gospels is misunderstood.

These are very minor quibbles indeed for a very significant work. A common humanist name for an essential book (famously used by Erasmus) was *Enchiridion*, which means both ‘handbook’ and ‘dagger’, that is, something that can be grasped instantly and used at a vital moment. Peter Auksi deserves our congratulations and thanks for having read all the difficult books so well, written so refreshingly, and given us the *Enchiridion* of Christian Plain Style. My copy will sit close to my hand for many years to come.

David Daniell

Appendix I

David Norton

A table of words used by Tyndale in the Old Testament but not found in the Authorized Version, correlated with other major versions

This is a list of words and some short phrases in Tyndale's Old Testament translations which are arguably not to be found in the A.V. ('commoned' and 'unshoed' are examples of words whose inclusion is debatable). The additional material shows what four major subsequent translations (Coverdale's of 1535, the Geneva Bible, the Bishops' Bible and the A.V.) did with the given example. Where the A.V. agrees with the Geneva Bible of 1599 rather than with 1560, that is noted. The Wycliffite versions are noted only where they have the same reading as Tyndale. In addition, some words have been checked against the Great Bible. The most significant omission is a full correlation with the Great Bible and with the Douai Old Testament. The attentive reader will notice a few other minor omissions, indicated either by a blank entry or by modern spelling.

Except with the A.V., where a check against the whole of the Old and New Testaments (though not the Apocrypha) is easily made, there is always the possibility that Tyndale's word is used elsewhere. This is particularly true with the Wycliffite versions, where several of Tyndale's words such as 'neverthelater' and 'plague' can be found in other versions. If all the words on this list were fully correlated with, particularly, the Wycliffite versions (a task that electronic editions will make possible), a somewhat different picture would emerge, including a number of instances where the A.V. alone among these versions reproduces a Wycliffite turn of language.

Headwords are given in modern spelling. An asterisk indicates obsolete or archaic. With some exceptions, only the first occurrence of a word is cited. In the notes (column 2), the currency of the word is noted from the *OED*, and further details are given where the *OED*'s evidence is revealing or inadequate (inclusion of '*OED*' before the lexicographical information usually indicates that the *OED*'s evidence needs revision in the light of the example). Occasionally Strong's account of the Hebrew word in question has been added.

Where more than one version gives the same reading, the spelling is taken from the earliest version. Since this involved a change of policy late in the work, it is one possible source of error among many where this kind of correlation is concerned.

Within the text, the Bishops' Bible occasionally indicates additions through the use of square brackets and smaller type (see, e.g., 'a-mocking'). Such additions should not be confused with my annotations, which are also given in square brackets, but in normal type. The Bishops' Bible's presentation of marginal notes is inconsistent and so has not been followed.

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
A-	AV occasionally uses 'a' or 'a-' as a prefix, e.g. 2 Chr. 2: 18: to set the people a worke (T.: a worcke); 2 Chr. 16: 6: wherewith Baasha was a building (modern editions omit; T.: a buildinge). T. uses such forms more frequently, including the following (some combinations which may be regarded as individual words are listed separately):					
A-besieging	2 Kgs 24: 11 Ppl	were yet a besegynge	layed sege	did besiege	= G	= G
A-cumbered	1 Sam. 13: 6 Ppl. Cf. 'encumbered'	were acombred	was come thero	<i>in distress</i>	in a distresse	distressed
A-drinking	1 Kgs 20: 16 Ppl	a drynckyng stronge dryncke	he dranke and was dronken	did drinke til he was dronken	= G	drinking himself drunk
A-mocking	Gen. 21: 9 Ppl. Gt = T	a mockyng	he was a mocke	mocking	[to be] a mocke	= G
A-departing	Gen. 35: 18 Ppl	was a departinge	was departyng	was about to yelde vp the goste	= T	was in departing
A-seen	Gen.: 41: 31 Ppl	asene	perceaued	be knowē	= G	= G
A-roving	1 Sam. 27: 10 Ppl	haue ye not bene a rouyng this daye?	whither fel ye in to daye?	where haue ye bene a rouing this day?	= G	whither have ye made a road this day?
A-dread	Deut. 20: 3 Ppl. A. 900- c. 1399. T. uses 'afeared', 'a-good' and 'a-dread' in quick succession	amased nor a dreade of them	afrayed, ner a drede	= T	= T	doe not tremble, neither be ye terrified

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
A-good	Deut. 19: 18 Adv. <i>OED</i> first citation T., Jonah, 1536; -1671	enquyre a good	make diligent inquisition	= C	= C	= C
A-low	Exod. 28: 27	alowe	beneath	= C	= C	—
	Exod. 38: 4 Adj. C. 1260-1867	a-low beneath	vnder vp	beneth	= T	= G
A-nights	2 Sam. 17: 8 Adv. A. 1250-1838	lye a nyghtes among the come people	be negligēt with the people	lodge with the people	= G	= G
Abashed	Gen. 45: 3 Adj. 1340 etc.	abasshed	= T	astonished	= T	troubled; marg.: Or, terrified
Abrech	Gen. 41: 43 N. Not in <i>OED</i>	Abrech 'A table...': tender father, or, as some will, bowe the knee (Mombert, p. 153)	that men should bowe their knees vnto him	= T; marg.: In signe of honour: which worde some expound, tender father, or father of the King, or knele downe	tender father; marg.: This word Abrech semeth rather to be an Egyptian word then an Hebrue: it is as much also in Hebrue, as bowe ^ē knee	bow the knee; marg.: Or, <i>Tender father:</i> Heb. <i>Abrech</i>
Abstainer	Judg. 13: 7 N. <i>OED</i> first citation C., 1535, Amos 2: 12; -1879. Gt = T	an abstayner to God	a Nazaree of God	a Nazarite to God	= T	= G
Achat	Exod. 39: 12 N. 1230-1855	Achat	= T	= T	= T	agate
Active	Exod. 18: 25 Adj. 1340 etc.	actyue men	honest men	men of courage	= T	able men

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	A V
Adjuration	Judg. 21: 18	had made an adiuracion saying	haue sworne and sayde	had sworne, saying	= G	have sworn, saying
	2 Chr. 6: 22 N. <i>OED</i> : 1611-1858 (earlier in connection with exorcism)	adiuracion	oath	= C		= C
Afeard	Deut. 18: 22 Adj. <i>OED</i> : rare in literature after 1700 but survives in popular speech. Ancient	aferde	afraid	= C	= C	= C
Afire	1 Kgs 16: 18 Adj. 1205 etc.	set the kinges house a fyre vpon hym selfe	& brent it with ^e kinges house	burnt him selfe and the kings house with fire	= G	burnt the kings house ouer him with fire
Afterbirth	Deut. 28: 57 N. <i>OED</i> : 1587 etc.	afterbyrthe	daughters	= T	= T	yong one; marg.: <i>Hebr. after-birth</i>
After-gathering	Lev.: 23: 22 N. <i>OED</i> only citation C., 1535, Judg. 8: 2. Gt = T	aftergatheringe	ner gather vp all	= T	= T	gleaning
Agreed	2 Sam. 24: 25 Ppl. <i>OED</i> 2, a. 1500-1642	the Lorde was agreed with the lande	mercifull vnto	appeased toward	intreated for	= B
Alb	Exod. 28: 39 N. 1100-1846	albe of bysse 'A Table...': a longe garment of white lynen (Mombert, p. 169)	albe also of whyte sylke	fine linen coat	coate of white sylke	coat of fine linnen
Alighted	Josh. 15: 18 V. 1205 etc. Gt = T	she alighted of her asse	fell down	lighted	= T	= G
Almery	Deut. 28: 5 N. Form of 'ambry' (cupboard). 1393-1868	almery	basket	= C	= C	= C

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Ancestries	2 Kgs 19: 12 N. 1330-1825	aunsetries	father	fathers	auncestours	= G
Angering	1 Kgs 15: 30 N. 1393-1692	hys angeryng wherwyth he angred the Lorde God	prouokyng ... displeased	prouocation ... prouoked	prouocation angred	= G
Apaid	1 Sam. 15: 11 Adj. <i>OED</i> : satisfied, contented, pleased. 1297-1867. Gt = T	Samuel was euell apaide	was Samuel angrye	Samuel was moued	= T	it grieued Samuel
Appointment	Exod. 8: 12 N. In general senses c. 1440 etc... <i>OED</i>	apo the ap- oyntment of frogges	for the app- oyntment ouer the frogges	cōcerning the frogges	as touching the frogges	because of the frogs
	does not get this sense exactly; nearest is 6, which includes decree, but the examples do not read relevantly. Hebrew not helpful. Sense seems to be: imposition (of a plague of). T. often uses appointment for covenant, e.g. Exod. 24: 7.					
Arb	Lev. 11: 22 N. Not in <i>OED</i> . Hebrew 697. 'arbeh, ar-beh'; from Heb 7235; a locust (from its rapid increase):- grasshopper, locust	arbe	= T	grashoper	= T	locust
Arm	Judg. 9: 48 N. <i>OED</i> : 1398-1863. First cited in relation to a tree, 1579. T. uses 'bough' in the next verse	an arme of a tree	a braunch of a tre	boughes of trees	= G	a bough from the trees
Arses	1 Sam. 6: 4 N. C. 1000 etc.	fyue golden asses wyth Emerodes	fiue hynder partes of golde	fiue golden emerods	= G	= G
Ashpans	Exod. 27: 3 N. <i>OED</i> first citation 1568 Bible, 1 Kgs 7: 50	asshepannes	= T	ashpannes for his asses	= G	pannes to receiue his ashes

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Baals	2 Chr. 17: 3 N. <i>OED</i> does not record this plural, nor give any plural examples. By giving the English plural, T. creates an English word	Baals	Baalim	= C	= C	= C
Back	Lev. 11: 18 N. A. 1300-1607. <i>OED</i> treats as form of 'bat', which began to replace 'back' c. 1575	backe	= T	redshake; marg.: <i>Or, porphyrie</i> [but uses 'backe' in v. 19]	= T	swan
Betime	Judg. 21: 4 Adv. A. 1300-a. 1632. AV uses 'betimes' elsewhere. Gt ¹ = T, Gt ² : by tyme	be tyme	early	—	= T	= C
Betokeneth	Gen. 41: 32 V. 1486 to late 19th c. in this sense	betokeneth	signifieth	—	—	—
Bewept	Gen. 50: 3 V. C. 1000-1876. W ² = T	bewepte	bewayled	= C	mourned for	= B; marg.: <i>Heb. wept</i>
Bidden	Num. 35: 28 V. Ancient	bidden	= T	remained	= T	= G
Black Moors	2 Kgs 19: 9 N. 1390 etc. <i>OED</i> : form of 'blackamoor', first cited 1547. Gt = T	kyng of ^e y blacke Mores	kynge of the Morians	King of Ethiopia	= T	= G
Blood	1 Kgs 1: 42 2 Sam. 13: 28 N. <i>OED</i> : 1562-1882	a lustye bloyde play the lusty bloods	a valiant man play the men	a worthy man = C	= C	= C be valiant; marg.: <i>Heb. sonnes of valour</i>
Bloodvenger	Num 35: 27 N. Not in <i>OED</i>	bloudvenger	auenger of bloude	reuenger of blood	= G	= G
Blowers	1 Chr. 15: 24 N. Ancient	blowers wyth trompettes	blewe the trompettes	did blowe with trumpets	= G	did blow with the trumpets
Bode	1 Chr. 20: 1 V. C. 893-1868	Dauid boade at	abode at	taryed at	= G	= G

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	A V
Bold	Deut. 1: 38 V. C. 1205-1605	bolde him therfore	corage him	incourage him	encourage him therfore	= G
Bonfire	2 Chr. 21: 19 <i>N. OED:</i> 1552-1658. I.e. fire to burn corpses	bonefyre	burning	= C	= C	= C
Bordered	2 Sam. 1: 24 V. C. 1400-a. 1813	bordered youre rayment with ornamentes of goulde; marg.: That is, decked you wyth golden ornamētes	decked you with lewels of golde on youre garmentes	hanged ornaments of golde vpon your apparel	= G	put on ornaments of golde vpon your apparell
Bordering	Josh. 16: 9 Adj. 1530 etc.	bordering cities	borders, cities	separate cities	= G	= G
Bounteous- ness	1 Chr. 17: 19 N. C. 1440-1852	bounteous- nesse	great things	magnificence	= B	= C; marg.: <i>Heb.</i> <i>greatnesses</i>
Braided	1 Kgs 7: 17 Adj. Ancient	garlandes of brayded worcke	wrythen ropes like cheynes	grates like networke	networke	nets of checker worke
Brain-pan	Judg. 9: 53 N. C. 1400-1872.	all to brake hys brayne panne	brake his braine pan	= C	= T	all to brake his scull
Brains	2 Kgs 8: 12 <i>N. OED's first</i> <i>example for this</i> <i>phrase 1607. Gt = T</i>	dasshe out the braynes of their sucking chylldren	kyll their yonge children	dashe their infants	= T	dash their children
Brakes	1 Chr. 20: 3 N. C. 1450-1869. <i>OED:</i> toothed instrument for braking flax or hemp	brakes	betels of yron	axes	other sharpe instrumentes; marg.: Axes	= G

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Breastlap	Exod. 25: 7 N. T.: 'brestlappe or brestflappe, is soche a flappe as thou seist on the brest of a cope' (Mombert, p. 169); this is <i>OED</i> 's only citation	brestlappe	= T	brest plate	= G	= G
Brede	Gen. 35: 16 N. A. 1000. Daniell glosses: breadth, width	a field brede	a felde brode	about halfe a daies iourney of grounde; marg.: The Ebrewe worde signifieth as muche grounde as one may go frō bayte to bayte, ^c w is take for halfe a days iourney	a field breadth	but a litle way; marg.: <i>Hebr. a little piece of ground</i>
Bristles	2 Kgs 19: 27 N. <i>OED</i> first cites this phrase 1533	how thou settest vp thy bristelles agaynst me	thou ragest agaynst me	thy fury against me	= G	thy rage against me
Brodered	Lev. 8: 7 Adj. 1450 etc. <i>OED</i> treats as form of 'broidered'. Gt = T	broderd girdel	ouerbody cote	broydred garde	= T	curious girdle
Broke	Lev. 24: 20 N. <i>OED</i> only citation for a breach of the law; a crime, 1481	broke for broke	= T	breache	= T	= G
Brunt	2 Sam. 17: 9 N. Whole phrase: 1447-1693. Gt = T	ouerthrowē at the fyrst brunt	chaunced euell at the first	ouerthrown at the first	= T	= G
Bruterer	Deut. 18: 10 N. <i>OED</i> cites T., and his table of words at the end of Deut., only: 'prophesiers or sothsayers' (Mombert, p. 634).	bruterar	a prophecier	that vseth witchcraft	= G	that vseth diuination

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	A V
Buballs	1 Kgs 4: 23 N. 1461-1873	buckles and buballes & fatt pultrye	Roes, and wilde goates, and fat capons, and foules	buckles, and bugles, and fat foule	buckles, and wilde goates, and capons	Roe-buckles, and fallow Deere, and fatted foule
Bucking time	Gen. 30: 41 N. <i>OED</i> cites C., 1535; 1657	in the first buckinge tyme of the shepe	= T	ramming tyme [n.b. v. 39: and the shepe were in heate before the roddes. Antedates <i>OED</i> by 208 years]	in euery conceauyng tyme	whensoeuer the stronger cattell did conceiue
Bucks	1 Kgs 4: 23 N. A. 1000 etc.	buckles and buballes & fatt pultrye	Roes, and wilde goates, and fat capons, and foules	buckles, and bugles, and fat foule	buckles, and wilde goates, and capons	Roe-buckles, and fallow Deere, and fatted foule
Bugle	Deut. 14: 5 N. 1300 etc.	bugle	= T	= T	= T	fallow deere
Busily	2 Sam. 20: 15 Adv. 1340 etc.	labored buselye to ouer throwe the walle	layed to their ordynaunce, and wolde haue cast downe the wall	destroyed and cast downe the wall	thrust at the wall to ouerthrowe it	battered the wall, to throw it downe
Buttons	Exod. 26: 6 N. C. 1340 etc. Hebrew 7165. <i>qerec</i> , <i>keh'-res</i> ; from Heb 7164; a knob or belaying-pin (from its swelling form):-tache	buttons	= T	taches; marg.: <i>Or, hokes</i>	= G	= G
Butts	1 Kgs 5: 11 N. 1443 etc. Gt = T	butts of pure oyle	quarters	measures	= T	= G
Buy out	Exod. 13: 13 V. 1297-1633	bye out	redeeme	= T	= C	= C

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	A V
Byss	Gen. 41: 42 N. C. 1314-1648, inc. W. W = T	raimēt of bisse 'A Table...': fyne whyte, whether it be silke or linen (Mombert, p. 153)	clothed him with whyte sylke	araied him in garments of fine linen	cloth of raynes	vestures of fine linen; marg.: Or, <i>silke</i>
Caller-on	Judg. 15: 19 N. <i>OED</i> : first citation 1555. Gt = T	called the welle of the caller on; marg.: Hebr. Enkore	e y well of e cheke bone of him t made intercession	called, En- hakkoré; marg.: Or, <i>the fountaine of him that prayed</i>	= T	called the name thereof En- hakkore; marg.: That is, <i>the well of him that called or cried</i>
Carriion	Lev. 5: 2 N. A. 1225-1763	caryon of an vnclene beest	= T	= T	= T	carcase
Cater	Gen. 15: 2 N. C. 1400-1621	cater	seruaunt	stuarder	the chylde of the stewardship; marg.: Or, stewarder	= G
Cauldrons	Exod. 38: 3 N. 1300 etc. W = T	cauldrons	= T	ashpans	= G	pots
Cavillations	Lev. 19: 13 N. 1340-1636	begile thy neyghboure with cauellaciōs	do thy neighbour no wrōng	do thy neigh- bour wrōg	= G	defraud thy neighbour
Cense	Exod. 30: 1 N. A. 1375-1540. Incense is older	œſe	incense	swete perfume	= C	= C

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	A V
Change	I Kgs 22: 30 V. <i>OED</i> : 1d, <i>to change oneself</i> : i.e. one's clothes. C. 1530, c. 1590, and a related phrase, 1861. The sense of disguise is not recorded. Hebrew 2664. chaphas, khaw-fas'; a prim. root; to seek; causat. to conceal oneself (i.e. let be sought), or mask:-change, (make) diligent (search), disguise self, hide, search (for, out)	the kynge of Israel sayde to Jehosaphat *chaunge the and gett the to warre: but put on thyne awne apparell. And the kynge of Israel chaunged hym selfe; marg: * That is disgysse the	chaunge thy clothes, and come into þ battayll in thine araye. The kinge of Israel chaunged his clothes also	I wil change mine apparel ... but put thou on thine apparel. And the King of Israél changed him selfe	= G	the king of Israel said vnto Jehoshaphat, I wil disguise my selfe, & enter into the battell, but put thou on thy robes. And the king of Israel disguised himselfe
Chase	Judg. 8: 4 N. 1297 etc. Verb only in AV. Gt = T	yet folowed the chace	and folowed vpon their chace	yet pursuing them	= T	= G
Chevisance	Deut. 21: 14 N. <i>OED</i> first cites C., 1535 for this sense; -1626	not sell her for monye nor make cheue-sauce of her	= T	make marchandise	= G	= G
Churlishly	I Kgs 12: 13 Adv. C. 1400 etc. Gt = T	churlyshly	an harde rough answere	sharply	= T	roughly
Clame	I Sam. 14: 13 V. Archaic. form of climb, v	clame	= T	went vp vpon	climbed	= B
Clamps	Exod. 36: 29 N. <i>OED</i> : 1476 etc; cites this verse from C., not T	with clampes	with a clamp	with a ring	= G	to one ring

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	A V
Clouden	Exod. 14: 19 Adj. <i>OED</i> only citation a. 1300. N.b., T., v. 24: clowdie piler	the cloudēpilar	cloudy	the pillar of the cloude	= G	= G
Clouted	2 Sam. 22: 39 V. C. 1314 etc.	I wasted them and so clouted the	I wil cōsume them and thrust them thorow	I haue consumed them and thrust them through	I haue wasted them, and wounded them	I haue consumed them and wounded them
Coalpans	Exod. 38: 3 N. <i>OED</i> first citation: C., 1535, Jer. 52: 19	colepannes	= T	chers; marg.: <i>Or, fyre pans</i>	firepannes	= B
Coloquintidas	2 Kgs 4: 39 N. 1398 etc.	Coloquinty- daes	wylde Cucumbers	wilde gourdes	= G	= G
Commoned	Gen. 23: 8 V. C. 1380-1596. <i>OED</i> : 'common and	he comoned with them saynge	talked	communed		= G
	<i>commune</i> are ... developments of the same word; but as they became very distinct in form, and their sense-history is not quite identical ... they are dealt with as distinct words'					
Common-alty	Lev. 4: 13 N. 14th-19th c.	comynalte	Congregation	= C	= C	= C
Confederation	2 Chr. 16: 3 N. C. 1425 etc. Gt = T	cōfederaciō	couenant	= C	= T	league
Confedered	1 Kgs 5: 12 V. 1380-1555	they were confedered to geather	they made a couenaunt both together	they two made a couenant	= T [they two were]	they two made a league together

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	A V
Conjuration	Num. 5: 21 N. C. 1450-1796	coniure her with the coniuracyon of the curse	coniure the wife with this curse	charge the woma with an othe of cursing	= G	= G
Conjure	Num. 5: 19 V. C. 1290-1797. W ² = T	shall coniure her	= T	shal charge her by an othe	= G	= G
Consecrate	Exod. 29: 37 Adj. 'Consecrated' first cited by <i>OED</i> 1552; 'consecrate', adj., 1423-1866	consecrate	consecrated	holy	= G	= G
Converting	2 Chr. 16: 10 Adj. Not in <i>OED</i> . In general senses 1382 etc.	conuertyng house	prison	= C; marg.: <i>Ebr. prison house</i>	prison-house	= B
Couraged	Exod. 35: 21 V. 1470-1614. <i>OED</i> : very common in 16th c.	as many as their hartes coraged them	[substantially different]	encouraged	= T	whose heart stirred him vp
Courtesy	Gen. 43: 11 N., adj.. 1530-1627. <i>OED</i> courtesy 10: 'a "mannerly" or moderate quantity; = CURTSY <i>sb.</i> 3 [should be 4]'. 'Curtsy' only cited 1528 and 1584	a curtesie bawlme, and a curtesie of hony	= T	a litle rosen, and a litle honie	a curtsie of bawme, and a curtsie of hony	a litle balme, and a litle honie
	2 Chr. 32: 25 N. 1297-1891	according to the curtesye shewed him	acording as was geuen vnto him	accordig to the rewarde <i>bestowed</i> vpon him	according to it that he had shewed him	according to the benefit done vnto him
Coverlet	Exod. 22: 27 N. First <i>OED</i> citation in this general sense 1551 Bible (i.e. Matthew Bible), 2 Sam. 17: 19; -1825	couserlet	couering	= C	= C	= C

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Cruelness	2 Chr. 28: 9 N. A. 1300-1631	cruelnesse	so abominably	rage	= T	= G
Crutches	2 Sam. 3: 29 N. Ancient	goers on crouches	to go vpon a staffe	that leaneth on a staffe	= G	= G
Daze	Deut. 28. 32 V. A. 1529-1864	thyne eyes shall se and dase vppon them	= T	thine eies shal stil loke for them, euen til they fall out	= T [shall see it]	thine eyes shal looke, and faile with longing for them
Dazing	Deut. 28: 28 N. <i>OED</i> : a. 1535-1877	madnesse, blyndnesse and dasynge of herte	= T	astonying of heart	= T	astonishment of heart
Dazzle	Lev. 26: 16 V. 1481-1672	shall make youre eyes dasell	shal destroye fy eyes	to consume the eies	to consume your eyes	shall consume the eyes
Debite	1 Kgs 22: 47 N. 1482- 1549, inc. T., Acts 23: 24, and C., 1535, Dan. 2: 15. Daniell glosses: governor	the kynge was but a debite	—	the deputie was King	= G	a deputie was king
Defined	1 Kgs 20: 40 V. C. 1374 etc.	so shall thy iudgement be as thou hast defined it thy selfe	it is thine own judgment, thou hast geuen it thyselfe	thou hast giuen sentence	= T	decided
Deformed	Lev. 21: 21 V. C. 1400 etc.	deformed	hath eny blemish	hathe a blemish	= G	= G
Deformity	Lev. 21: 17 N. 1413 etc.	deformyte	blemish	blemishes	= T	= C

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Delectation	2 Sam. 19: 35 N. 14th c. etc.	delectatio in y songes of me	heare what the Musicians do syng?	can I heare anie more the voice of singing men	= G	= G
Discomforted	Deut. 31: 8 V. 1330 etc. AV uses 'discomfit' elsewhere	discomforted	afrayed	= T	discomfyted	dismayed
Discontent	Jon. 4: 1 Adj. 1494-1655	Jonas was sore dyscontent & angrie	= T	it displeased Ionah exceedingly, and he was angrie	this displeased Jonas greatly, and he was angrye [within him selfe]	it displeased Ionah exceedingly, and he was very angry
Discourage	1 Sam. 25: 31 N. C. 1500-1611	discourage of herte	occasion of fallynge vnto my lordes hert	offence of minde	= G	offence of heart
Dismal	Lev. 19: 26 Adj. In this	obserue dismall dayes	chose out dayes	obserue times	= G	= G
	(uncertain) sense (<i>OED</i> B, 1) c. 1400-1618. Hebrew 6049. 'anan, aw-nan'; a prim. root; to cover; used only as denom. from Heb 6051, to cloud over; fig. to act covertly, i.e. practise magic:-X bring, enchanter, Meonemin, observe (-r of) times, soothsayer, sorcerer					
	Lev. 20: 27 Hebrew 3049.	a maker of dismal days	an expounder of tokens	a spirit of ... sothesaying		wiz-zard [almost
	yidde`oniy, yid-deh-o-nee'; from Heb 3045; prop. a knowing one; spec. a conjurer; (by impl.) a ghost:-wizard					certainly an error for 'wy-zard' or 'wi-zard'; the former is the hyphenated form used elsewhere
Ditties	Judg. 5: 10 N. A. 1300	make dities	prayse the LORDE	—	—	—

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	A V
Dragged	Deut. 25: 18 V. 1494-1530	all that were ouer laboured and dragged by hynde	all that were feble, which came after	all that were feble behind thee	all that were feeble and came behynde	= G
Dressing	Lev. 25: 5 N. <i>OED</i> dress v. 13c, To till, cultivate, prune, or tend, first cited 1526.	grapes that growe without thy dressynge	what groweth of it self	that thou haste left vnlaboured	That which growthe of the owne accord of thy haruest	of it owne accord
Dressing-knife	Judg. 19: 29 N. 1411-1541	a dressyng knyfe	a swerde	a knife	= G	= G
Durance	Deut. 28: 59 N. 1494-1698. Earlier in the verse, T., and G. translate the same Hebrew word 'continuance'	duraunce	contynuall	= T	= T	continuance
Easement	Judg. 3: 24 N. C. 1430-1712	A he is doying of his easement	peraduenture he is gone to the preuye	surely he doeth his easement; marg.: <i>Ebr. he couereth his feet</i>	surely he couereth his feet; marg.: That is he doth his easment	= B; marg.: Or, <i>doth his easement</i>
Encumbered	Judg. 16: 16 V. C. 1386 etc. Cf. 'a-cumbered'	his soule was encombred eue vnto the death		peined vnto ¶ death	= T	vexed unto death
Endote	Exod. 22: 16 V. <i>OED</i> only citation T., <i>Obedience</i>	endote	geue her hir dowry	endowe	= G	= G

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
-er, -est Faithfullest	Unusual comparatives and superlatives in T.: 2 Sam. 20: 19 Adj	one of the quyetest & faythfullest cyties	þ noble and faithfull cite	one of them, that are peaceable & faithful	= G	= G
	1 Kgs 1: 37 Adj	make his seate gloryouser	greater	exalt his throne aboue	= C	= C
	1 Chr. 11: 25 Adj	gloryousest	most awncient	honourable	= G	= G
	1 Kgs 12: 14 Adj	I wyll make it greuouser	yet sorer	more grieuous	= T	I will adde to your yoke
	1 Sam. 24: 17 Adj. <i>OED</i> only citation 1865	ryghteouser	more righteous	= C	= C	= C
	1 Sam. 18: 30 Adv. W ¹ = T	wyselyer	more wisely	= C	= C	= C
	2 Chr. 29: 6 Adv. <i>OED</i> : a. 1556- 1624	done euelfauoredly	done that which was euill	done euil	= G	= C
	Excommunicate Josh. 6: 17 Adj. <i>OED</i> first citation as a translation of this Hebrew word 1551 Bible (cf. T., Josh.	the cytie shalbe excō- municate	damned vnto the LORDE	an execrable thing; marg.: that is appointed wholly to be destroyed	accursed; marg.: Condemned utterly to be destroyed	= B; marg.: <i>Or, devoted</i>
	7: 1: 'excommunicate things'). First citation as participle, T., 1526. Hebrew 2764. <i>cherem, khay'-rem</i> ; or ((Zech. 14:11)) <i>cherem, kheh'-rem</i> ; from Heb 2763; phys. (as shutting in) a net (either lit. or fig.); usually a doomed object; abstr. extermination:-(ac-) curse (-d, -d thing), dedicated thing, things which should have been utterly destroyed, (appointed to) utter destruction, devoted (thing), net					

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Excommunication	Josh. 7: 13 N. <i>OED</i> 1494 etc., but this sense is not recognised	the excommunicacion is amonge you	there is a damned thing in the	<i>there is an execrable thing among you</i>	there is a dampedn thyng among you; marg.: Or, accursed	<i>there is an accursed thing in the midst of thee</i>
Executer	Num. 35: 12 N. <i>OED</i> : 'executor' first cited W. 1388; 'executer' first cited 1532-3	the executer of bloude	the auenger of bloude	auenger	= C	= G
Facts	2 Sam. 23: 23 N. <i>OED</i> 1b: 1543-1740	not lyke to anye of the thre in factes of warre	he came not vnto the thre	hee atteined not to the <i>first</i> thre	= G	= G
Fainted	Deut. 25: 18 Adj. First <i>OED</i> example that appears to give this sense is 1614. 'Fainted' is not used as an adjective in AV	when thou wast faynted and werye	weerye and fainte	= T	= T	faint
Fainty	Gen. 25: 29 Adj. 1530 (T.: <i>Pract. Prel.</i>) -1884	fayntie	wearie	= C	= T	faint
Famishment	1 Kgs 18: 2 N. <i>OED</i> gives 2 citations: T., 1526 and G., 1557 NT	famyshemēt	derth	famine	= T	= G
Fantasy	Deut. 21: 11 N. 1374-1618	hast a fantasye vnto (a bewtifull woman)	desire	= C	= C	= C
Fare	Exod. 5: 23 V. <i>OED</i> : 4c: to deal with, treat. 1340-1615 ('fare foul' a. 1450)	he hath fared foul with this folke	he hath dealt euell with this people	he hathe vexed this people	= T	he hath done euill to this people

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Feared	2 Sam. 22: 5 V. C. 1000-1872. AV does not use 'feared' in this sense. W ¹ = T	þ flodes of Belial haue feared me	the brokes of Belial made me afraied	the floods of vngodlynes haue made me afraide	the fludes of Belial put me in feare	the floods of vngodly men made me afraid
Feastful	Exod. 13: 6	the .vii day shal be feastfull vnto the Lorde	is the LORDES feast	the feast of	= G	a feast to
	1 Sam. 1: 3 Adj. A. 1440-1870	every feastful day	at his tyme	euerie yere	= G	yeerely; marg.: <i>Hebr. from yeere to yeere</i>
Fellowship	Exod. 12: 3 N. <i>OED</i> 6 is closest but not exact.: a body of fellows or equals; a company. Now <i>rare (arch.)</i> . C. 1290-1827. Common in T. AV only uses fellowship as an abstract noun	the felowshipe of Israel	Congregation	= C	= C	= C
	Num. 20: 17	let us goo a good felowshipe thorow thi contre	O let vs go thorow thy londe	I pray thee that we may passe through thy countrey	let vs passe, I pray thee, thorow thy countrey	= B
	Num. 22: 6	come now a felashippe and curse me this people	come now therfore, and curse me this people	come now therefore, I pray thee, <i>and</i> curse me this people	= G	come now therefore, I pray thee, curse mee this people

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Fellowship (cont.)	Judg. 9: 38 Not in <i>OED</i> . Mombert glosses Num. 20: 17: 'peaceably'. Tyndale uses 'a fellowship' for '¶', a particle added to imperative indicating exhortation (Daniell, p. xxii, also xxv)	go out now a feloushipe & fyght with the	go forth now, and fighte with him	goe out now, I pray thee, and fight with them	go out now & fight with the	goe out, I pray now, and fight with them
Fiddles	1 Sam. 18: 6 N. 1205 etc.	fydilles	= T	rebecks	instruments of musicke	= B; marg.: <i>Heb. three stringed instruments</i>
Field	2 Sam. 18: 8 N. A. 1300 etc.	e y felde was fought	battle	= C	= C	= C
	AV uses 'field' five times in connection with battle; these examples could be read in this sense but that would probably be incorrect. AV does not translate the Hebrew for 'battle' as 'field'					
Firstbornship	Deut. 21: 17 N. Not in <i>OED</i>	the right of the firstborne-shippe	the first byrthe righte is his	to him belongeth the right of the first borne	= G	the right of the first borne is his
Flacket	1 Sam. 16: 20 N. C. 1300-1753	flacket	bottle	flagon	= T	= C
Flaggy	1 Sam. 15: 9 Adj. Nearest sense in <i>OED</i> is flaggy a. ² , 2: soft and flabby, having no firmness, flaccid (so glossed by Daniell). A. 1565	nought worth & flaggye	foule and nothinge worth	vile & noght worthe	foule & naught worth	vile, and refuse
Flatpieces	Exod. 25: 29 N. A shallow drinking cup. 1422-1535 (C.)	flatpeces	= T	goblets	bowles	= B
Flawnes	1 Chr. 23: 29 N. C. 1300-1840	flawnes of swete breed	vnleuened wafers	vnleauened cakes	wafers of sweete bread	= G

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Forcer	1 Sam. 6: 8 N. 13th c. -1863	forcer	coffer	= C	= C	= C
Fore	2 Kgs. 1: 14 Adj. 1490-1718	two fore captaynes ouer fyftie	fyrst two captaynes ouer fyfty	two former captaines ouer fiftie	= T	two captaines of the former fifties
Forecast	Deut. 32: 28 N. <i>OED sb</i> 1. a.: 'the action, habit, or faculty of	nacion that hath an ynhappye forcast	a people, wherin is no council	nacion voyde of counsel	= G	= G
	forecasting; foresight of consequences and provision against them, forethought, prudence. Now <i>rare</i> '. First citation a. 1541					
Forehanging	2 Chr. 3: 14 N. Cited only from T. 1528, <i>Obedience</i> , 'vayle or forehanginge'	fore hangyng	vaile	= C	= T	= C
Foresaid	1 Kgs 4: 27 2 Kgs 23: 3 Adj. C. 1000 etc.	forsayde	—	—	—	—
Foreside	Exod. 28: 25 N. 1400 etc. <i>OED</i> : 'now <i>rare</i> exc. <i>techn</i> '	on the foresyde of it	one ouer agaynst another	= T	= T	before it
Forlorn	2 Sam. 1: 27 Adj. <i>OED</i> 3: 'lost', ruined, doomed to destruction. C. 1386-1719	how were the wepons of warre forloren	destroyed	= C	= C	perished
Fortune	Gen. 50: 15	might fortune to hate us	Ioseph might happily haue indignation at vs	it may be ^t Ioseph wil hate vs	may peraduenture hate vs	will peraduenture hate vs

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Fortune (cont.)	Gen. 4: 3 N. 1454-1798	and it fortuned in processe of tyme	and it fortuned after certaine daies	and in processe of time it came to passe	in processe of dayes it came to passe	it came to pass
Forward	2 Chr. 13: 12 N. <i>OED</i> does not appear to record this	God is with vs in the forewarde	the captayne of oure hoost	a captaine	is our captayne	for <i>our</i> captaine
		sense of the noun. Hebrew 7218. ro'sh, roshe; from an unused root appar. mean. to shake; the head (as most easily shaken), whether lit. or fig. (in many applications, of place, time, rank, etc.):-band, beginning, captain, chapter, chief (-est place, man, things), company, end, X every [man], excellent, first, forefront, ([be-]) head, height, (on) high (-est part, [priest]), X lead, X poor, principal, ruler, sum, top				
Frails	1 Sam. 25: 18 N. <i>OED</i> : 13th c. etc. Basket, especially for figs, raisins etc. Not marked obsolete or archaic	frayles	= T	= T; marg: <i>Or,</i> <i>clusters</i>	= T; marg: Or, clusters	cakes
Franchise	Num. 35: 6	sixe cities of fraunches	sixe fre cities	six cities for refuge	= G	= G
	Num. 35: 25 N. adj. C. 1380-	fraunchesed cytye	fre cite	citie of his refuge		= G
	1601. <i>OED</i> : used of a city, 1503-4. T. also calls these 'preuyleged townes' (v. 11), and 'fre cities' (v. 13)					
Freckles	Lev. 13: 39 N. <i>OED</i> 1: yellowish or light brown spot, c. 1400 etc.; 2: any small spot or discolouration, 1547 etc. T. may be using it in this latter sense. Hebrew 933. bohaq, bo'-hak; from an unused root mean. to be pale; white scurf:-freckled spot	frekels	whyte scabbe	white spot	frekell	freckled spot
Fritters	2 Sam. 13: 6 N. C. 1420 etc.	frytters	a syppynge	cakes; marg.: Meaning, some delicate & dentie meat	= G	= G
Frumenty	Lev. 23: 14 N. ?a. 1400-1860	furmentye of new corne	= T	grene eares	= G	= G
Fume	2 Sam. 11: 20 V. 1522 etc.	yf he begynne to fume	seist that he is wroth	if the Kings angre arise	= G	if so be that the kings wrath arise

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	A V
Furiousness	Deut. 29: 28 N. C. 1500-1840	furyousnesse	displeasoure	indignacion	= G	= G
Furlong	1 Chr. 11: 14 N. 13th c. -1854	they stepte forth into the myddes of the furlonge	the londe	the field	= G	that parcell
Furs	Lev. 15: 17 N. <i>OED</i> 3: <i>pl.</i> skins of such animals with the fur on them. First citation 1555	all the clothes or furres	all clothes, and euery skynne	euerie garment, and euerie skin	= G	= G
Furze	Judg. 9: 14 Adj. Ancient	fyrre bushe; marg.: In some places it is called gorsse	thorne buszshe	bramble	bryer	= G
Gelded	Deut. 23: 1 Adj. A. 1300 etc.	None that is gelded or hath his preuey membres cutt of	that hath his stones broken or ^t is gelded	hurt by bursting	= G	wounded in the stones
Get the better of	1 Kgs 20: 25 V. <i>OED</i> : 'the better' in this sense 1462 etc.; 'get the better of' first cited: 1675	we gett ^e better of the	wee shall ouercome them	= C	thou shalt see vs get the better of the	wee shall be stronger then they
Goggle-eyed	Lev. 21: 20 Adj. <i>OED</i> first citation 1540	or perleyed, or gogelyed	or hath eny blemysh in the eye, or is gleyd	or hathe a blemish in his eie	or bleare eyed, or haue a webbe or other blemishe in his eyes	or a dwarfe, or that hath a blemish in his eye
Goshawk	Lev. 11: 13 N. C. 1000 etc.	gooshauke	= T	= T	= T	Ossifrage
Graver	Exod. 32: 4 N. <i>OED</i> : 1548-1889	grauer	= T	grauing tole	= T	= G

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Graver (cont.)	Exod. 38: 23 1430-1628	cōnynge grauer	= T	cūning workeman; marg.: As a grauer or carpenter	cunnyng workeman	engrauer
Gravestone	2 Kgs 23: 17 N. 1340 etc.	graue stone	title	= C	= C	= C
Gridiron	Exod. 35: 16 N. 14th c. -c.1850. W ¹ = T	gredyren	= T	grate	= T	= G
Grovelling	1 Sam. 5: 3 Adv. 13th c. -1869	Dagon laye grouelyng upō ērth	Dagon lyenge on his face vpon the earth	Dagón was fallen vpon his face on the grounde	= G	Dagon was fallen vpon his face to the earth
Guards	Num. 15: 38 N. Not in <i>OED</i> . Cf. 'ribbons', Deut. 22: 12	gardes	= T	fringes	= G	= G
Guilefully	2 Sam. 3: 27 Adv. 1388 etc.	gilefully	secretly	peaceably; marg.: <i>Or,</i> <i>secretly</i>	= G (inc. marg.)	quietly; marg.: <i>Or, peaceably</i>
Guts	2 Chr. 21: 19 N. Ancient. W ¹ = T	gutts	bowels	= T	= T	= C
Gyves	2 Sam. 3: 34 N. C. 1205-1900	thy fete brought into gyues	vexed with fetters	tyed in fetters of brasse	brought into fetters of brasse	put into fetters
Hagab	Lev. 11: 22 N. Not in <i>OED</i> . Hebrew 2284. chagab, khaw-gawb'; of uncert. der.; a locust:-locust	Hagab	= T	= T	= T	grasshopper
Hampers	1 Sam. 9: 7 N. 1392 etc.	oure bred is all spent out of oure häpers	walet	vessels	= G	= G

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Handfast	I Kgs 1: 51 Adv. <i>OED</i> a., 3; having a firm grip of the hand; tight-fisted, close-fisted. 1603-1887; all these examples are metaphorical. <i>OED</i> v., II. 2: to grasp, sieze with the hand; to take fast hold of. C. 1530-1662	caught hand- fast by the hornes of the aultare	taketh holde of	caught holde on	= G	= G
Handfasted	Deut. 22: 23 V. <i>OED</i> : handfast, v., first cited c. 1200, but first citation for 'handfasted' is this verse from C.	yf a mayde be hanfasted vnto an husbonde	= T	betrothed	= G	= G
Handsomely	Judg. 3: 15 Adv. <i>OED</i> : handily, aptly or skilfully; all three obsolete; 1547 etc.	a man that coulde do nothyng hand- somelye with hys ryght hande	a man that mighte do nothinge with his righte hande	a man lame of his right hand; marg.: <i>Or, left handed</i>	= G	a man left handed; marg.: <i>Hebr. shut of his right hand</i>
Happily	Num. 16: 34 Adv. 1377-1890. AV uses 'haply' elsewhere	the erthe myghte happ- elye swalowe vs also	that \mathfrak{e} earth swalowe not vs also	lest the earth swalowe vs vp	= G	= G
Hard heels	Judg. 20: 42 N. <i>OED</i> first citation: 1635	\mathfrak{e} other folow- yng the at the harde heles	but the batt- ayll folowed vpon them	but the battel ouertoke them	= G	= G
Hargol	Lev. 11: 22 N. Not in <i>OED</i> . Hebrew 2728. chargol, khar-gole'; from Heb 2727; the leaping insect, i.e. a locust:- beetle	Hargol	= T	= T	= T	beetle
Hartgoat	Deut. 14: 5 N. Not in <i>OED</i>	hertgoote	wilde goat	= C	= C	= C

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Hatches	Gen. 8: 13 N. 13th c. etc.	hatches	= T	the couering of the Arke	= G	= G
Hate	Judg. 9: 23 N. Ancient	God sent an hate	God sent an euell mynde	God sent an euil spirit	= G	= G
Head-piece	1 Kgs 7: 16 N. <i>OED</i> : the top piece or part of various things. 1611 etc.	two heed peces of molten brasse to set on the toppes of the pyllers	two knoppes	two chapiters; marg.: <i>Or,</i> <i>pommels</i>	he made two pommels of moulten brasse, [after the fashion of a crowne,] to set on the toppes of the pillers: ... the height of the other head peece contayned fiue cubites also	= G
Headbald	Lev. 13: 40 Adj. Not in <i>OED</i> . N.b. v. 41, foreheadbald: C.: sic. (as three words); G.: balde before; AV: forehead-bald	heedbaulde	bald	= C	= C	= C
Healthsome	2 Sam. 23: 5 Adj. 1538-1891	all ^t y is healthesome vnto me	all my health	all mine health	= C	<i>this is all my</i> <i>saluation</i>
	2 Kgs 2: 22 Adj. 1538-1891	the water was healthsome ever after	the water was healed vnto this daye	the waters were healed vntil this day		= G 1599: vnto
Hedgehog	Lev. 11: 30 N. A. 1450 etc.	hedgehogge	= T	rat	= T	ferret
Heritance	Deut. 29: 8 N. 1422-1896	heritaunce	inheritance	= C	= C	= C
Hoared	Josh. 9: 5 Adj. <i>OED</i> citations: 1496 and this verse from 1551 Bible (i.e. Matthew)	their prouysyon of bread was dryed vp and hored	harde and moulde	dried, & moulded	= T	drie and mouldie
Hoop	Exod. 25: 25 N. A. 1175 etc.	whope	= T	border	= T	= G

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Hooped	Exod. 27: 17 V. C. 1440 etc.	whoped with syluer	haue syluer whopes	haue filets	= T	filleted
Inclosers	Exod. 28: 20 N. 'Inclosers' not in <i>OED</i> . 'Inclosings' (under 'enclosing') cited only from this verse of AV	inclosers	rows	embossements	= T	inclosings; marg.: <i>Hebr. fillings</i>
Indifferently	Deut. 12: 22	the vncleane and the cleane indifferently thou shalt eate	both the cleane and the vnleane may eate it	the vncleane & the cleane shal eate of the alike	both the cleane and the vncleane shall eate of them	= G
	1 Chr. 25: 8 Adv. 1370 etc.	they cast Lottes indyfferentlye how they shulde wayte	they cast the lottes ouer their offyce	thei cast lottes, charge against <i>charge</i>	they cast lottes among them selues how they should waite	they cast lots ward against <i>ward</i>
Inhabitaters	Gen. 34: 30 N. Inhabitants 1462 etc. <i>OED</i> cites 'inhabitator' only from Higden, 1432-50. This is T.'s only use of 'inhabitater'; elsewhere, e.g. Gen 50: 11, he uses 'inhabiter' (1388 to late 19th). AV uses 'inhabitant' (1462 etc.), except for 'inhabiters' at Rev. 8: 13 and 12: 12	inhabitatours	inhabiters	inhabitants	= C	= G
Instance	2 Sam. 13: 27 N. C. 1340-1866	Absalom made soche instance	was Absalom so importune	Absalom was instant vpon him	= T	Absalom pressed him
Institute	1 Chr. 9: 22 V. 1483 etc.	institute in theire fidelite	foulded them thorow their faith	established ... in their perpetual office; marg.: <i>Or, for their fidelitie</i>	institute, because of their fidelitie	ordeine in their set office; marg.: <i>Heb. founded</i>
Interpretate	Gen. 41: 15 V. C. 1522-1866	interpretate	interpret	= C	= C	= C

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Ixion	Deut. 14: 13 N. Not in <i>OED</i> . W ² = T	ixion	= T	glead	= G	= G
Jay	Lev. 11: 19 N. A. 1310 etc. W = T	iaye	= T	—	= T	—
Jestingstock	Deut. 28: 37 N. <i>OED</i> : first citation C., 1535, Job. 17: 6, -1632	an ensample ad a gestynge-stocke	a byworde & a laughinge stocke	a wonder, a prouerbe & a cōmune talke	thou shalt be wondred at, spoken of, and iested at	an astonish-ment, a prouerbe, and a by-worde
Jolly	Exod. 15: 4 Adj. <i>OED</i> : 'of cheerful courage; high-hearted, gallant; brave'. C. 1330-1642	his iolye captaynes are drowned in the red see	chosen captaines	= C	= C	= C
Keep	Gen. 37: 13 V. 'Keep' is not used in AV with	his brethren went to kepe	keepe the catell	= T	= T	feed the flock their fathers shepe in Sichem ... do not thy brethren kepe in Sichem? 'sheep' understood. Not clear that this is a special use, but all <i>OED</i> citations (v. 16b) have an object. C. 1250 etc.
Kirtle	2 Sam. 13: 18 N. Ancient; common use to about 1650; still a fairly common archaism	kyrtell	garment	= C	= C	= C
Laborious	Lev. 23: 7 Adj. 1390 etc.	laborious worke	worke of bōd age	seruile worke	= G	= G
Ladles	2 Kgs 25: 14 N. Ancient	ladelles	spoones	incense asshes (1599: dishes)	= C	= C
Lap	1 Sam. 15: 27 N. C. 897-1878	the lappe of his coote	e y edge of his garment	= T	= T	the skirt of his mantle

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Laudable	Exod. 15: 11 Adj. 1420 etc.	feerfull, laudable ad that shewest wondres	fear full, laudable, and doinge wonders	fearful in praises, shewing wōders	= G	= G 1599: doing
Lavatory	I Kgs 7: 30 N. A. 1375-1866	lauatorye	kettell	caldro	= T	lauer
Layers await	Judg. 20: 29 N. <i>OED</i> first example of 'lay await' (await, sb. 1b), 1580	layers awayte	a preuy watch	men to lye in wait	= T	lyers in waite
Lease	Ruth 2: 2 V. C. 1000-1879	lease & geather eares	gather ears	= C	= C	gleane eares
Lever	Jon. 4: 3 Adv. C. 1290-a. 1766	I had lever die than live [Matthew Bible: I had rather dye then lyue]	I had rather dye then lyue	it is better for me to dye then to liue	= G	= G
Light-brained	2 Sam. 6: 20 Adj. Not in <i>OED</i>	lyght brayned	rascall people	foole	= G	vaine
Linkwork	Exod. 28: 14 N. Coined by T	lynkeworke and wrethed	wrethe cheynes	wretched worke	= T	wreathen worke (= G 1599)
Litter	Gen. 24: 25 N. C. 1430-1849	litter	= T	= T	= T	straw
Long	Num. 6: 15	that longe thereto	—	—	—	—
	Num. 32: 42 V. ?a. 1200-1870. AV uses 'long' as v. in sense of 'yearn'	the townes longinge therto	townes belonginge therto	villages thereof		= G

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	A V
Loured	Gen. 4: 5 V. C. 1290 etc.	Cain was wroth exceedingly, and loured	his countenaunce chaunged	& his countenance fel downe	his countenaunce abated	and his countenance fell
Luck	Gen. 30: 11 N. 'Good luck' 1481; most other main senses begin about 1530. Vulgate: feliciter. Hebrew 1409. gad, gawd; from Heb 1464 (in the sense of distributing); fortune:-troop	Then said Lea, good luck: and called his name Gad	= T	a companie cometh; marg.: That is, God doeth	= T	A troupe cometh: and she called his name Gad
	Judg. 2: 15	the hand of the Lorde was vpon them with euell lucke	was agaynst the to their hurte	was sore against them	= G	was against them for euill
Luckily	Gen. 39: 23 Adv. 1530-1766	made it come luckily to passe	made it to come prosperously to passe	made it to prosper	= G	= G
Lucky	Gen. 39: 2 Adj. 1502 etc.	he was a luckie felowe	a luckye ma	a man that prospered	= C; marg.: Men are neuer luckie in dede, but when God is with them. For the felicitie of the wicked is cursed	a prosperous man

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Lusty	Gen. 3: 6 Adj. A. 1240-a. 1600. T. uses 'lusty'	lustie unto the eyes	= T	pleasant; 1599 marg.: <i>Heb. a desire</i>	= G	= G
	to mean desirable, 'lust' to mean desire, both positive and pejorative. E.g. Gen. 27: 46: what lust shuld I haue to lyue? Deut. 7: 7: the Lorde had lust vnto you and chose you. Only AV instance of 'lusty' is in modern sense: Judg. 3: 29: ten thousand men, all lusty, and all men of valour; marg.: <i>Heb. fat</i> . Here T. reads: ten thousand men, all fat, and men of might; C.: all nobles and men of armes; G.: all fed men, and all were warriours; marg.: Or, <i>strong, and big bodied</i> ; B.: ten thousande men, which were alle fatte, & men of warre; marg.: That is strong and lusty. Hebrew 8082. shamen, shaw-mane'; from Heb 8080; greasy, i.e. gross; fig. rich:-fat, lusty, plenteous					
Maidenhead	Judg. 11: 37 N. A. 1300 etc. W ² = T	maydenheed	= T	virginitie	= T	= G
Maim	Lev. 24: 19 V. 1297 etc.	yf a man mayme	maymeth	cause <i>anie</i> blemish	cause a blemish	= B
Maintainers	Judg. 5: 9 N. C. 1420 etc.	ȝ maynteners of the lawe in Israel	ȝ teachers of Israel	the gouerners of Israél	= G	= G
Malled	Judg. 5: 22 V. <i>OED</i> gives under 'maul', 'to strike ... with a heavy weapon; to knock down': a. 1240-1648	then they malled the horsses legges	then made the horse fete a ruszshinge together	then were the horsehoufes broken	then were the horse hoofes smitten asunder	= G
Manacled	2 Sam. 3: 34 Ppl. C. 1306 etc.	thy handes were not manacled	bound	= C	= C	= C
Manchet	1 Kgs 4: 22 Adj. C. 1430-1881. 'Manchet' is finest kind of wheaten bread	manchet floure	fyne meel	fine floure	= T	= G

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Mandragoras	Gen. 30: 14 N. C. 1000-1876. W = T	mädragoras	= T	mandrakes	= T; marg.: What kynd of fruite this was, it is not certayne: it is commended for his sweete smell. Cant. vii.	= G
Manfully	Num. 24: 18 Adv. C. 1400 etc.	manfully	= T	valiantly	= T	= G
Manginess	Deut. 28: 27 N. C. 1400 etc.	maungynesse	= T	itche	= G	= G
Mangy	Lev. 21: 20 Adj. <i>OED</i> first citation in this sense, c. 1540	maunge	scuruy	= C	= C	= C
Marshal	Gen. 37: 36 N. Ancient.	his chefe marshall	= T	cheif stuarde	= G	captaine of the guard
	T.: 'Marshall, In hebrue he is called Sar tabaim: as thou woldest saye, lorde of the slaughtermen. And though that Tabaim be takē for cokes in many places, for the cokes did sle the beastes the selues in those dayes: yet it may be taken for them that put men to execution also. And that me thought it should here best signifie in as moch as he had oversight of the kinges preson and the kinges prisoners were they neuer so great mē were vnder his custodye. And therefore I call him cheffe marshall an officer as is the lefetenaunte of the toure, or master of the marshalsye' (Mombert, p. 155)					
Maund	Exod. 29: 3 N. Wicker or woven basket with handles. Ancient -1888 (now only local or dialect)	maunde	= T	basket	= T	= G
Meekedest	2 Kgs 22: 19 V. C. 1200-1583. W ¹ = T	mekedest	humbled	= C	= C	= C
Meinie	Gen. 22: 3 N. Glossed by Daniell: 'followers; a household'. C. 1290-1904	two of his meyny	two yonge men	two of his seruants	two of his young men	= B
Merced	Exod. 21: 22	then shall he be mersed	punyshed for money	punished	= G	= G

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Merced (cont.)	2 Chr. 36: 3 V. 1483-1661	merced the lande in an hūdred talentes of syluer	condemned	= C; marg.: To pay this as a yerely tribute	= T	= C; marg.: <i>Hebr. mulcted</i>
Merciless	Deut. 13: 15 Adv. Only <i>OED</i> citations as adv., 1556-67	destroye it mercylesse	and damne the cite	destroy it utterly	= G	destroying it utterly
Metal	Exod. 32: 4 N. <i>OED</i> : a. 1300	a calfe of molten metall	a molten calfe	= C	= T	= C
	etc.; 'metal' 1e, in sense of 'cast-metal', especially 'cast-iron', first citation: 1794. 'Metal' is T.'s addition to the Hebrew, which simply means 'cast': Hebrew 4541. maccekah, mas-say-kaw'; from Heb 5258; prop. a pouring over, i.e. fusion of metal (espec. a cast image); by impl. a libation, i.e. league; concr. a coverlet (as if poured out):-covering, molten (image), vail					
Methought	Gen. 37: 9 V. Ancient to late 19th c. Also Gen. 41: 3: him thought	me thought	= T	beholde	= G	= G
Mette	Ruth 3: 15 V. A. 1300, but <i>OED</i> notes uncommon until 19th c.	mette	meet	measured	= T	= G
Midwife	Exod. 1: 16 V. <i>OED</i> first	mydwiue	helpe the wemen	do the office of a midwife	= G	= G
	citation 1638; 'mydwyuyng' is noted from this verse in W ¹					
Mince	Lev. 2: 6 V. C. 1390 etc.	mynce it small	cut it in pieces	parte it in pieces	= G	= G
Misdoing	Lev. 22: 16 N. 1340 etc.	mysdoynge	= T	iniquitie of <i>their</i> trespass	= T	iniquitie of trespass
Misfortune	Gen. 42: 4 N. 1494 etc.	mysfortune	= T	death	destruction	mischife
Mizzling	Deut. 32: 2 N. 1483 etc. Not considered obsolete or archaic by <i>OED</i>	the mesellynge vpō the herbes	rayne	showre	= G	smal raine

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Monstrous	Lev. 21: 18 Adj. Uncertain	any monstruous mēbre	any mishapen member	= C	= C	any thing superfluous
	which sense in <i>OED</i> fits. Possibly 1500-1520, but first citation for 2, of animals and plants: Abnormally formed..., 1597; and for 2b, the same said of human beings, 1586 (this latter obsolete). Earliest citation in any sense: 1460					
Morian	2 Chr. 14: 9 N. 1500-1657	Morian	= T	of Ethiopia	blacke Morian	Ethiopian
Mould	Gen. 2: 7 N. Ancient.	moulde	= T	dust	= G	= G
Muffled	Lev. 13: 45 V. <i>OED</i> as verb 1430 on, but as participle first cited 1593	shall haue ... his mouth moffeld	the lippes moffled	shal put a couering vpō his lippes	= G	he shall put a couering vpon his vpper lip
Neighbouress	Exod. 3: 22 N. <i>OED</i> : rare; first citation: W. 1388, this verse	neyghbouresse	= T	neighbour	= G	= G
Neverthelater	Exod. 8: 19 Adv. 1330-1652. Common in T	neuerthelater	but	= C	and	= B
Nightcrow	Lev. 11: 16 N. 1340-1825	nightcrowe	= T	= T	= T	nighthauke
On side	1 Sam. 18: 9 Adv. Not in <i>OED</i>	Saul loked on syde of Dauid	Saul loked sowerly vpō Dauid	had an eye on; marg.: Because he bare him ēuie & hatred	= G	Saul eyed Dauid
Or	Exod. 32: 1. Prep. C. 1220-1886	it was lōge or Moses came dounē	made lōge taryenge	or	= T	Moses delayed to come downe

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Origen	Deut. 14: 5 N. <i>OED</i> notes W., and C.'s use of this, following Vulgate and LXX, under 'oryx'; 1382-1601. W ¹ = T	Origen	= T	wilde oxe	Wylde Oxen	= G
Outcry	Judg. 18: 23 N. T. and G. use 'outcry' in v. 23, but G. does not in v. 24, which is essentially as AV. 1382 etc. There are varying understandings among the translators	what ayleth the, that thou makest an outcry?	crieing	= T	= T	what is this that yee say vnto me, What aileth thee?
Overskipped	Deut. 26: 13 V. C. 1369	I haue not ouerskypped thy commaundmentes, nor forgotten them	transgressed	= C	= C	= C
Overthwart	Deut. 32: 5 Adj. 1325 etc.	the frowarde and ouerthwarte generacion	= T	a frowarde and crooked generacion	a wicked and frowarde generation	a peruerse and crooked generation
Pace	2 Kgs 20: 3 N. Not <i>OED</i>	wepte a great pace	wept sore	= C	= C	= C
Pageants	Exod. 10: 2 N. C. 1380 etc.	the pagiantes which I haue played in Egipte	what I haue done in Egipte	what things I haue done in Egypt	= G	what things I haue wrought in Egypt
Pannier	1 Sam. 17: 22 N. C. 1300 etc.	panyer	vessell	cariage; marg.: <i>Ebr. vessels</i>	vessels	= G; marg.: <i>Hebr. the vessels from vpon him</i>
Parbreak	Num. 11: 20 V. Vomit. C. 1440-1629	that ye be ready to perbrake	tyll ye lothe it	and be lothesome vnto you	= G [it shalbe]	= G [and it bee]
Partlet	Exod. 28: 32 N. 1519-1843	partlet	—	habergeō	= T	= G

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	A V
Party	Gen.: 30: 32 Adj. This sense c. 1386-1707. Not given as obsolete because of 'parti-coloured'	the partie and the spotted amonge the kyddes	partie coloured [first <i>OED</i> citation]	the great spotted, and litle spotted	= T	the spotted and speckled among the goates
Paste	2 Sam. 13: 8 N. 1377 etc.	toke floure & made paste	toke floure, and mixte it	toke floure, and knead it; marg.: <i>Or paste</i>	took flowre, and kneaded it	= B; marg.: Or, <i>paste</i>
Pear	2 Sam. 5: 23 N. Ancient. W = T	Peretrees	= T	mulbery trees	= G	= G
Pease	Gen. 32: 20 V. C. 1275-a. 1652	pease	reconcyle	appease	appeace	= G
Peck	Gen. 18: 6 N. C. 1300 etc.	three pecks of fine meal	= T	measures	= T	= G
Pendant	I Kgs 7: 29 Adj. <i>OED</i> cites the noun in this sense 1322 etc.; as possible is the sense of 'pendent', c. 1412 etc.	pendant worcke	they were set downwardes	thinne worke	= G	= G
Perleyed	Lev. 21: 20 Adj. Not in <i>OED</i>	or perleyed, or gogelyed	or hath eny blemish in the eye, or is gleyd	bleare eied	= G	or a dwarfe, or that hath a blemish in his eye; marg. <i>Or, too slender</i>
Pie	Lev. 11: 18 N. A. 1250-1853	pye	swan	= C	= T	Gier-eagle
Pilled	Judg. 10: 8 V. A. 1225-1867	pyld & oppressed	vexed and oppressed	= C	= T	= C

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Pisser	I Sam. 25: 34 N. 1377 etc., including W. 1382. W = T	a pysser agaynst the wall	one that maketh water agaynst the wall	any that pisseth against the wall	= G	= G
Pitched	Josh. 24: 26 V. C. 1205 etc.	toke a great stonne & pitched it on ende	set it vp	= T	= T	= C
		AV only uses 'pitched' in relation to tents, camping and the tabernacle				
Plague	Deut. 17: 8 N. In sense of blow, stroke, wound, originates with W ¹ , following Vulgate, last cited 1538. Hebrew 5061. nega`, neh'-gah; from Heb 5060; a blow (fig. infliction); also (by impl.) a spot (concr. a leprous person or dress):-plague, sore, stricken, stripe, stroke, wound.	plee and plee, plage and plage	betwixte plee and plee, betwixte stroke and stroke	betwene plea and plea, betwene plague and plague	= G	betweene plea and plea, and betweene stroke and stroke
Play	Exod. 1: 10 V. <i>OED</i> play v. 6b, to deal with; to treat, <i>obs.</i> 1491-1597. Hebrew 2449. chakam, khaw-kam'; a prim. root, to be wise (in mind, word or act):-X exceeding, teach wisdom, be (make self, shew self) wise, deal (never so) wisely, make wiser. AV does not have this sense of 'play' (Job 41: 5 might be so read but the Hebrew gives the normal sense of 'play')	let vs playe wisely with them	deale	worke	deale wytly	= C
Pleasantly	2 Kgs 2: 19 Adv. C. 1380 etc.	the cytie standeth pleasantly	there is good dwellynge in this cite	the situacion of this citie <i>is</i> pleasant	the dwelling of this citie is pleasaunt	= G 1599: this city
Pleck	Lev. 13: 4 N. Only citations c. 1315 and C	a white plecke in the skynne	= T	white spot	= T	bright spot
Plenteously	1 Chr. 29: 21 Adv. 1340-1855. W = T	they slue plenteouslye	plenteously offred	sacrifices in abundance	many sacrifices	= G

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Plots	2 Kgs 3: 19 N. 1463 etc. At v. 25 T. uses 'parcel' for the same Hebrew word	plattes of grounde	feldes	field	platte of ground	piece of land
Plump	2 Sam. 2: 25 N. A. 1400-1826. Daniell glosses: 'massed together'	geathered the selues to gether after Abner on a plumpe	... Abner, and grew to a multitude	... Abnér, & were on an heape	= G	... Abner, and became one troupe
Poke	1 Sam. 17: 49 N. 1276 etc. Dialect except 'pig in a poke'	poke	bag	= C	= C	= C
Portership	1 Chr. 26: 12 N. 1450-1886	offyce of the portershepe	ordinaunce of the dorekepers	the diuisions of the porters	= T	= G
Postern	Judg. 3: 23 Adj. C. 1350 etc. W ¹ : bi the postern; W ² : bi posterne	gat hym oute at a posterne dore	gat him out at the backe dore	gate him out into the porch	= G	went forth through the porche
Poultry	1 Kgs 4: 23 N. C. 1385 etc.	fatt pultrye	foules	fat foule	capons	fatted foule
Pranced	1 Chr. 14: 9 V. In general sense of 'swagger', c. 1400-1848	the Philistines came and praunsed	scattered the selues	spread the selues	= G	= G
Prisoned	1 Kgs 21: 21 Ppl. A. 1300-1878. W ² = T	yf ought be presoned or forsaken	him that is shut vp and lefte behynde	him that is shut vp, as him that is left	him that is shut vp, and left	= B
Privities	Gen. 9: 22 N. C. 1375-1834. In the following verses, T. has 'secrets' (C.: sic) and 'nakydnes' (C.: 'preuyties') for the same Hebrew word; G., B., and AV have 'nakedness' throughout	prevytees	= T	nakednes	= G	= G

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Proudest	Judg. 5: 13 Adj	ȝ proudest of ȝ people	the mighty of the people	= C	= T	the Nobles among the people
Psalter	1 Sam. 10: 5 N. C. 1000-1878	Psalter	psalterie	viole	= T	= C
Purveyance	1 Kgs 4: 27 N. 1387 etc.	made purveyaunce	prouyded ... with vytayles	prouided vitaile	= G	= G
Quenched	Num. 11: 2 V. C. 1290-1623.	and the fire quenched	= T	was quenched	= T	= G
	AV does not use 'quench' in the intransitive sense of 'go out'					
Quere	1 Kgs 6: 5 N. Obsolete form of 'choir'. 1297 etc.	querē	= T	oracle	= T	= G
Quietest	2 Sam. 20: 19 Adj	one of the quyetest & faythfullest cyties	ȝ noble and faithfull cite	<i>one</i> of them, that are peaceable & faithful	= G	= G
Quit	Ruth 2: 12 V. 13th c. -1790	the Lorde quite thy worcke	recompense	= C	= T	= C
Rascal	Num. 11: 4 Adj. <i>OED</i> notes: 'common c. 1530-1650, esp. in <i>rascal people</i> '	the rascall people	the comon sorte of people	a nomber of people	= G	mixt multitude
Ratten	Judg. 15: 15 Adj. Not in <i>OED</i> . Daniell glosses: 'moist and unpleasant, as pus'	Jaw bone of a ratten Asse	cheke bone of a deed asse	new iawebone of an asse	= G	= G
Raught	Ruth 2: 14 V. Archaic form of 'reached'. <i>OED</i> : 'the usual ME <i>raught(e)</i> ... continued in general use down to c 1600, and was frequently employed for half a century later.... The new preterite form <i>reached</i> appears about 1400, but is comparatively rare before 1600'	he raught her parched corne	set	reached	= G	= G

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Raved	1 Sam. 21: 13 V. C. 1374 etc.	raved	shewed himselfe as he had bene madd	fained him selfe mad	= G	= G
Raveners	Judg. 2: 14 N. C. 1374-1697	into the handes of raueners to spoyle them	in to þ handes of those þ	into the h̄ds of spoilers, that spoiled them	= T [that spoyled them]	= G
				spoiled the, that they mighte spoyle them		
Rebellious- ness	1 Sam. 15: 23 N. <i>OED</i> first citation 1583	rebellyous- nesse	rebellion	= C	= C	= C
Refection	Ruth 2: 14 N. 1432-50 etc.	tyme of refecciō	eatinge tyme	meale time	= G	= G
Rehearsal	Exod. 23: 13 N. C. 1386-1870. <i>OED</i> : very common c. 1430-1650	make no rehersall of the names	ye shall not remember them	mencion	= T	= G
Ribbons	Deut. 22: 12 N. <i>OED</i> : first cited 1527, but main entry begins at 1545. Cf. 'guards', Num. 15: 38	rybandes	gardes	fringes	= C	= G
Rice	Gen. 25: 34 N. A. 1234 etc.	potage of redde ryse	meace of ryse	pottage of lentiles	pottage of ryse	= G
Riddeth	2 Sam. 22: 33 V. C. 1200-1868	ryddeth the waye cleare before me	made playne a perfecte waye for me	maketh my way vpright	= T	maketh my way perfect
Room maker	Deut.: 33: 20 N. Not in <i>OED</i>	blessed is the rowmmaker Gad	blessynge haue Gad, which maketh rowme	blessed be he that enlargeth Gad	blessed be he that inlarged Gad	= G

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	A V
Roomth	2 Sam. 22: 20 N. 1540-1643. <i>OED</i> first citation this verse from Cranmer Bible	he brought me out into rowmeth	he broughte me forth in to liberty	broght me forthe into a large place	= T	hee brought me forth also into a large place
Rooting	2 Kgs 19: 30 N. C. 1380-1849	take rotinge downewarde & beare frute vpwarde	take root	= C	= T	= C
Rove	1 Sam. 23: 27 V. <i>OED</i> : intransitive uses from 1536; first transitive use, 'to wander over, traverse', Milton 1634. Cf. 'a-roving', where the aggressive implication is also clear	the Philistines are come in & roue ^e lande	are fallē in to the londe	haue inuaded the land	= G	= G; marg.: <i>Hebr. spread themselves vpon &c</i>
Ruler	1 Kgs 6: 35 N. A. 1400 etc.	goulde made playne by a ruler	plates of gold	golde, finely wrought	= G	gold, fitted vpon the carued worke
Runagate	Gen. 4: 12 N. <i>OED</i> 's earliest example for sense 1, 'an apostate': ?1530. 2. 'deserter, fugitive, runaway': a. 1548- 1890. 3. 'a vagabond, wanderer; a run-about': 1547-1881. Two verses later T. changes to 'wandering'	rennagate	= T	= T	fugitive	= B
Sack	2 Kgs 6: 30 N. C. 1000-c. 1620	he was clothed in sack vnder	he had a sack cloth vnder	he had sacke- cloth within	= C	= G
Saver	Judg. 3: 9 N. A. 1300	sauer; marg.: By these sauers are understāded Rulars or iudges...	saviour	= C	= T	deliuerer; marg.: <i>Hebr. sauour</i>
Scald	Lev. 21: 20 Adj. 1529-1639	skaulde	= T	skabbed	= G	= G

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Scrale	Exod. 8: 3 V. <i>OED</i> in sense of 'teem' cites this from T. and from Lightfoot citing the same verse in 1643	the ryuer shall scrale with frogges	= T	shall scroll ful of frogges	= T	shall bring foorth frogges abundantly
Scurf	Lev. 13: 6 N. C. 1000 etc. (but in sense of 'scab' recorded from c. 1440; now rare)	skyrfe	= T (szkyrfe)	skab	= G	= G
Secretness	Lev. 20: 17 N. Not in <i>OED</i>	secretnesse	preuyte	shame	nakedness	= B
Service	2 Sam. 11: 8 N. A. 1300-c. 1880	a seruyce fro the kinges table	the kynges gifte folowed him	the King sent a present after him	there folowed him a present from the king	a messe of meat from the king
Setstones	Exod. 35: 27 N. Not in <i>OED</i> ; see 'set' ppl. 1e: 'placed in a setting, mounted'; first citation: C.: set rubyes	settstones	= T	stones to be set	= G	= G
Shears	Judg. 16: 17 N. Ancient	there neuer came raser nor sheres	there came neuer rasoure	there neuer came rasor	= G	there hath not come a raso
Shires	1 Kgs 20: 14 N. Ancient	gouernoures of the shires	rulers of the londe	princes of the prouinces	= T	= G
Shope	Gen. 2: 7 V. A. 1000-1557. AV does not use 'shape' as a verb, except for 'shapen'	shope	= T	made; 1599 marg.: or, <i>formed</i>	shape	formed
Shredding	2 Sam. 12: 31 Adj. Ancient	shredyng knyues of yron	hokes and wedges of yron	axes of yron	= G	= G

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Shrewd	Exod. 5: 19 Adj. <i>OED</i> 4: 'of events, affairs, conditions: Fraught or attended with evil or misfortune; having injurious or dangerous consequences... <i>Obs.</i> 1482-1573, or, more generally, to 1821. 'Shrewd case' only instanced from 1536	in shrode case	that it was not amended	in an cuil case	in worse case	= G
Siege	2 Kgs 10: 27 N. C. 1400-1555	brake the house of Baal, & made a sege of it	preuy house	iakes	draughthouse	= B
Simnel	Exod 29: 23 N. 13th c. -1854	symnell	= T	loaf	= T	= G
Slade	1 Sam. 25: 20 N. C. 893-1899	a slade of the hyll	shadowe	secret place	the syde of the hill	couert
Sleds	1 Chr. 21: 23 N. Not in <i>OED</i> . Daniell glosses: 'sledges pulled over corn to thresh it'	thresshyng sleades	vessels to the oxe	thressing instruments	= G	= G
Slit	Deut. 14: 6 V. 1300-1798	cleave the hoffe and slytte it in to two clawes	deuyde not the hoffe in to two clawes	cleaueth ſy clift into two clawes	= G	= G
Smaragdus	Exod. 28: 17 N. 1272-1885. W. = T	smaragdus	smaragde	carbuncle; marg.: <i>Or, emeraude</i>	= T	= G
Snoutnosed	Lev. 21: 18 Adj. <i>OED</i> only citation: 1775	snot nosed	euell faououred nose	a flat nose; marg.: Which is deformed or bruised	a brused nose; marg.: Or, flat	= G
Softness	Deut. 28: 56 N. Ancient. W. = T	softnesse	tenderness	= T	= T	delicatenesse
Soiled	2 Chr. 9: 2 V. 1382-1611	Salomon soyled her all her questions	tolde	declared	= T	= C

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Soleam	Lev. 11: 22 N. Not in <i>OED</i> . Hebrew 5556. col'am, sol-awm'; appar. from the same as Heb 5553 in the sense of crushing as with a rock, i.e. consuming; a kind of locust (from its destructiveness):-bald locust	soleam	selaam	solean; marg.: These were certeine kindes of grashopers, which are not now proprely knownen	= C	Bald-locust
Sorrowings	Judg. 2: 18 N. Ancient	the Lorde had cōpassyon ouer their sorowinges	the LORDE had pitie of their complaynte	the Lord had compassion of their gronings	= T	it repented the LORD, because of their gronings
Sorts	2 Chr. 8: 14 N. <i>OED</i> 'sort' sb ¹ : 3: 'that which is allotted or assigned; a share or portion. <i>Rare</i> '; only citations: 1382, 1483. Not clear that this is the sense, but 'fate' or 'lot', the other senses, are perhaps less close, though they have some justification in the Hebrew: Hebrew 4256. machaloqeth, makh-al-o'-keth; from Heb 2505; a section (of Levites, people or soldiers):-company, course, division, portion. See also Heb 5555. T. uses 'course' for same word later in the verse	put the sortes of prestes in companyes	set the prestes in ordre to their ministracion	set the courses of the Priests to their offices	set the sortes of priestes to their offices	appointed ... the courses of the Priests to their seruice
Sparkle	2 Sam. 14: 7 N. C. 1330 etc. W ² = T	they shall quenche my sparkle which is left	they mynded to put out my sparke	= T	= T	my cole
Sparrowhawk	Lev. 11: 16 N. 15th c. etc.	sparowhauke	= T	hauke	= G	= G
Spearhead	1 Sam. 17: 7 N. C. 1400 etc.	speare heed	speare	= T	= T	speares head
Specifieth	2 Chr. 30: 18 V. C. 1340 etc.	otherwyse then wrytyngē specfyeth	not as it was written	= C	against the lawe appoynted	otherwise then it was written

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Squaring line	2 Kgs 21: 13 N. <i>OED</i> : 'line' in this sense: c. 1440; 'squaring line' not noted	squarynge lyne	line	= C	= T	plummet
Stand	2 Chr. 10: 8 N. A. 1300-1894	men that ... had stande in his presence	and stode before him	waited on him; marg.: Or, that stode by him, that is, which were of his counsel and secretes	were growen vp with him	that stood before him
Starched	2 Kgs 9: 30 V. Not in <i>OED</i>	starched her eyes	coloured hir face	peinted her face	= G	= G; marg.: <i>Heb. put her eyes in painting</i>
Staves	2 Sam. 1: 18 N. <i>OED</i> : 'staff' 19c: 'a "verse" or stanza of a song. Now STAVE'. 1598 etc. 19b: 'a stanza or set of lines. <i>Obs.</i> '. A. 1530-1697. 'Stave' 5: 'a "verse" or stanza of a poem, song, etc. = STAFF 19c'. 1659 etc.	to teache the children of Israel $\overset{\circ}{y}$ staues therof	teach the childre of Iuda the bowe	teache the children of Iudáh to shoote	teach the children of Iudah <i>the vse</i> <i>of the bow</i>	= B
Steeped	2 Sam 17: 19 Ppl. C. 1400 etc.	steaped barleye	firmentye corne	grounde corne	= G	= G
Stellio	Lev. 11: 30 N. 1388-1863. Correspondences between versions are uncertain here. W. = T	stellio	= T	= T	= T	Cameleon
Stews	1 Kgs 14: 24 N. 1362-1873	a stues of male childre	whoremōgers	Sodomites	= T	= G
Strained	Exod. 39: 21 V. 1387-1856	ad they strayned the brestlappe by his rīgs	fastened	= C	= T	and they did bind the brest plate by his rings

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Streaked	Gen. 30: 39 Ppl. <i>OED</i> first citation ('straked') Matthew Bible, 1537, this verse; -1727	straked	specklede	party colour	ringstraked	= B
Strengthed	2 Chr. 11: 17 V. <i>OED</i> : a. 1175-c. 1440. W. = T	strengthed	= T	strengthened	= T	= G
Stuffed	1 Sam. 19: 13 V. C. 1450 etc.	a pyllow stuffed with goates heare	laied a goates szkinne at the heade of it	= T	= T	a pillow of goats haire
Sturdy	Exod. 1: 19 Adj. C. 1386 etc.	sturdie	= T	liuelie	= G	= G
Sunlight	2 Sam 12: 12 N. C. 1205 etc.	in the open sonne lyght	by Sonne lichte	before the sunne	= T	= G
Surgeon	Exod. 15: 26 N. 14th c. etc. (<i>OED</i> gives this verse in C. for first instance of figurative use)	I am the Lorde thy surgione	= T	that healeth thee	= G	= G
Tangled	Exod. 14: 3 V. 1506 etc.	they are tagled in the lōd	they can not tell how to get out of the londe	= T	= T	intangled
Taxus	Exod. 25: 5 N. <i>OED</i> first cites from C., 1535; -1753	taxus	doo [doe]	badgers	= T	= G
Tellers of fortunes	2 Kgs 21: 6 N. <i>OED</i> first citation of this phrase: 1552. 'Fortune-teller' 1590 etc.	tellers of fortunes	soothsayers	= C	= T	wizards
Tented	Gen. 13: 12 V. 1553-1634	tented	pitched his tent	= C	= C	= C
Thickest	2 Chr. 20: 27 N. C. 1470-1868	amōge the thyckest of the	before them	their head, to goe	their head, for to go	in the forefront

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Thinner	1 Kgs 6: 6 Adj. Ancient	the beames laye, euer thynner and thynner	—	restes	= G	narrowed rests
Thorough	1 Kgs 19: 10 Adv. A. 1240-1853	I haue bene thorow angrye for þ Lord God	zelous	very ielous	ielous	= G
Threaden	Josh. 2: 18 Adj. C. 1400-1870	purple threden coorde	lyne of this rosecoloured rope	corde of red threde	= G	line of scarlet threed
Tillman	Gen. 25: 27 N. 940-1620	tyllman	huszbande man	liued in þ fields; marg.: <i>Ebr. a man of the field</i>	a wylde man; marg.: A man of the filed [sic]	a man of the field
To-go	2 Sam. 17: 17 V. C. 1000-1560	they to go and shewed Kynge Dauid	they wente on their waye	they went	= G	= G
Toad	Lev. 11: 29 N. C. 1000 etc.	tode	= T	frog; marg.: The grene frog that sitteth on the busshes	= T	Tortois
Toot-hill	Gen. 31: 49 N. Daniell glosses: 'hill used for a lookout'. 1382-1894	totehill	testimony	Mizpah; marg.: <i>Or, watch tower</i>	= G.; marg.: Mitspah. That is, a lokyng glassee	= G; marg.: That is, A <i>beacon: or, watch tower</i>
Trespasser	Lev. 5: 3 N. 1362-1742	he is a trespaser	þ same hath offended	he hathe sinned	he hath trespassed	he shalbe guilty

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Trimmed	Josh. 4: 13 V. <i>OED</i> 6: 'to provide or furnish	vpon a fourty thousand trymmed for warre	ready harnessed to the warre	prepared	= G	= G
	<i>with what is necessary for the purpose in view; to equip, supply' (first citation relates to soldiers): 1523-1667. AV does not use 'trimmed' in this sense</i>					
Trounced	Judg. 4: 15	the Lord trouensed Sisara ... wyth the edge of the swerde	discomfited	destroyed	= G	= C
	2 Chr. 15: 6 V. <i>OED</i> : obsolete transitive sense, harass, discomfit: 1551 Bible (this verse) -1655	God wyll trownce the with all aduersyte	God shal vexe them	God troubled them	God did moue all aduersitie among them	God did vex them
Trump	Num. 10: 5 V. 14th c. -1535 (C., 2 Chr. 13: 5)	trompe	= T	blowe an alarme	= G	= G
Tufts	Lev. 19: 27 N. Fits <i>OED</i> 1, 'a bunch of small things ... as hairs...': c. 1386 etc.; but note 2: 'a small tufted patch of hair on the head or chin; a lock; an imperial': first cited 1601	tuftes of thy beerde	clyppe thy beerde cleane off	= T	= T	corners of thy beard
Tumbled	2 Sam. 20: 13 V. 1375 etc.	as sone as he was tombeled out of ^e waye	whan he was put out of the waye	when he was remoued out of the way	assone as he was remoued out of the way	when he was remoued out of the high way
Tunicle	Exod. 28: 4 N. C. 1415-1877. T.: 'moch like the vppermost garnet of the deake' (Mombert, p. 170)	tunycle	= T	robe	= T	= G
Turmoiled	1 Sam. 7: 10 V. 1530 (T., pref. to Gen.) -1894	turmoyled	discomfited	scatred	= G	= C

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Tush	Gen. 3: 4 Int. C. 1440-1891	tush	= T	at all	—	surely
Tyrants	Gen. 6: 4 N. A. 1300 etc.	tirantes	Giants	= C	= C	= C
Tysed	2 Chr. 18: 31 V. C. 1275-1859	God tysed them away	God turned them from	& moued them to <i>departe</i>	God chased them away from him; marg.: Or, moued them to depart from him	= G [and God moued]
Unbridled	Gen. 24: 32 Adj. ?a. 1400 etc.	vnbrydeld	= T	vnsadeled	vnharnessed	vngirded
Uncorrupt	Gen. 17: 1 Adj. 1382-1794. AV uses 'vncorruptible', 'vncorruptness', 'incorruptible', 'incorruption'	vncorrupte	= T	vpright	perfect	= B
Uncorruptly	Judg. 9: 16 Adv. OED: 1553-1736	vncorruptlye	iustly	= T	= T	sincerely
Undermined	Gen. 27: 36 V. A. 1430 etc.	vndermyned	= T	deceiued	= T	supplanted
Ungracious	Num. 20: 5 Adj. 1387-a. 1634	vngracious place	place	miserable place	euil place	= B
Unhallow	Num. 18: 32 V. OED: first citation 1535, C., Isa. 56: 2; -1860	vnhalowe	= T	pollute	= G	= G
Unhappily	2 Kgs 13: 11 Adv. C. 1375-1781	did vnhappely in ſyght of the Lord	did that which was euill	did euil	= C	= C
Unhappy	Deut. 32: 28 Adj. A. 1300 etc.	nacion that hath an ynhappye forcast	a people, wherin is no councell	nacion voyde of counsel	= G	= G
Unhele	Lev. 18: 7 V. C. 1000-1590	vnheale	vncouer	= C	= C	= C

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Uninhabited	Judg. 5: 7 Adj. <i>OED</i> : 1571 etc.	the vyllages were vnenhabyted in Israel	there was scarcenesse ... of houszbande men	the townes were not inhabited	The inhabitants of the townes were gone	<i>the inhabitants of the villages ceased</i>
Unpatient	Num. 11: 1 Adj. C. 1380-1861	waxed vnpacient	= T	became murmurers; marg.: <i>Ebr. as iniust complainers</i>	dyd wickedly	complained
Unperformed	1 Sam. 3: 19 Adj. 1442 etc.	left none of his wordes vnparformed	there fell none of all his wordes vpō the earth	let none of his wordes fall to the ground	= T; marg.: Or, fall to the grounde	= G
Unquiet	1 Sam. 28: 15	why hast thou vnquieted me?	disquieted	= C	= T	= C
	2 Sam. 15: 20 V. 1382-1648.; common c. 1525-c. 1625	should I unquiet thee today to go with us?	to daye thou iuperdest to go with vs	shulde I cause thee to wander to day and go with vs?		should I this day make thee goe vp and downe with vs?
Unright	Gen. 16: 5 Adj. C. 888-1607	thou dost me vnrighte	I must suffre wronge for thy sake	thou doest me wrōg	there is wrong done vnto me by thee	my wrong be vpon thee
Unshoed	Deut. 25: 10 Adj. 1481-1868. ('Unshoed' may be read as 'unshod', used once by AV: Jer. 2: 25: withhold thy foote from being vnshod. The closeness is shown by W.: W ¹ : The hows of the vnshod; W ² : The hows of the man vnschood). W ² = T	the vnshoed housse	the vnshodd house	house of him whose shooe is put off	the vnshodhouse	house of him that hath his shooe loosed
Unthriftiness	1 Sam. 1: 16 N. C. 1430-1874	daughter of vnthriftnes	daughter of Belial	wicked woman	= G	= C
Unthrifts	1 Sam. 30: 22 N. C. 1330-1862. <i>OED</i> notes: frequent c. 1520-1690	vnthrites	Belials men	wicked	= T	<i>men of Belial</i>

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Unthrifty	1 Sam 2: 12	vnthrifte chylđren; marg.: The	childre of Belial	wicked men	= C; marg.: Or, wicked men	sonnes of Belial
	1 Sam. 25: 25 Adj. <i>OED</i> 3: 1388- 1536	this unthrifty man Nabal; marg.: That is, fool	man of Belial	wicked man		= C
Unwieldy	1 Sam. 4: 18 Adj. C. 1386-1685	he was olde & unweldie	he was olde. & an heuy man	he was an olde mā, and heauy	= G	= G
Unwitting	1 Kgs 1: 11	vnweting vnto ouremaster Dauid?	oure lorde Dauid knoweth not therof?	Dauid our lord knoweth it not	= G	= G
	1 Kgs 2: 32 Adv., adj. C. 893 etc. <i>OED</i> : rare after c. 1600 until revived ... c. 1800	my father unwitting	my father Dauid knew not	= C		my father Dauid not knowing
Uplandish	Judg. 5: 11 Adj. <i>OED</i> : rustic, uncultivated, boorish: 1387-1647	vplandyshe folcke	huszbande men	people	= G	<i>inhabitants</i>
Upper hand	Gen. 30: 8 N. 1481 etc. <i>OED</i> : freq. c. 1560-c. 1600	gotē ſ vpper hadē	= T	= T		haue preuailed
Vantage	Lev. 25: 36 N. <i>OED</i> : pecuniary profit or gain, c. 1430-1573	vantage	more then thou hast geuē	= T	= T	increase

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Vaunt	Judg. 7: 2 N. <i>OED</i> : 'vaunt 2: <i>to make (ones or a)</i> <i>vaunt, to boast or brag. Now rare': 1530 etc.</i> Verb only in AV	lest Israel make their vawnte	lest Israel boost them selues	lest Israél make their vante	= T	lest Israel vaunt themselves
Verses	Exod. 34: 28 N. <i>OED</i> 4: 'one of the sections of a psalm or canticle corresponding to the compound unit (usually a couplet) of Hebrew poetry. (Now merged in next [i.e. b]): c. 1200-1526. b: 'one of the sections into which a chapter of the Bible is divided': first citation: G., 1560	verses	= T	commande- ments	= C	= G
Vouchsafe	2 Sam. 9: 8 V. 14th c. etc.	thou shuldest vouchesafe to loke	thou turnest the to	thou shuldest loke	= G	= G
Wager	1 Kgs 20: 25 N. 1303 etc.	for a wager	thou shalt se that	douteles	thou shalt see vs	surely
Wait	2 Chr. 8: 14 N. <i>OED</i> sb does not include this sense of a duty	put the sortes of prestes ... vnto ſ offyces,	in their offyces	their watches	= G	their charges
Wastels	Lev. 24: 5 N. C. 1300-1638	wastels	cakes	= C	= C	= C
Waster	1 Chr. 11: 23 N. In sense of cudgel, staff, club: 1533-1615	waster	staffe	= C	= T	= C
Wayward	1 Kgs 20: 43 Adj. C. 1380-1894, but it is not clear that <i>OED</i> 1 exactly describes this use.	waywarde and heuye	troubled in his mynde and full indignacion	heauy and in displeasure	wayward and in displeasure	heauie, and displeased
Weaponed	1 Chr. 12: 2 Adj. C. 1000-1898	wepened with boowes	coulde handle bowes with both their handes	= T	= T	armed

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	A V
Weathering	Deut. 28: 22 N. Uncertain whether this fits any of the <i>OED</i> definitions	feuers, heet, burnynge, wetherynge	venome	sword	sword	= B; marg.: <i>Or, drought</i>
Weeded	1 Chr. 17: 8 V. 1526 etc.	haue weded out all thyne enemyes	roted out	destroyed	= T	cut off
Wened	2 Chr. 18: 31 V. 971-1848	they had wet he had bene	they thoughte	they sayd	= G	= G
Whipped	2 Sam. 19: 17 V. C. 1440 etc.	they whypte ouer Jordan	gat them thorow	wet ouer	= G	= G
Whorehouse	Num. 25: 8 N. 14th c. etc. W. = T	horehousse	= T	tent	= G	= G
Whorekeeper	Deut. 23: 17 N. 1530 (<i>T.:</i> <i>Pract. Prel.</i>) -1621	whorekeper	= T	= T	= T	Sodomite
Wipe out	2 Kgs 10: 17 V. <i>OED</i> 'wipe' 6d: 'to do away with... Now always with <i>out</i> '. First citation with 'out': a. 1842. 'Wipe out' in different sense is found in, e.g. C., Ps. 68: 28 (first citation): let the be wyped out of ^e þ boke of the lyuinge	tyll he had wypte him out	destroyed	= C	= T	= C
Withoutforth	Deut. 32: 25 Prep. C. 1380 etc. W. = T	without forth	without	= C	= T	= C
Wood	2 Chr. 27: 4 Adj. Not in <i>OED</i>	wood coutrye	woddes	forests	= T	= G
Workday	1 Sam. 20: 19 N. C. 1430 etc.	when it is worckdaye	on the worckdaye	when this matter was in hand	when the businesse was <i>in hand</i>	= B.; marg.: <i>Heb. in the day of the businesse</i>
Wrenched	Num. 22: 25 V. C. 1050-1641	she wrenshed vnto the walle	= T	she thrust her selfe vnto the wall	= G	= G

	Notes	Tyndale	Coverdale	Geneva	Bishops'	AV
Yearling	Num. 29: 17 Adj., N. N. 1465 etc.; adj., 1528 etc.	yerlynge	of a yeare olde	= C	= T	of the first yeere
Youngling	1 Sam. 17: 56 N. C. 900-1876	youngelyng	childe	yong man	= T	stripling

Appendix II

David Norton

Some groupings of Tyndale's words following the Oxford English Dictionary

1. Words not found in the *OED*

Abrech	Guards	Pace	Squaring line
Arb	Hargol	Perleyed	Starched
Baals	Hartgoat	Ratten	Wait
Bloodvenger	Headbald	Room maker	Weathering
Converting house	Inclosers	Secretness	Wood
A fellowship	Ixion	Setstones	
Firstbornship	Light-brained	Sleds	
Forward	On side	Soleam	

2. Words first cited from Tyndale

A-good	Famishment	Scrale	Turmoiled
Fainty	Linkwork	Trounced	Whorekeeper

3. Words first cited from other authors in 1530

Change	Luckily	Staves	Vaunt
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4. Words which appear to antedate the *OED*'s evidence in some way

Abstainer	Cheviseance	Handsomely	Snoutnosed
Adjuration	Coverlet	Hard heels	Streaked
Afterbirth	Dazing	Head-piece	Surgeon
Aftergathering	Evil-favouredly	Healthsome	Taxus
Arm	Executer	Jestingstock	Tellers of fortunes
Ashpans	Facts	Layers await	Teated
Aways	Fainted	Mangy	Tuft
Black Moors	Flaggy	Merciless	Uncorruptly
Blood	Forecast	Metal	Unhallow
Bonfire	Freckles	Midwife	Uninhabited
Dash out the brains	Furs	Monstrous	Verses
Settest up thy bristles	Goggle-eyed	Rebelliousness	Waster
Bucking time	Graver (i)	Rove	Wipe out
Caller-on	Handfast	Runagate	
	Handfasted	Shrewd case	

5. Words other than those in group 1 which appear to have lost currency by 1611
 (* Words last cited 1604–1611)

A-dread	Dragged	Origen	To-go
Back*	Dressing-knife	Plague	Trump
Broke	Famishment	Play	Unhele
Cense	Flatpieces	Pleck	Unright*
Clouden	Franchise	Shope	Unthrifty
Commoned	Hoared	Shrewd case	Vantage
Courtesy (i)	Inhabitaters	Siege	
Debite	Lusty	Soiled*	
Discourage*	Merciless	Sorts	

6. Words also found in the Wycliffite Versions

i. Words found in W¹

Feared	Guts	Origen	
Gridiron	Meekedest	Wiselier	

ii. Words found in W²

Bewept	Ixion	Mette	Sparkle
Conjure	Maidenhead	Prisoned	Unshoed

iii. Words found in both versions

Achat	Mandragoras	Postern	Whorehouse
Arses	Nightcrow	Smaragdus	Withoutforth
Byss	Pear	Softness	
Cauldrons	Pisser	Stellio	
Jay	Plenteously	Strenghted	

Jacob Latomus

His Three Books of Confutations Against

William Tyndale

*For this English translation of the Latin we are greatly indebted to James A. Willis,
Professor Emeritus of Classics and Ancient History, the University of Western
Australia, and to Dr Richard K. Moore, of the Baptist Theological College of Western
Australia, who requested it.*

Jacob Latomus to His Friend Livinus Crucius, Greeting

When William Tyndale lay in prison for the Lutheran heresy, he wrote a book on this theme, that faith alone justifies before God. In that book he strove to take away all merit of good works; for as the foundation and the key (as he called it) of the salutary understanding of Holy Writ he started from this premise, that God grants us everything freely through Christ, having meanwhile no regard to works. On this occasion I have written three books: in the first I took away the said key and put in its place another, following the Apostle Paul, from whose epistles and from other scriptural passages I shewed that in the faithful who have previously been freely justified, the merits of good works have a place, and that the just, advancing by these good works, earn the crown of glory to be granted by the Just Judge. Tyndale, having nothing that he could reasonably oppose to this reply, chose rather to seem to reply that to admit his error. Therefore he wrote a second book more fully on the same assertion and on other principal articles, indeed on virtually all articles in which the Lutherans contradict the sound doctrine of the Church. Hence it was necessary for me to reply to his examples and reasonings with which he supported his assertion in a second book, in which (if I am not mistaken) I clearly overthrew his bases of argument and shewed the absurdity of his opinion. To these was added a third, in which I briefly and clearly set out what should be thought on each point, for Tyndale made this request, that he should be able not merely to hear, but to read my opinions. I was unwilling to deny him anything, for although I feared that to him it would be of little good, I hoped that others might gain somewhat from it.

Louvain, June 12th 1542.

Jacob Latomus
Confutations Against William Tyndale
Book One

In order to satisfy your request, Tyndale, as far as the Lord shall grant, in which you ask me to reply in writing to the declaration and proof of your first assertion, in which you affirm that only faith justifies before God, it seems advantageous both for the clarity and the brevity of the discussion, that I should first set out those points on which we agree, so that only those on which we are at issue may be left for discussion. Therefore, as I estimate, we agree on this, that all Holy Writ is divinely inspired, and that every part thereof is true, as being divinely revealed. Secondly we agree on this, that predestination, election, vocation, and justification, by which men from being unjust [B] become just, and from being impious become pious, from being sinners become innocent, and by which in general terms remission of any sin takes place both as concerns the guilt and stain of it and as concerns the liability to eternal punishment – that these things, I say, occur freely and are not subject to human deserving. Thirdly we are at one on this, that the grace which is given to those who worthily receive the sacraments of baptism or penance is not subject to human merit, but is simply given freely by God through Christ from the merit of his Passion – a thing which manifestly appears in little children who are now baptized or formerly were circumcised; for since they lack the use of reason, it is plain that they in no wise cooperate with God, who sanctifies them by the washing of regeneration.

Fourthly, as regards adults, we agree in this, that faith does not justify them unless they acknowledge their sin and confess that the law is just and that its Author is just, unless condemning themselves and their sins they flee to the refuge of Christ's blood so that they may freely receive from God not only mercy and the remission of sins, but also the spirit of grace and the strength to fulfil the law, &c. Fifthly, that the dogma [C] of those is false, who assert that an evil life can consist with the best faith, whether faith be understood as confidence or hope or sure expectation of good promised by God.

Sixthly we do not differ on this point, that you say that justifying faith is not simply any faith, but that faith which works through love, and that does not exist alone in the mind of the man justified or believing, but has companions both antecedent and following – antecedent being the fear of God and contrition and sorrow for one's sins, to which may be added the hope of forgiveness, while following are tolerance and meekness and compassion and the other fruits of Christ's Spirit. I have decided not to make it an issue that you seem to put faith before charity, when charity is the form and as it were the life of faith, as the Apostle says that the way of charity is more excellent than that of faith, and that there now abide these three, faith, hope, and charity, and that the greatest of these is charity. Setting that aside, or reserving it for another time, we agree in this, that a solitary faith, without the accompaniment of other virtues, does not justify.

[D] Seventhly we agree in this, that the Apostle in saying that man is justified by faith without the works of the Law (in Romans and Galatians, and wherever he says this) does not mean this only of the written law proper to the people of the Jews, i.e. ceremonial and judicial laws, but of moral laws which had their binding force not only from the law of Moses but from natural or written law, and that by the benefit of such laws men knew what was right action and what was sin, but that such knowledge did not suffice to fulfil the Law without the grace and spirit of Christ, and that this grace and spirit are given by

Christ to whomsoever they are given. These are the points in which we do not disagree. Now having set out briefly in what matters we agree, we must next see what those are on which we disagree. *First* we do not agree on the ‘key of the saving knowledge of Scripture’, for you take that as being that faith alone in the mercy of God through Jesus Christ, through the grace of Christ, and through the works of Christ, without respect of any merit or goodness of our works, justifies us in the sight of God; and this opinion you repeatedly express. [f.183v.] Now in this view, since you take away all deserving of eternal life from all the saints except from Christ alone, on that ground I differ from you. You should not be offended if in this matter I believe Holy Writ and the Apostle Paul rather than I believe you, for Paul propounds a different key to Scripture and to its salutary understanding, particularly as concerns the understanding of the Law and the Prophets, namely conversion to the Lord. In 2 Cor. 3 [v.14] we read: *For until this day remaineth the same veil, ...but when he shall turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away.* Likewise 2 Tim. 3 [v.14]: *But continue thou in the things which thou hast learned and hast been assured of, knowing of whom thou hast learned them; and that from a child thou hast known the holy scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus.* In these two places Paul clearly teaches that faith in Christ is the key to the salutary understanding of the Law and the Prophets – faith, I say, not in this or that article, but catholic and orthodox, i.e. right and entire, certainly not some particular faith in something which is contrary to Scripture or to any part of it – of which nature is that key of yours so far as concerns that part in which you deny all merit of just men as regards [B] eternal life, except of Christ alone, as will appear below, where with Christ’s favour we shall shew that this opinion belongs to infidelity; which infidelity (according to the same Apostle’s meaning) closes the mind so that it does not see the glory of Christ. He says (2 Cor. 4 [v.3]): *But if our gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost: In whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them that believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of the invisible God, should shine unto them.* In the eleventh chapter of Luke [v.52] the lawyers are not rebuked for having taken away that key of yours which I have just shewn to be false, but because by false traditions they had taken from themselves and from others the true understanding of the Law and the Prophets, by which understanding of the Law and the Prophets, as by a key, they ought to have come themselves and to have drawn others to the knowledge and recognition of Christ then present. For the Law and the Prophets were a kind of key to understand the mystery of redemption given to the Jews, whence the Law has been called *a schoolmaster [C] to bring us unto Christ* [Gal. 3,24]. But the heathen and the stubborn Jews who do not understand the Law come contrariwise to the understanding of the Law and Prophets when they have previously accepted faith in Christ. For the figure and that which is figured mutually declare each other. Now if, as you write, you desire to be instructed, it is needful that you seek the truth with cautious solicitude, and that in reading the Scriptures you should not so much seek wherewith to strengthen your opinions and subvert those of others, as to understand what you are reading; and this the attentive reader of your writings will see that you are not yet doing. For example, you take something from the first chapter of Paul’s epistle to the Romans; then with closed eyes you pass on to the third chapter, disregarding the second, in which there is matter that might make you change your mind, for in that chapter Paul plainly speaks of good works and of bad, and of what God will render to them in the day of judgement. *He will*

render, says Paul [Rom. 2,6], *to every man according to his deeds*: *To them who by patient continuance in well doing seek for glory and honour and immortality, eternal life*, and more which it would take too long to transcribe. Likewise you subjoin another passage from Paul's [second] epistle to the Corinthians which you think supports your dogma, but you omit the eighth and ninth chapters, in which Paul [D] strongly and instantly urges the Corinthians to be generous to the saintly poor, where among other things he says of the reward of this work: *He which soweth sparingly shall reap also sparingly; and he which soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully. Every man according as he purposeth in his heart, not grudgingly, or of necessity: for God loveth a cheerful giver*, etc., where he shews that free-hearted giving of this kind has merit and rich reward in the sight of God. Again, when you had quoted what you chose from the epistle to the Galatians, you were unwilling to consider what is said in that same letter [6,6] concerning communication in good things: *Let him that is taught in the word communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things. Be not deceived; God is not mocked: for whatever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. For he that soweth in the flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption, but he that soweth to the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting.* I forbear to explain what is meant in this passage by sowing and reaping; for there is scarcely found one so ignorant of holy things as not to accept to sow as meaning to deserve and to reap as meaning to receive [F.184r.] according to desert. He continues: *And let us not be weary in well doing, for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not.* You deal likewise with other passages of Scripture, as in the Epistle to the Hebrew, which might have instructed you not only concerning faith, but also concerning works and their reward: in c.6 [v.10] he says: *For God is not unrighteous to forget your works and labour of love, which ye have shewed towards his name, in that ye have ministered to the saints, and do minister.* In the tenth chapter [v.35], after other matter he concludes: *Cast not away therefore your confidence, which hath great recompence of reward &c.* In the second chapter [c.11 v.24] he says of Moses: *By faith Moses, when he was come to years, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter... for he had respect unto the recompence of the reward.* In the gospel of Matthew, after speaking of the blessings that are given freely by the Spirit, you failed to add the words [c.5 v.12], *Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven*, because that did not support your dogma. Later in the same sermon [c.6 v.6] Christ plainly teaches that the reward of alms and prayer and fasting is given by the Heavenly Father if works of this kind be rightly done in the way and to the end that [B] Christ prescribes: this you have omitted to consider. From these few examples (to omit innumerable others) it can be seen that, if you seek the truth with care and caution, you will receive sure teaching not only on faith, viz. that it justifies us, but also on works, viz. that they are deserving before God when they are done by men previously justified and sanctified by faith. Now since these sayings of Paul and Matthew are so plain that there can be no doubt in them, it is needful so to understand justifying faith in Paul that it does not prejudice works done as a result of faith working through love so far as concerns the power of deserving. The Apostle in his Epistle to the Romans proves by efficacious reasoning and by witness of Scripture that no works of nature or of the Law earned justification, and that therefore the Jews and the heathen in this respect are equal, that the former boast vainly of the Law, the latter of nature, when both owe their evangelical salvation to God's grace and both with the same right and in the same way have been made sons of Abraham, i.e. of the promise, since

God who promised sons to Abraham, gathered believers from both those groups of whom Abraham was to be [C] the father, freely granting faith to both, and purifying the hearts of both by faith, so that no one should think that the first grace by which he believed and obtained the remission of sins was rendered to him in any way for his works, whether of nature or of the Law, but that the mouths of all should be closed and the whole world subjected to God, who enchain'd all in sin so that forgiveness should appear to be an unow'd gift of God's free granting, not something earned by human justice or paid as a reward of merit by divine justice. Thus the Apostle's entire argument for faith and grace is directed against works going before, not following after, justification.

Likewise we disagree on this point, that you make no difference between works which precede first justification and those which follow it, insofar as concerns the power and efficacy of deserving before God, while I distinguish between them, as Holy Writ compels us to make a distinction between those works. Works going before do not earn justification. [D] but works going after deserve beatitude. Call the labourers, he says [Matth. 20.8], and give them their hire, speaking certainly of those already justified, who by grace have received the virtue of labouring that they should be worthy of their hire. Likewise the Lord has delivered his goods to his servants [Matth. 25.14], to one five talents, to another two, and to another one, and the Lord rewards those who have gained and increased their Lord's goods, but the slothful servant, who had not put his Lord's money to usury, He rebukes and condemns. This Christ openly says: does anyone dare to contradict it who wishes to be named and considered a Christian? Likewise we are at issue on this, that by subsequent works nothing is gained for a man justified by faith, because those works only declare, do not increase, the inner existing goodness. This you prove by a simile, viz. that the fruit declares the tree but does not make it either good or bad, and in this way you seek to reconcile Paul and James, saying that the former speaks of inward justification before God, the latter of outward justification before one's neighbour. On this ground you say that Abraham was not justified by [184v.] obedience in circumcising himself [Gen. c.17], and you infer that he was not justified before God by his obedience in offering Isaac [Gen. c.22]. I say, however, that Abraham was justified before God as well by inward faith as by outward works since first from being unjust he became just by faith, then from being just he became more just by subsequent works. That he was justified by obedience in offering Isaac you have the text Genesis c.22 [v.16], where we read: By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, for because thou hast done this thing and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son: That in blessing I will bless thee ...because thou hast obeyed my voice. Observe that Abraham for his part accepted the promises, adding an oath [Gen. 24,3sq.] to mark the immutability of the divine decree, because he obeyed the voice of God commanding his only son to be offered up. This argument clearly disproves the distinction between inward justification before God and outward justification before one's neighbours, since this work of obedience justified Abraham before God also. Now that simile of the tree and its fruit does not square with inward virtue and its work. The corporal bearing of trees and animals weakens the one which bears, and the more it is multiplied, the more it consumes the strength of the one which bears or produces: [B] in what the mind brings forth it is otherwise, for it does not weaken, but rather strengthens and invigorates the one that bears, as may be seen in the sciences and the arts, in prudence and wisdom, which are strengthened, more firmly rooted, and increased by their own workings. In such things a better similitude is that of a

fountain, which without detriment to itself produces a river or a lake. Hence John c.4 [v.14], speaking of the water of grace which Christ gives, says: It shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life. In the seventh chapter [v.38], concerning the Holy Spirit which believers were to receive, Scripture is cited, saying: *Out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.*

Likewise in this we are at issue: you say that we deserve nothing of God because he has no need of our works and they bring him no advantage, but that they are his gifts and that all their advantage returns to us. For I say that although God has no need of our good things, and all the good that we have or do, we have from him, and it benefits us, not him, nevertheless because we do them on his command or suggestion, freely and of our accord for [C] love of him, he has decided to reward us just as if he had needed our works and had drawn some advantage from them. In this way he values the works of mercy done to our neighbours as highly as if they had been done to him in his need: see Matth. c.25 [v.40]: *Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me*, where Christ the Judge declares that he has been fed, clothed, taken in, and visited, saying therefore, *Come ye blessed &c.* In Matth. 10 [v.41] we read: *He that receiveth a righteous man in the name of a righteous man shall receive a righteous man's reward, and he that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall receive a prophet's reward. And whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward.* Do not these and like passages so plainly, so openly, and in so many ways declare God's will concerning future retribution in the life everlasting that there is no way of getting round them? Yet you, as if Scripture were silent on the matter, declare that God's granting everything freely for Christ's sake is to be taken as meaning that to those divinely chosen he grants nothing on account of their preceding merits; you think it is injurious to God and shews ingratitude in man if the latter should ask it [D] as a reward for his good actions. You claim as tending to confirm this view the form of prayer which we find in Scripture, where those praying do not allege their own merits, but say to God, 'For thy goodness, for thy mercy, for thy name, for thy word,' &c.; yet you do not attend to what is equally attested in Scripture, that God blesses Isaac and Jacob for the sake of Abraham, and that Moses in his prayer [Deut. 9,27] calls to mind God's servants Abraham, Isaac and Jacob when interceding for the people, and the Fourth Book of Kings, c.20 [II Kings 20,6] declares that God spared, guarded, and freed the City of Jerusalem for his servant David's sake. Likewise Hezekiah in his prayer reminds God of his former merits, as we read in Isaiah c.38 [v.3]; nor is it difficult to collect from the Psalms prayers in which David alleges his good actions, as in the 7th, 15th, and 118th psalms, where he alleges [185r.] his innocence, his love of his enemies, his having made just judgements, and his having inclined his heart to the Lord's commandments because of retribution [Ps.118,112]. Certainly St Peter confidently says: *Behold, we have forsaken all, and followed thee; what shall we have therefore?* The Lord's reply is well known – Matth. 19 [v.28–30] and Mark 10 [v.29–31]. Do you think that all these witnesses of Scripture, and others innumerable besides, are overcome by that similitude which you adduce of the physician and the sick man drinking a bitter potion – the patient deserving nothing of the physician because the potion is of use to him who takes it, not to the physician? You claim that the situation is the same when a man carries out the commands or counsels of God, because keeping God's commands is beneficial to the man, not to God.

You do not rightly define what it is to deserve of someone or before someone by any work or action; for retribution or reward or payment is earned not only by him who does somewhat that works to the advantage of him who gives the reward, but by him who does the latter's will or pleasure. Return to the similitude of the physician: let the physician be a king who decrees that in his realm any sick man who yields to his [B] only begotten son and promises to be cured by him will be the king's friend and share his table and his other goods, simply because the king is pleased so to decree. The sick man, obedient to the law, earns the inheritance and justly asks for it, not because in allowing himself to be cured and in voluntarily taking medicines suited to restoring health he did any good to the king, but because he carried out the king's will, meanwhile not neglecting his own advantage. If you do not admit the truth of this, you will not find out how to defend the merits of Jesus Christ the man (which you rightly extol and magnify as you ought): he came into this world in order to do his Father's will and to fulfil his Father's purpose, not to bestow any advantage on his Father, for the blessedness of the Father would suffer no diminution of the Son never became man nor ever suffered the cross; the Father could have found another way of freeing the elect from sin and of bringing them to predestined blessedness (this way pleased him as being more suitable for saving our misery); and in fact nowhere does grace appear more pure and unowed than in Christ the man. [C] For in things that have arisen in the course of time the greatest grace is that man has been joined to God in unity of person, as Augustine says, *De Trinitate* C.19: in lib.1, c.15 he explains this at length concerning the predestination of the saints. For that man, or rather that humanity before man was, did not in any way deserve to be taken up by God into unity of person. Note therefore that, just as the highest grace freely (and entirely freely) bestowed on Christ the man with fullness and not according to measure did not prevent his actions and passions from being meritorious – indeed they were meritorious precisely because they proceeded from Christ as a result of such exceeding grace –, so in the Christian justified by grace his following works are meritorious before God, and the greater the grace from which they proceed, the greater is their merit. For just as Christ is just and justifying, is wise and makes us wise, holy and makes us holy, so by his merit he makes us to merit, seeking and obtaining from the Father not only health and strength for our limbs, but also the power and efficacy for them to work together with God who works in us. It should not seem strange that God should take as participants in the divine operation those whom he has deigned to make participants in the divine nature. [D] The glory of Christ is made brighter if his virtue is bestowed upon others than if it were kept for him alone. Therefore in reply to your request I say and openly declare that in all good works the grace of God goes before, accompanies, and follows, and that without this grace there is no good work in man. If anyone should deny this and think that in order to do good it is enough to have knowledge of what is to be done – either the knowledge of the Law, or together with that knowledge the faculty of free will, even of a will freed from sin by its sole remission with the general concurrence (viz. that by which God as the first efficient cause concurs with all second causes according to his wisdom by which he comes firmly to the end and disposes all smoothly) even after obtaining remission of sins –, such a man falls off towards the infidelity and error of the Pelagians; for as Augustine rightly says, 'Neither knowledge of the divine law nor nature nor the sole remission [f.185 v.] of sins is that grace which is given by Jesus Christ Our Lord, but beyond the aforesaid necessaries there is another grace necessary by which nature shall

be healed and a man shall have strength to fulfil the Law, so that sin shall not rule over him.' This grace he designates in another passage, saying that it is the inspiration of love, by which we may do things known to us with holy love. This grace is obtained by faith, yet this faith to deserve it is freely given. From all these premises there does not follow your subsequent assertion that good works are not deserving before God of any good to be granted in this world or in the next, as is plain from what has been said, but both these things must be frankly admitted, that without God's grace we can neither believe in God nor perform any good work, and that when faith has been received and grace has been granted by faith (which is properly love), then we can do good works and by good works earn the reward of life everlasting, because it is needful that he who approaches God should believe that God is and that he rewards those who seek him.

What I have said is not at variance with Luke 15 [c.17 v.10]: *When ye shall have done all those things which are commanded [B] you, say, We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do.* For the purpose of this writing is to shew that because of his condition of servitude a servant ought to be humble and not to puff himself up in pride against his master, because by serving well he has done only that which it was his duty to do in respect of his position as a servant; yet it is still consistent with this that a good master should bestow the grant of liberty or some other boon on one who serves him well as a reward for good service freely given. That this is the meaning of the passage the very words make clear. Likewise Christ does not simply use as servants those men who by reason of their creation are his servants, but he makes his servants into friends and sons by the adoption of grace, as a result of which they have a right to the inheritance to which they rightly aspire. For if they are *children, then heirs*, says the Apostle [Rom. 8,17], *heirs of God and joint-heirs with Christ.* Also Luke 22 [v.28]: *Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations. And I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father has appointed unto me; that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom.* It is not for a servant, in his capacity as servant, to sit at his master's table, but to attend upon his master as he dines, as in the parable [C] of the servant returning from the field [Luke 17,7], to which the passage quoted above is subjoined; yet the Father and the Son have so appointed, that the servant, taken up to be a son, shall share the table and the kingdom. Here we must consider that he who declares that God makes no return for merits seems to be denying that God is a just judge who returns or bestows reward for good works, and thus he goes against Scripture: see Ezekiel 18 [v.5ff.], where he shews that the Lord gives a just return for deserts, as well to those who do good as to those who do evil as is plain to anyone who considers the whole drift of the chapter. Many further testimonies from the Law and the Prophets could be adduced, but this one seems to suffice, being so clear and evident that there is no room for shuffling. I could add (though it is not needed) that passage of the 62nd Psalm [v.11]: *God hath spoken once; twice have I heard this; that power belongeth unto God. Also unto thee, O Lord, belongeth mercy: for thou renderest to every man according to his work.* But your sectaries hear only one thing, namely mercy towards the good and those who are to be saved, who (they say) do not by any work merit the reward of life [D] everlasting, declaring that life everlasting is given purely freely, without any respect being had of works nor any regard of merit except that of Christ alone. From this the further consequence is that the principle of distributive justice has no place in the judgement of God repaying according to merit, except as regards the wicked, whom God justly judges and punishes according to their bad

deserts. On this principle the words of the prophet, *Thou renderest to every man according to his work*, would have to be understood as applying to evil works only; yet the Apostle applies it to both in Romans 2 [v.6] and in II Corinthians 5 [v.10] and I Titus 5 [II Tim. 4.8], where of himself and of others looking for the coming of the Lord he says: *Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness &c.* Likewise in II Thessalonians 1 [6–7]: *Seeing it is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you; and to you who are troubled &c.* If you say God cannot be made a debtor to his own creature, which seems to be proved out of Isaiah and Paul in Romans c.11 [v.35]: *Or who hath first given to him, [188 r.] and it shall be recompensed unto him again? For of him, and through him, and to him are all things,* the creature cannot have just ground of complaint against God if God does not pay him a reward for his good works. I admit that God is debtor to no one but himself, even in those things which he has promised and sworn, signifying the immutability of his ordinance, not of his creature, but he would do injury to himself if he did not keep his promises: yet from this it does not follow that the creature deserves nothing before God. I speak of the creature freely justified, raised by God's gift above the power and virtue of nature, and (in Peter's words [II Peter 1.4]) *partakers of the divine nature*, and as St John the Evangelist says [1.12], *to whom gave he power to become the sons of God.* For this is part of the reasoning of the divine wisdom, by which it pleased God so to order things that, to whom he gave freely these precious gifts, to those same for their good works going before out of grace and free will he gave payment and reward; and this ordinance he made known to us in Holy Writ through the Prophets, the Apostles, and his only begotten Son. Who is there who will ask God why he did so? Who will be his adviser and say that God ought to have decided not this way, but some other way? Are not God's promises and declarations and oaths clear and open, in which life, glory, and a crown are promised to one who does this or that, or because he does this or that? A like answer may be made to your objection that our work is not useful to God, but is useful to us or to our neighbour; therefore by our good work we do not deserve from God a prize, reward, or crown. This is not a valid inference, because God appointed this law not seeking his or our advantage, but only his own glory; and when we by good works aim at his glory, we are in concord with the will of God, and we earn a prize and reward, which God will bestow not simply according to his goodness, liberality, magnificence, and compassion, but also according to his justice – his justice, I say, not simply in acting as beseems his goodness, but in rendering according to merit good for good and deserts to the deserving, according to the words of the Apocalypse [c.3 v.4]: *And they shall walk with me in white, for they are worthy*, and Luke 20 [35]: *They which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead &c.* And Christ says [Matth. 10,37]: *He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me;* from which we may infer contrariwise that he who puts Christ before all else is worthy of Christ. Further let no one falsely declare that we are of no use to God in doing good works; for although he has no need of our good things, and thus we are not useful to God as supplying by our usefulness something that he lacks (of this I spoke above, and it is usefulness in its proper sense), nevertheless good men usefully serve God as ruler of the universe; by their work and ministry God brings his elect to salvation, and thus the usefulness of his elect is reckoned usefulness to him. For the good are chosen vessels, as Scripture says of Paul [Acts 9,15]: *For he is a chosen vessel unto me, to bear my name &c.* Of this more largely in the second book.

*The Second Book of Refutations
Against William Tyndale*

On the Key to the Understanding of Scripture as Salvation

Not in that respect are you adrift, Tyndale, that you declare faith to be the key to salutary understanding of Scripture, but you err in maintaining this objection or proposition, ‘God the Father so grants all things freely through Christ that he gives nothing in respect of any work or because of any work inward or outward,’ in such a sense as if there were no merit of man towards God, but that just as God freely and without any cause on man’s side predestines, elects, and adopts, so equally freely does he beatify, crown, and reward: which is a meaning alien to catholic faith, pertaining to infidelity, and contrary to scripture which in many places asserts the contrary. Throughout your book you apply [B] all your prolix collections and assertions to the support of this opinion, and you will not allow there to be any difference (so far as concerns freely granting) between justifying faith and crowning glory, except that faith is given first and glory later. In saying this you believe that you are attributing much to the grace of God and to the gifts which God gives to his elect through Christ, when he justifies those who have been called, pouring into their hearts the Holy Ghost; but in fact you are derogating from it in taking away from grace and the aforesaid gifts the force and efficacy of leading the justified man to the end of what is good, just as anyone would derogate from the virtue of a seed if he took from it all power of generation, saying that the fruit was not germinated from the seed but only that the seed went before, the fruit after, contrary to all common sense. For as a man would speak absurdly and go intolerably adrift if, on the ground that God does all things that are in the universe, he should seek to deny all efficacy to all other agents both natural and free, saying that not fire, but God sets straw ablaze, or that a horse does not beget a horse nor a man a man, just so does a man err not only [C] against the Scriptures and the judgement of the wise, but also against the common judgement of the crowd, if he denies that God justly rules and judges this world and especially his rational and intellectual creatures, repaying to good men and bad what is just according to their deserts. For in God mercy should not be so exalted as to derogue from justice, but we must confess a God who is pitying and compassionate and just, so that our faith may be whole and our confession not imperfect or truncated, as yours is when you take away all merit even from the just man, saying that man does not deserve from God glory or eternal life by any works of his own, any more than Paul on his journey to Damascus deserved to be justified by Christ, since (you say) by those works and intentions Paul deserved not justification but eternal damnation, or that he deserved it only in the same way as Adam’s sin deserves to be redeemed by Christ’s Passion, as Gregory says: ‘O blessed fault, which deserved to have such and so great a Redeemer!’ There Gregory used the word in a transferred sense, signifying the excellence of God’s exceeding charity, but which, notwithstanding the offence, he [D] bestowed greater benefits on the human race than he had formerly given them in their innocence. In order to explain better your opinion on the merit of any good works, you imagine the case that God gave to the blessed Paul from the beginning that perfection which his soul now possesses or will posses after the resurrection, and that God yet willed him to remain in this world and to do what he did in time

in his office as teacher and apostle: this case being admitted, you say that Paul with all his good works merited nothing, just as the blessed angels deserve nothing by the service by which they minister to us and under God procure our salvation. From this you conclude that he did not merit anything by his good works at the time when he was in this life. I say nothing of the reasonableness of this case or of whether it could occur: it is enough that from it you declare your opinion on the merit of works, indeed of love and [f.187r.] faith, viz. that you deny the existence of any merit towards God, to which merit God according to justice grant eternal life. Amid all this you say that you do not wish to be contentious or to argue about words. Would God you were sincere in this! For then the dispute would very soon be finished. But let us come to the examples by which you think the matter is clearly demonstrated and that victory crowns your side.

The comparisons that you draw are no true comparisons. *First*, because the works of that first man who cultivates his field at an agreed price and the works of others who cultivate their fields without any agreement are of one quality and value because of the equality of the agent, of the proximate purpose, of the material and of the form, if, that is, those things happen to be the same. It is otherwise with works by which we are said to earn merit before God, which are not on the same basis with works not earning merit. ‘Meritorious works by their very nature, setting aside any agreement or positive ordinance, possess dignity, value, and perfection, which qualities are absent from non-meritorious works:’ thus sins by their nature deserve punishment even apart from any positive ordinance, for meritorious works proceed from charity and [B] grace that makes gracious, and by these qualities the soul is perfected and raised above its own natural power. Thus Peter in his second canonical epistle [II Peter 1,4] says: *He has given us exceeding great and precious promises, that by these we might be partakers of the Divine nature.* This dignity and perfection are lacking to works going before justification and the infusion of grace that makes gracious, for in them man does what in himself, making good use of his natural and gratuitous gifts; for these works do not proceed from the spirit of Christ indwelling and vivifying the mind. *Secondly*, because all those whom you represent as working in their own fields work only for themselves, not for another; for the aforementioned men are private persons having separate goods, and the good of one is not included in the good of another. In those, however, who are working because of God the case is different, for God is king and ruler of the universe and intends the good of the whole universe, in which is included the good of each man as part thereof, and therefore in God’s sight he who works his own salvation and tills the field of his own conscience deserves reward, because [C] by doing this he does something useful to the whole of which he is part. Now the good of the whole, as I have said, is God’s intention insofar as he is king, ruler, or legislator. Thus contrariwise punishment in God’s eyes is merited by him who corrupts himself by wickedness, since by doing this he harms the whole of which he is part. Aristotle, the heathen philosopher, perceived this by the light of nature, writing in the fifth book of his Ethics [c.11] that those who take their own lives are justly punished by the law, because they do harm to the city of which they are part. *Thirdly* it is unlike because those who rightly use the gratuitous gifts of God seek in using them and from using them the honour of God and the utility of God’s flock, and they labour not in their own vineyard, but in God’s, and insofar as they feed sheep which are not their own but God’s, and till a vineyard which is not their own but God’s, when they impose labour on themselves, they serve not themselves but God, since they belong not to them-

selves but to Christ by creation and redemption so that, as Paul says in the fifth chapter [v.15] of the second epistle to the Corinthians: *They should not henceforth live or die unto themselves but unto him which [D] died for them, and rose again.* Thus the utility of their work must be considered as returning not to themselves, but to God, because God rewards the labourer in proportion to his labour, not to its return. God in his retribution takes into account that we have sought his glory, even if you mentally set aside that in this way we have done something useful to the whole universe. Therefore Paul significantly says in the third chapter [v.8] of the first epistle to the Corinthians: *Every man shall receive his own reward according to his own labour.*

There are other differences or dissimilitudes, but let these suffice. God as Creator and Lord can justly exact from man all things that are possible from his creature and servant, and no man, not even a just or innocent one, let alone a sinner, can justly complain of his Creator and Lord, however much burden he may impose, even if he renders or promises no return for services; nay, even if he should wish to take away life itself, man has nothing to say except what Job said [1,21] when his [187v.] substance and his children were taken from him: *The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord.* Yet that is not the sole relation between God and man; for God is the Father of men, and on this account God has man not as a servant, but as a son. By this name God appointed between himself and men the rights of a father, which is a name of love, just as 'Lord' is a name of fear. God was not content with that title, but approaching closer to a kind of equality, he is the bridegroom of his church, and with it has established conjugal law. Going even further, and approaching nearer to an equality of life, God so lays aside his majesty that he deigns to act with men in a kind of equality and to contract an alliance; in consequence he appoints with men a kind of civil law. He made pacts with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, whom he loved, and he clove unto them, as it is written in Deuteronomy 10. Bearing these things in mind, we can easily find out how a man may be deserving in God's sight. There is no force in the arguments which you adduce, e.g. that which concerns instruments, in which you argue thus: 'Man is an instrument with which God works'; therefore in any good work no praise is due to man any more than to the sling or stone or sword with which David slew the giant. Your conclusion is wrong, [B] because the multiplicity of instruments causes you confusion. There is not just one kind of instrument, but many: a conjoined instrument, as a hand, is one thing, but a separate instrument, as a sword, quite another. Further among separate instruments one may be animate, another inanimate: animate, as a servant, for the servant is an instrument of his master, which the latter uses for action, and a woman is for a man an instrument for generation, as we read in the first book of the Politics. The action of such an instrument is counted to it for praise or rebuke, for punishment or reward. For example, a master commits homicide through his servant; not only is the master punished, but the two fall under the same laws, and rightly so, and the servant's excuse alleging necessity, because he is the instrument of his master, will not be heard. The reason of this is that such a servant is by nature a free man having it in his power to obey or not to obey his master; therefore the instrument's action is counted to him, for blame and punishment if the action be evil, for praise and reward if good. The same must be said of man, although he is an instrument of God in action, because he is a separate, animate, and free instrument, [C] not merely moved, but self-moving by free will; for God so administers the things which he creates that he permits them to perform the motions proper to them. Now the

motion proper to a man is that he shall act freely and have it in his power to act or not to act; therefore he is not compelled by necessity to follow the motion of the prime agent, as other instruments are. King Sennacherib, in Isaiah c.10 [v.15], is called by the Lord metaphorically a saw or an axe, yet in the same passage he is reproved by the prophet for not understanding that the reason for his prevailing against Israel is that God was using him to punish the sins of his people. The king was metaphorically a saw, but not so in fact. As it would be portentous if the saw were to rise up against its user, so it is not less absurd for man to rise up against God: yet a man can do so and often does, although unjustly and therefore not with impunity. This you yourself admit in another passage, where you enumerate the various pacts made by God with his creature; for properly there is [D] no pact if there be not free consent on both side. You are mistaken, however, in listing the pact of God with the Devil, for it is not through a pact of God with the Devil that the Devil dominates over sinful man: there is no justice in this domination except on the part of God who permits it. Justly did God permit man to come under the power of the tyrannous seducer, to whom man freely consented, despising God his creator; but God has no pact with the Devil on this matter: the Devil rules over man by injustice and tyranny, and does injury to God when he corrupts man by his instigation. As this divine permission was just against Adam, the first author of the human race, when he sinned, and against his descendants contracting sin from him by their origin, so the Devil acted against this permission when he presumed to inflict death on Christ, who did not belong to that [188 v.] condemned progeny, and thus with justice he lost his power which God's permission had given him over Adam and his posterity. Now when you say that sin is in us because our charity towards God and our neighbour is not as great as the charity of Christ, you are mistaken. It is not promised to us that we shall be equal to Christ, but that we shall be conforming to him; for to him is given the Spirit not according to measure, but to us according to measure: we receive from his fullness; we do not receive that fullness. No one therefore may aspire to equality with the charity of Christ, which from the moment of his conception was complete and neither can nor could be increased. It should not therefore be counted to us for sin that our charity is less than the charity of Christ, since it neither can be nor ought to be equally great. But having mentioned Christ's charity, you were able to satisfy your own sophistical reasoning. For when you declare, as you ought, that Christ was deserving, it necessarily follows that the Apostle Paul, if from the moment of his conversion he had had in this life as much charity as he will have after the resurrection, would nevertheless still have [B] been deserving. From the example of Christ that other argument of yours is overthrown: 'Man owes to God all that he can perform, therefore he deserves nothing.' Christ our Lord by his human nature owed to God death itself; for the Father had ordained that he should undergo it. Hence the Apostle [Philippians 2,8] praises Christ for having obeyed the Father even unto death. Nevertheless he was deserving by his death: *Wherefore (says the Apostle) God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name.* You are mistaken also in saying that concupiscence in holy men is the greatest sin, but it is not accounted to them &c. You are speaking either of habitual concupiscence, which is commonly said to be kindling-wood of sin (but that in the baptized is not a sin, for its guilt is taken away by baptism), or you are speaking of its action or motion: yet not even that is a sin when the rational will resists it, but it is matter for the exercise of virtue. Or if its motion comes by surprise without fully deliberate will, it is only a venial sin; when its motion is fully

deliberate, it is mortal sin and a transgression of the command, Thou shalt not covet... [Exodus 20,17] – a transgression such as is not [C] in the holy, in whom sin does not reign so that they obey its promptings of lust: as the Wise One says, they *go not after their lusts* [Ecclesiasticus 18,30].

Do you ask for a definition of merit? Here it is: merit in general is a voluntary action, either good or bad, of a traveller according to God's ordinance from his goodness or his badness accounted for reward or penalty: 'voluntary', because this implies a moral type of action proceeding from a free will, 'either good or bad', because there are indifferent actions, halfway between good and bad, which as such are not deserving; 'accounted for reward or penalty', because although a good or bad action because of its goodness or badness is accountable for reward or penalty, nevertheless it does not deserve unless it be actually accounted; I add the words 'according to God's ordinance' because a good act does not deserve a reward unless we suppose an ordinance of God as wishing to return a reward for a good work; I say 'a traveller' in order to exclude the good or [D] bad actions of the blessed and the damned, because they are at the end of good and evil and outside the status of deserving. Now deserving is divided into good and evil: evil deserving is spoken of in Genesis 42 [v.21]: *Deservedly do we suffer this, for we have sinned against our brother*, likewise Hebrews 10 [v.29]: *Of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot &c.* Good deserving is spoken of in Ecclesiasticus 16 [v.15]: *All compassion shall make a place for each according to the merit of his works*, and Hebrews 13 [v.16]: *For with such sacrifices God is well pleased*. Yet you say that there is no such thing as good deserving, because if God did not render to the just man his reward or life everlasting, he would be doing him no injustice, nor is God obliged by the just man's good work to reward him; ergo the just man is not deserving in the sight of God. The blessed Doctors grant the antecedent, but they deny the consequent, saying that it suffices for deserving that there be worthiness in the agent, proportion in the action, and in God a preceding ordinance. They grant that God is not under obligation to his creature, even from a promise; for if [188 v.] God did not render what he had promised, he would be doing injury not to his creature, but to himself. But to annihilate or not to reward the well deserving is repugnant to his goodness, just as it is repugnant to his justice and goodness to leave sins unpunished; for otherwise by sparing the wicked he would not be a reprobator of sin, and by denying reward to the just he would not be an approver of good. Hence, just as the Apostle says [II Tim. 2,13], *He abideth faithful: he cannot deny himself* – that is to say, cannot deny the fulfilment of his promises, so we also can say that he is good and just and cannot deny himself, i.e. withhold himself from maintaining due order in his universe, not leaving good works without reward nor sin without punishment. But just as by not discharging his promises he would not be injuring any man, but would be unfaithful and untrue, so by not keeping due order in his universe he would not be injuring anyone, but he would simply be neither just nor good. But you say that this is a good argument: 'Life everlasting is granted to the just out of grace and because of grace; therefore not out of works, for what is given out of grace is not owed, and what is given out of works is owed. Now it is impossible for the same thing to be owed and not owed to the same person by the same person, for thus speaks the Apostle in Romans c.4 [v.4] and c.11 [v.6] and Ephesians c.2 [v.8–9].' This argument [B] would be convincing if we said that work which is meritorious is not a gratuitous gift of God, or if we said that there was value in the work simply because it

proceeds from us, and not for this reason principally, that it proceeds from the grace of God and from charity. This is what Paul intends when he says [Ephesians 2,8]: *It is the gift of God, lest any man should boast*, i.e. as if this were in him of himself, as he says elsewhere [I Cor. 4,7]: *What hast thou that thou didst not receive? now if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received it?* Here he does not simply forbid us to glory in God's gift which we have accepted, since he says in another passage [I Cor. 1,31], *He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord*, but he forbids us to glory in God's gift as if it were not a gift, but a man's own, i.e. existing in himself of himself, which is illicit and pertains to pride. Hence the saints regard their own merits not otherwise than as God's gifts freely given, ascribing to the divine goodness whatever they have of goodness and worth. Now in the same work God, when rewarding it in his capacity as a just judge, considers that it was done freely, voluntarily, with pleasure, with love, and without asking, that it was in the doer's power to follow or not to follow, to work [C] or not to work, to use or not to use the gifts of God, and most especially that man in his work did not seek his own glory, but that of God; that he did not work for himself, seeking what was useful to him, but for many, that they should be saved: on this basis God judges him just and to be crowned. Both these points can be seen in what is said by the just judge and in return by the just in Matthew c.25 [vv.34–40] – I refrain from quoting for the sake of brevity.

From all this it will appear to one who considers it well that everything that you say, Tyndale, against hypocrites and those who place their confidence in their works is truly said, but it is beside the point, for the holy travellers who are rich in merits do not make flesh their arm, nor does their heart depart from the Lord, but they have trust in the Lord; for the Holy Ghost teaches them to know what things God has granted them, and among these they know that they were created in good works that they should walk in them, and that by so walking they should come to the crown of immarcescible glory promised to those who strive lawfully. Nor does it tend against the notion of desert that God's love towards the predestined and elect, by which he first loved us, is eternal; for as from all eternity he preordained and proposed to give life everlasting to Peter and Paul or to any other, so from all eternity did he preordain and provide the means of coming to that life. In order to understand this more easily, reflect that under the notion of predestination three things in ordered relation are signified: the first is the eternal purpose of having mercy; the second is the temporal bestowal of grace or of the freely-given gift by which the predestined is justified; the third is the bestowal of glory everlasting. Of these three the first is without cause from our side, for it is a purpose purely of the divine goodness and of God's pure goodwill. The second also has no cause from our side because, although in adults when they are justified the free will regularly concurs and the experience is not purely passive (as in the words, *He who created thee without thee will not justify thee without thee* and in the words [189r.] of the prophet [Zech. 1,3], *Turn ye unto me, and I will turn unto you*, and in the passage of James [4,8], *Draw nigh to God, and he will draw nigh to you*), nevertheless nothing goes before as deserving of the gift freely given by which the impious man is justified, but it is freely instilled into the mind, and by this gift sin is dismissed and the debt of eternal death is cancelled: these things being removed he who was unworthy of temporal life is made to participate in the divine nature and he who was worthy of death both temporal and aeternal is made worthy of life everlasting, and whatever disposition may go before justification is an effect of predestina-

tion and of the grace of God going before all our disposition or will, according to the words of Jeremy in the last chapter of Lamentations [v.21]: *Turn thou us unto thee, O Lord, and we shall be turned*. Concerning the third there is a difference, for between the bestowal of justifying grace and the dispositions that precede it and the bestowal of glory there intervene inward and outward good works, arising from the justifying gift and from free will through the individual direction of the indwelling Holy Ghost; to these glory is justly granted. In this sense we must take those words of Paul in Ephesians II [v.10]: *Created in Jesus Christ in good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk [B] in them*, to come by them (that it to say) to the end divinely appointed for us. This may be clearly seen in Paul's case: having been predestined from eternity and in time justified freely, he said of the works coming between justification and the crown [II Tim. 4,7]: *I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day*. To understand this more fully, consider the grounds for reprobation, which again you will find to be threefold: the eternal purpose of not having mercy, temporal hardening of heart, and eternal damnation. Of the first there is no cause and no deserving on the part of the reprobate. Of the second there is deserving on man's part, for he deserved on account of foregoing sin to be abandoned by God and left to himself. Of the third there is cause and deserving, viz. the foregoing sin. Hence if it be asked why from all eternity God purposed to have mercy on Peter and none on Judas, there is no cause in particular except that God so willed it, and his will cannot be unjust. Likewise if it be asked why in time he bestowed grace on Peter, bestowing a gift by which he left this world just and [C] freed from his sin, while on Judas he did not bestow grace nor award the gift of justice, but left him in his sin, in which he persevered to the end, we reply that it pleased God in Peter to shew compassion and in Judas to exercise justice. If you ask why he has pity on this one and not on that one, Paul replies and checks the boldness of the enquirer [Rom. 9,20]: *Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God?* But if you ask why God prepared eternal torments for Judas, it is truly answered, 'Because of the sins which God foresaw that he would commit and end his present life in them.' If you ask why from all eternity he prepared for Peter glory everlasting, the answer is, 'Because he wished in him to shew the riches of his goodness.' Thus in Peter all things conspire towards grace – first, the predestination from eternity, second, the bestowal in time of grace and its gift, third, the good use of that gift, and fourth, the consummation of grace or the reward of glory, but not equally or with entire uniformity. For in the first we have no part; in the second, although we claim somewhat for ourselves, that is not sufficient [D] for justification; in the third in its relation to the fourth there is worth and account of merit. Thus the first two pertain to pure grace; not so the latter two, and consequently glory is a reward for good works; for although good works pertain to grace, they do not exclude our cooperation, on account of which grace itself leaves room for merit and does not exclude account of merit.

Thus far I have said more than enough about grace and merit, and if you apply your mind to it, you will plainly see that all that you amass at length against the merit of works is of no effect except to lead you to a quite absurd conclusion, which I will quote verbatim so that any reader may see its absurdity, even if you yourself close your eyes (I hope you will not), which is the mark of an obstinate heart. 'Works', you say, 'are the last things that are required in the Law, and they do not fulfil the Law before God. In works

we are always sinning, and our thoughts are unclean. The charity which would fulfil the Law is colder than ice amongst us; we live therefore by faith as long as we are [189v.] in the flesh, and by faith we conquer the world, *for this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith* (I Jn 5 [v.4]). Our faith is in God through Christ, because his charity by which he overcame all the temptations of the Devil is counted to us. From faith then comes it that the promise is firm to the seed of them that believe that *by the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in his sight.* [Rom. 3,20]' Thus far you recognize your own words. Here you seem to open the secret of your heart, explaining the reason why you count good works for nothing, viz. because good works are the last things required in the Law, for the first thing required in the fulfilment of the Law is good thought, the second good will, the third and last the execution of that good will by work. There are similar degrees also in work forbidden by the Law: the first is evil thought, the second the deliberate willing of evil thought, the third the carrying out in word or deed of the evil will. Now it often happens that by some external impediment the full will, be it good or bad, does not arrive at the execution of the work: in this case the will is counted as the action, as John says in his canonical epistle [I Jn 3,15]: *Whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer.* And the Lord in the gospel [B] where he speaks of adulterers [Mat. 5,28] says: *Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.* Corresponding examples could be given of things good. Therefore you are not wrong in saying that works are the last things required in the law which commands good works. It follows that they do not fulfil the law. That is true as often as they are by themselves and the two foregoing are absent; for it is not enough for the law that a work should be good in its kind, which is relative goodness, and consistently with this a work is simply and absolutely bad whenever the former two requirements are lacking and in fact they are lacking always. You continue: 'In works we are always sinning, and our thoughts are unclean.' See, at once the first requisite for good work is lacking, namely good thought, for an unclean thought is a bad one. You go on: 'The charity which would fulfil the law &c.' Here again we are missing the second requisite for a good work, namely good will; for charity is good will, or the cause of good will, and if it were present, it would fulfil the law, according to Paul's words in Romans 13 [v.8]: *He that loveth another hath fulfilled the law;* and in the gospel [Matt. 22,40]: *On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.* But [C] you are not speaking of that charity, for you significantly say 'would fulfil', not 'fulfils', and you add that it is colder than ice. To anyone who considers well it is clear that the love which naturally follows the contemplation of God's goodness and a consideration of God's gifts and promises is not that charity which is the end of instruction, the bond of perfection, the sum of the law and the prophets, but is a kind of love which arises naturally towards benefactors, which is found in the heathen and in publicans who love those who love them, as we read in Matthew c.5 [v.46]. Such charity towards God is rightly said to be colder than ice when compared with true charity, which the Holy Ghost pours into the hearts of the faithful where he deigns to dwell, which alone fulfils the law. You go on: 'We live therefore by faith while we are in the flesh, and by faith we conquer the world; for this is the victory which overcometh the world [I Jn 5]'. What do I hear? A dead faith, which neither works nor lives, conquers the world? Faith which does not work through love? Charity [D] which does not suffice for the fulfilment of the law does not save us from the power of the Devil, nor is it greater than the world; for all the transgressors of

the law are under the law and will be judged by the law, and are under malediction. It is not enough to say, as you say, that Christ's charity is counted to us, and that to believe this is the faith that saves. These are your words: 'Faith in God through Christ, because his charity, by which he overcame all the temptations of the Devil is counted to us.' Consider, I beseech you, Tyndale, into what absurdities you have fallen since you left the beaten track and went beyond the limits set by the Fathers.

For what could be more absurd than to say that a man is saved without charity of his own, and that the personal charity of Christ is counted to men not having the Holy Ghost and their own gift of charity? This plainly contradicts Paul (I Cor. 13 [v.1]), where he says: *Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, &c.,*' where he expressly [190r.] says that all the other gifts of the spirit avail nothing without charity, can contrariwise that all the other qualities profit him who has charity. Also John the Apostle c.3 [v.14]: *We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren. He that loveth not abideth in death.* From this it is clear that each man is saved by his own love, and although he does not have this love from himself, still he has it in himself. Romans 5 [v.3]: *We glory in tribulations also, knowing that tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, and experience hope. And hope maketh not ashamed, because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us.* There is one charity of God by which God loves us, and another charity of God, which God creates in us, and by which we love God and our neighbour. This charity by the Holy Ghost he infuses, effuses, and diffuses in our hearts. It is not true therefore that Christ's charity is counted to us; but Christ's charity makes charity in us, which although unequal to Christ's charity, is of such kind and degree to be sufficient with God's help to fulfil the law. [B] Therefore that faith by which we believe and trust in God through Christ that Christ's charity will be counted to us, to us (I say) who do not have good works, whose thoughts are unclean and whose will is not good because our charity is either non-existent or so remiss that its remissness is a sin – that faith, I say, is not true and not catholic, but feigned; it is not what God revealed to the prophets or the apostles or the church. Read all the creeds and all the explanations of our faith which were made from the beginning down to the present day against the heresies which arose at various times, and you will not find this article: 'I believe that Christ's charity will be counted to me for salvation,' to me, I say, having no charity of my own, or not having as much as is demanded of me by the law of charity written in the law, reaffirmed in the gospel, and explained by the apostles. By all sound doctrine it is clear that he who does not have Christ's spirit does not belong to Christ; for he who has not Christ's spirit is not his, and in whom there is not charity, in him does the Holy Ghost not dwell.

***Jacob Latomus
Confutation Against William Tyndale
The Third Book***

Since at the end of your declaration you say that you have brought forth in good conscience what you think, I believe that you think as you speak. Consequently, if what you say is true, you resent those who in the name of the Roman pontiff and of the Emperor keep you captive and treat you as a malefactor. Now since you ask to hear, or rather read,

my opinion on the matter under dispute, I shall comply with your wishes in the hope that in this way I may bring you back from your error to an attachment to the true catholic doctrine. Hence in good conscience I declare what I [B] believe, what I hold, what I have learned in the catholic orthodox church, or the Roman church, if you will allow it. I do not blush for the gospel or for our mother the church, knowing what I have learned and from whom.

ON FAITH

Faith goes before charity in generation, but charity is before faith in dignity. Faith is the foundation, charity the fulfilling. The first conjoining of a soul returning to God is faith: Hebrews c.11 [v.6]: *He that cometh to God must believe that he is &c.*, and Romans 10 [v.14]: *How then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard?* Hence Augustine rightly says in speaking to the instructor of the ignorant: ‘Whatever you tell, tell it so that he to whom you speak may hear and believe, believe and hope, hope and love.’

ON CHARITY

Charity is the fulfilment of precept, it is the sum of the law and the prophets, indeed [C] of the gospel and the teaching of the apostles; hence Augustine rightly said, ‘He who keeps charity in his actions holds firm both what is said and what is not said in the divine teachings,’ and in another passage, ‘Scripture commands nothing except charity; it forbids nothing except cupidity.’ Hence is it that every mortal sin excludes charity, and whatever goes against any other virtue, goes against charity. Therefore the Apostle says [Rom. 13.10]: *Love worketh no ill to his neighbour: therefore love is the fulfilling of the law. For this, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not covet, and if there by any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.* And James says [2.10]: *Whosoever shall offend in one point, he is guilty of all.* Faith and charity do not cohere inseparably, for in angels and in the blessed charity exists without faith. Charity is nowhere absent, but faith is on the journey, not in the land which is our goal. In Christ there is charity, not faith. But in travellers of pure heart faith exists without charity, being often prior in time, and it obtains charity by prayer. Furthermore faith exists in catechumens who [D] believe in Christ and make his sign; but Christ does not yet impart himself to them: when they are baptized, charity is added to their faith. Faith exists in repentant sinners who are not yet absolved from their sins; for it is not every sin, but only infidelity, that takes away faith. It follows that charity does not necessarily flow from faith as light or heat proceeds from the sun. The Apostle in another place [Gal. 5,6] speaks of *faith that worketh through love*, but he nowhere speaks of *faith that worketh love*; much less does he say that faith necessarily or naturally produces charity. Indeed he openly says (I Cor. 13 [v.2]): *Though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing.* This is sufficiently shewn by the testimony which you adduce, in which Peter exhorts the faithful (II Pet.1 [v5]): *Giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue, and to virtue [191 r.] knowledge; and to knowledge temperance, and to temperance patience, and to patience godliness, and to godliness brotherly kindness, and to brotherly kindness charity.* See through how many gradations of virtue he comes from faith at the first to charity at the last! Now what need would there be of exhorting men who had faith to practise

these virtues, if they flow naturally, necessarily, and inevitably from Faith? The blessed Peter therefore wishes all these things to be added to faith by our exertion with God's grace and help, and he means that, if faith remains in us without these things, we shall be empty and unprofitable, blind and groping with our hands as men forgetful of the remission of sins. Hence in the Apocalypse, c.2 [v.2-3] the Spirit approves works and labour and patience and knows that the angel of Ephesus has borne them for the name of Christ and has not fainted. Yet he adds [v.4]: *Nevertheless I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love.* Here there is no charge of dereliction of faith, therefore while faith exists charity can be taken away or lessened, which would not be true if charity flowed naturally from faith and followed it of necessity. [B]

ON THE KEYS

The power of the keys is founded not in charity, but in the priestly order. The priestly order does not necessarily follow or accompany charity, for the Holy Ghost is given in one way to sanctify the creature to whom it is given, in a different way for performing miracles, for prophecy, and for the forgiving of another's sins. Rightly therefore does Augustine say, 'It behoves the ministers of so great a king to be holy. Let them be holy if they wish: I am content with him who says, "This is he who baptizes".' Hence the Novations, who denied that priests had been given by God the power of remission of sins, were expelled from the church as heretics and schismatics; so later were the Donatists, who said that only virtuous and just and holy ministers could baptize or absolve, and lastly the Waldenses and their adherents, who said that all those and only those who had charity [C] possessed the keys of the church. This now seems to be your view: you do not shrink from blaming the holy fathers of the church as being blind and fleshly-minded for saying that the keys are something other than you say, when you attribute the power of opening and closing only to one who as a preacher declares to the sinner his just sentence of damnation and makes him run to seek grace, like Peter preaching on the day of Pentecost. Now nothing makes this impossible for a mere layman, as is quite plain. Therefore in saying this you are destroying the sacrament of ordination, and you are not opposing just anyone, but the holy, learned, and ghostly ministers of God's sacrament Cyprian, Cornelius, Ambrose, Basil, Chrysostom, Augustine, Jerome, Leo, Gregory, and indeed the whole catholic church, which is the pillar and foundation of truth.

ON BISHOPS, PRIESTS, AND DEACONS

[D] Episcopate, priesthood and apostolate are names of a dignity, office, ministry or administration, not of a quality. Quality makes worthy or unworthy – good quality worthy, and bad quality unworthy –, but he who is worthy of the office of bishop or priest is not thereby bishop or priest, nor contrariwise does one unworthy of the office cease to be priest or bishop. Judas was an apostle no less than Peter and John, and Nicolas of Antioch was ordained a deacon just as much as Stephen. Their names are recorded in Scripture so that we may understand that the virtue and efficacy of the divine sacraments is derived from God, not from the quality of those who administer them. The Apostle shews this in the first epistle to the Corinthians [1,11-17;12,13] where he rebukes those who were in contention as if baptism were better when given by a better minister, which is false, because the virtue of sacrament is from God, in whose name it is given. [f.191 v.]

ON OBEDIENCE EVEN TO A BAD PRELATE

We must also declare this: that according to the sound doctrine of the catholic church it is not licit for a Christian to withdraw himself from obedience or subjection to his prelate or superior or bishop on the ground that the latter is a bad man or does not live by the rule of the divine law. This meaning cannot be assigned to Paul's words [2 Thess. 3,6] when he warns us to *withdraw ourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly and not after the godly and apostolic traditions*; in Matthew 23 [v.2–3] the Saviour bids us shun an evil life and follow good doctrine: *The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat. All therefore whatsoever that they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works.* You are wrong then in saying that, if a bishop be not blameless, but be drunken or a brawler or immoral, either he is not a bishop or that he is not to be obeyed when his teaching or commands are good. To cast down is for him who set up: a bishop is the servant of God; God set him up over his fellow servants, and God [B] casts him down acting either by himself or by those who, being his superiors are to him in God's stead. For as long therefore as God suffers them and awaits their repentance, it is our duty, being subject to such men, to endure their prefecture patiently, and we should not disturb the order appointed of God or rend the unity of an ecclesiastical body. A pope or a bishop is the servant of God's servants, elected indeed by his fellow servants, but meanwhile appointed by God. Here lies your mistake, that you think that a servant set over the household by the master is appointed by that household and can be disobeyed by it. In this you are making laymen the superiors of the ministers of the church, when in fact they are stewards servants of God and by him set up over their fellow servants. From him they will receive glory for good and faithful service, and for evil and faithless stewardship they will by him be punished.

ON Vows

[C] Sound doctrine tells us that to make a vow is a good thing and is within the free will of him who vows, but to discharge that vow is not a matter of free will, but of necessity. Whoever has vowed to God whatever is to be vowed, has turned God's counsel into a command. Thus Peter speaking to Ananias in Acts 5 [v.3], who had vowed the whole price of a field, but had dishonestly kept part for himself, says: *Whiles it remained, was it not thine own, and after it was sold, was it not thine own power? Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God.* In I Tim 5 [v.]. speaking of widows who after a vow of chastity wish to marry, the Apostle says: *When they have begun to wax wanton against Christ, they will marry: having damnation, because they have cast off their first faith,* that is to say, they have violated the vow which they previously took to preserve their chastity. Therefore the power of charity is not such that he who has charity is absolved from keeping his vows, rather that he should perform willingly what he has vowed and discharge liberally what he has to discharge. Now imagine a man who vows continence yet has not from God the gift of continence, but suffers the burning of the flesh and pricks of lust: may such a man not follow the counsel [D] of the Apostle in I Cor. 7 [v.9]: *But if they cannot contain, let them marry: for it is better to marry than to burn.* Quite clearly he may not; for this counsel is given to a free man, one who has it in his power to marry or not to marry. In different circumstances a woman who takes a vow of continence and then marries again, according to the Apostle's opinion [I Tim. 5,15] turns aside after Satan. Such a man must seek other remedies against the petulance of the flesh – fasting, alms-

giving, continuous prayer, by which he will certainly obtain the gift of chastity, since the Lord does not abandon those who flee to him and ask for that which is requisite to salvation, according to the words [Mat. 7,7]: *Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you.* Hence Augustine in the penultimate chapter of his second book to Pollentius, speaking of husbands and wives who have been separated because of adultery, shews that to them continence is a matter of necessity, just as continence has become [f.192r.] a matter of necessity to those who have vowed it. Here are his words: ‘This therefore is my advice: what they would do if they had marriage-partners who were sinking under along sickness or were absent in some inaccessible place or were abstaining with illicit wilfulness, this they should do if they have marriage-partners stained with the iniquity of adultery and therefore divorcing themselves from their partner’s intercourse; they should not seek another marriage, because that would be not marriage, but adultery. Since the marriage-bond is of the same nature for the man as for the women, just as a woman, while her husband is alive, will be called an adulteress if she goes with another man, so a man, while his wife is alive, will be called an adulterer if he goes with another woman.’ A little later he says: ‘Let not the burden of continence frighten them. It will be light, if it be Christ’s, and it will be Christ’s if faith be present, which obtains the power to obey from him who commands. Let it not trouble them that their continence seems to be a matter of necessity, not of will, because those who have chosen it by their will have made it a matter of necessity, because in their lives they cannot deviate from it without damnation; and those who have been driven into it of necessity make it a matter of will if they trust not in themselves but in him from whom is all good; they have passed over to that will [B] for the sake of a higher glory; to find something greater they have fled to it for the sake of salvation at the last, that they should not perish. Let them both remain; let both tread the path to which they have come until the end; let them be fervent in zeal and instant in prayer: for they must so think of their salvation that they fear to fall from the position which their will has taken. Nor must those despair of glory who choose to remain in that which necessity brought upon them; for it may be that with the fear of God and with his urging and converting and fulfilling their human affection may be changed for the better.’ Jerome write in a like spirit: ‘*And if a virgin marry, she hath not sinned:* not, however, a virgin who has dedicated herself to the service of God; for is one of these shall marry, she shall *have damnation because she has cast off her first faith.* Now if he said this about widows, how much more shall it be true concerning virgins? For it is not permitted even to those to whom it was once permitted.’ Thus Jerome; likewise Basil writes: ‘To each man from the outset it is granted to choose and enter upon what way of life he wishes (provided it be permitted), viz. to live in marriage or in celibacy; but when a man has once given himself to God in continence of life and perpetual chastity, he may not reverse his decision, [C] and he must keep himself for God like a gift or offering consecrated to him, lest God accuse us as guilty of sacrilege if, when the body has been dedicated to him, we contaminate it again with profane things and with the service of common life.’ Ambrose thinks that it is a just cause of martyrdom for a priest if he opposes the marriage of a virgin dedicated to God, and thinks that his case is like that of John the Baptist saying to Herod, *It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother’s wife.* Gregory did not hesitate to place under anathema those who took in marriage women consecrated to God. Even Jovinianus, the Christian emperor, passed a law that those who dared to violate a sacred virgin upon the marriage

bed should incur a capital sentence. I have added the opinion of these fathers at some length, so that you may see what great men you have abandoned for the sake of Luther and Melanchthon. I would rather imitate the negligence of the former than the obscure diligence of the latter.

ON OATHS

[D] Sound doctrine declares that oaths are licit in a case of necessity, providing that they are made as God prescribes, viz. in judgement, justice, and truth. Now our Lord in Matth. 5 [v.34] seems completely to take away permission to swear from all Christians, and later the apostle James in the last chapter of his canonical epistle [v.12] says the same. But this is counsel, not command; or, if you firmly maintain that it is a command, it is not an absolutely binding command, such as *Thou shalt not kill*, *Thou shalt not commit adultery*, and the like, which cannot for any reason be licitly done: it is instead a prohibition arising from a cause, namely to avoid the danger of perjury, and when this danger is sufficiently avoided, it is not a sin to swear, because when something is prohibited for a reason, if the reason ceases, the prohibition ceases. Here is a parallel: Paul in I Tim. 3 [v.6] will not have a novice chosen as bishop. This prohibition is not absolute, but arises from a cause, which he then adds: *lest being lifted up with pride &c.* Now if this cause be sufficiently guarded against and the man [f.192v.] chosen keep himself in humility, a man who chooses a novice as bishop does nothing against the Apostle's precept, as is plain in the election of Ambrose, of which he seeks in a letter to the people of Vercelli. A simple promise made to a man binds the promiser lest he be found a liar if he acts contrary to the promise – Matt. 12 [v.37]: *For by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned.* But an oath adjoined to a simple promise binds much more firmly because of the second commandment of the Decalogue: *Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord in vain*, which is transgressed by one who does not fulfil, when it is in his power, a promise confirmed by an oath. The power of charity then does not extend to the non-fulfilment of oaths, but to their fulfilment not by force or fear, but freely and lovingly.

ON FASTING

[B] It is part of the church's sound doctrine that the regular fasts appointed for Christians ought necessarily to be observed, and that the power of charity does not extend to freeing its possessor from the command to fasting and from the common laws and traditions of the church, but its effect is that he should fast freely and lovingly and make up for the toil and affliction of bodily fasting by the richness of his devotion. Hence one Aerius, as Augustine related in his book on heresies, was deemed a heretic for having declared that the regularly appointed fasts were not to be observed, but that each man should fast when he chose, so that he should not seem to be under a law.

ON THE SAINTS REIGNING WITH CHRIST

I hold, as the sound doctrine of the church holds, that the saints should be cultivated and honoured and that their monuments and chapels should be frequented for the sake of imitating them, of sharing in their merits, and for the help of their prayers. [C] This is the present and the ancient usage of the church, and so we have received it by the hands of our fathers. When Faustus the Manichaean blamed us for honouring the memory of mar-

tyrs, saying that we had converted idols into these, Augustine answered: ‘The Christian people celebrates the memory of the martyrs with religious solemnity to kindle a wish to imitate them, to be associated in their merits, and to be helped by their prayers.’ From these words you may gather that those who accept only the first of these, denying the other two or wishing men to be free to believe them or not to believe them, as if in these matter it were permissible for each man to be wise in his own conceit [Rom. 14,5], are violating the tradition of the church, the religion of their fathers, and the piety of the people.

ON THE RELICS OF SAINTS

I believe what the sound doctrine of the church believes, that the bodies of saints are to be held in honour and veneration, first because of our faith in the resurrection, secondly [D] because of the sanctity of the blessed souls to which those bodies belonged and will in time belong again, thirdly because of the Holy Ghost which dwelt in those bodies, which it used as its instruments and in which it will dwell for ever after the resurrection. We believe this honour to be pleasing to God, as if it were paid to Christ himself in his friends, brothers, and members; we believe that it is pleasing to the saints themselves when they see our devotion and piety in the word of God; we believe that it is useful and expedient to ourselves for the strengthening and increasing of faith. If ordinary love has the effect that he who loves anyone loves everything that belongs to the beloved, how much more does the love of charity towards God in our hearts bring it about that we love, honour, and revere those whom God has deigned to make his friends, brothers, members, and temples? Hence Vigilantius, who sought to deny this truth, was expelled from the church as a heretic. [f.193r.]

ON IMAGES OF CHRIST AND THE SAINTS

In this article I follow the same rule of faith, I think and maintain the same that has been handed down by the sound doctrine of the church, that such images are to be held in honour and reverence as signs of Christ and of his saints, and that honour or dishonour done to images are referred to the things of which they are images. Images of this kind have power to excite the memory, and to the unlettered they serve as books. Now when Holy Writ teaches us to eschew images, it is speaking of those images in which demons or other creatures either corporal or spiritual are treated with *latria*, that is with a worship due to the true God alone, as the heathen worshipped idols representing something that either does not exist, or, if it does exist, is not God but creature, setting up to them temples, altars, sacrifices, and priests. The catholic church does not give this kind of worship to the images of saints or to the saints themselves or to any creature however excellent; and when it accords *latria* to the signs of the incarnate God, as in the image of the crucified Christ or of a cross, [B] it does not depart from the worship of the one true God; for we do not stop short at the image or sign, but refer it to the true God and Man represented by that sign or likeness or image. Hence it becomes manifest that there is no shadow of excuse for those who at this time, on the pretext of avoiding idolatry, have removed Christ’s crosses and the likenesses and images of the saints, and that this heresy of the Manichaeans was rightly condemned long ago and expelled from the catholic church. The matter was discussed at length in the seventh general synod when Constantine and his mother Irene held the imperial throne, in the pontificate of Adrian II.

ON PURGATORY AND PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD

In this article also I hold to what I have learned from the catholic church, viz. that when the sacrifice of the Lord's body and blood is offered, it benefits the souls for whom it is offered – not indeed all, but only those who need purgation and who died in a state of grace. For the sacrifice of the altar, almsgiving, or any other good work done for the dead is a thanksgiving for those who are very good, and [C] for those who are very bad it is a kind of consolation to the living; for those in the middle state between good and bad it is an expiation. We find this in the Old Testament in the book of Maccabees [II Macc. 12.43], viz. that it is a blessed and healthful thought to pray for the dead that they may be absolved of their sins. The New Testament attests the same, Matth. 12, Mark 3, and Luke 12: on these witnesses we base the argument that some sins will be forgiven in the world to come. Paul also bears witness [I Cor. 3,15] that some are saved by fire, in which wood, hay, and stubble are consumed [ib. v.12] while foundation remains. Now since the opinion of the fathers and the continuous practice of the universal church down to this day accords with these passages of Scripture, it follows that it is not permissible for anyone to contradict this truth which accords with piety. If anyone should pertinaciously oppose it, he will be justly deemed a heretic. Augustine, in his book on heresies, c.53, numbers among the teachings of Arius that one should not pray or offer oblations for the dead.

ON THE JUSTIFICATION OF THE IMPIOUS

[D] The normal process in the conversion of one who is impious and infidel is that the first gift is faith: this is given to one not seeking it, for believing comes before invoking, as the Apostle says in Romans 10 [v.14]: *How then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed?* After faith comes fear, which is at first servile, and some hope, because faith shews to the sinner the power, knowledge, justice, and goodness, or clemency and mercy, of God. The first three cause fear, the latter hope. Likewise faith gives the sinner certainty concerning Christ, who is God, the Son of God and Man, namely that he is the mediator appointed for reconciliation between God and man, and that there is no other way of salvation except by Christ Jesus. Fourthly comes prayer or invocation of God the Father through Christ, asking for remission, salvation, liberation, and the grace of the holy love, so that by gaining this he will fear not so much damnation as separation from God. To obtain this grace more easily he laments and grieves and fasts, so that God may spare him who does not spare himself; he adds almsgiving, [f.193r.] thinking it right that he who wishes to be helped by God should help his neighbour by such means as he can, for he knows that mercy is promised to the merciful [Matth. 5,7]. Such seems to have been the sequence in the conversion of Cornelius the centurion in Acts 10: his prayers and almsgiving, we are told, were acceptable to God, and therefore he was deemed worthy by God of receiving particular and detailed instruction in the faith from Peter, while previously he had a general and confused belief, without which his almsgiving and prayers would not have been acceptable. Thus Paul in Hebrews 11 [v.6] declares that without faith it is impossible to please God. If this is true, it is obvious that charity proceeds from faith not immediately, but mediately, not necessarily, but contingently; further, that these two virtues do not cohere inseparably, but it happens – indeed happens often – that they exist in separation both as regards God who gives them and as regards the man who receives them; for in the world to come is char-

ity without faith, but on the way thither, although charity is not without faith, nevertheless in the sinner is faith without charity. For God gives faith to some to whom he does not at once give charity, as to them who believe for the moment and fall off in the time of temptation, and to that servant to whom one talent was given [B] which he did not use, for it would not be counted to him for sin by his master if it had not been in his power to use or not to use the talent.

ON SACRAMENTS

As regards essence, number, and efficacy, I hold what I learned in the catholic church, following the same rule in receiving the sacraments as in receiving the canonical Scriptures. For just as those scriptures are held to be canonical which the church holds and accepts – not just the greater or more numerous part of the catholic church, but which all men recognize as canonical, so those sacraments are to be accepted which the whole catholic church accepts as sacraments. Just as the orthodox catholic is not induced by argument to doubt the authority of a canonical writing, or of any part of it, because he perceives that certain heresies or schisms do not accept that writing in whole or in part, [C] so we must believe concerning the sacraments that the rule of belief is to be sought from the catholic church and from those who remain in it, not from those who have gone out or been ejected from it. As we gather the grapes for making wine from the branches that remain on the vine, not from those that have been cut off, so the truth of the faith and of the doctrine of sacraments is to be sought from orthodox catholics, not from heretics or schismatics. Also we must hold that as a sacrament which the catholic church holds as a sacrament, even if this be not proved by express testimony of Scripture, for in such matters tradition is of equal weight with Scripture. Not everything pertaining to faith, religion, and the sacraments is expressly contained in Scripture, as is plain from the words of the fathers and from the canonical writings themselves, for Paul [II Tim. 2,2] gave orally to Timothy certain things as committed to his trust [I Tim. 6,20], which he commands him to commit *to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also*. Hence, just as the truth of faith, the true understanding of Scripture, and true interpretation of obscure passages [D] is to be sought from the catholic church, so is truth and use and benefit of the sacraments. I say this not as thinking that we lack passages of Scripture testifying to the sacraments, but because even if there were no such, or if there were and they were subject to exposition or interpretation that made them otherwise, nevertheless to a pious and faithful mind the tradition of the catholic church should be enough.

Concerning baptism, the gateway to all sacraments, how many and how important are the passages in both Testaments? But all those notwithstanding, this sacrament is nowadays being opposed with amazing blindness and obstinate pertinacity.

Concerning confirmation, I hold that it is the second sacrament. That it is administered by a bishop and by the laying on of hands is found in Acts 4 [Acts 8,14–17].

Concerning the eucharist it is superfluous to cite Scripture, since the texts are so numerous and so clear that Luther himself, when trying to overthrow this sacrament, confesses [f.194r.] that he could not defeat Scripture.

Concerning the fourth sacrament of penitence we have not only a tradition handed down, but figures and examples and express passages of Scripture both in the Old and the New Testament. The minister of this sacrament is the priest; its material is the sin-

ner, baptized and backslidden from the sanctity of baptism, who by true contrition and sincere confession has come to absolution, by which absolution the sacrament is completed. For this purpose were the keys committed to Peter and in his person to the whole priestly order, to whom the words are addressed in Matth. 16 [v.19]: *I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven &c.* To this we must refer the passage of John 20 [v.22]: *Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whose soever sins ye remit &c.*

Concerning the order in which any man is ordained bishop, priest, or minister we have the writing of Paul to Timothy [I Tim. c.3 and 4,14 and 5,21] whom he exhorts to renew the gift given to him [B] by *the laying on of the hands of the presbytery*, commanding him to *lay hands suddenly on no man*, when he is teaching the mode and form in which ordination should take place.

Concerning extreme unction, the sixth sacrament, there is a passage in the canonical epistle of James in the last chapter [v.14], beginning: *Is there any sick among you?*

Concerning marriage, the seventh and last sacrament of the church, there is a text in Matthew c.19 [v.6]: *What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder*; likewise in Mark [10,12] and Luke [20,34?] and Ephesians [5,31]. This is a great sacrament both in Christ and in the church, of which Augustine says: ‘This sacrament is a little one in the individuals who are united, but a great one in Christ and in the church.’

ON THE EFFICACY OF SACRAMENTS, AND THAT HE WHO WORTHILY RECEIVES THEM RECEIVES GRACE

Concerning the virtue and efficacy which the sacraments have from Christ I hold this, [C] which I have learned in the church, that (for example) baptism to him who receives it worthily remits all sin both original and actual, both mortal and venial, and all punishment, so that if one baptized should forthwith die, he suffers no torment in purgatory. Of confirmation I believe this, that to those worthily receiving it it increases, strengthens, and confirms the grace of baptism; of the eucharist, that it restores and nourishes and gives growth in the spirit to those who worthily receive it, and that the offering of the Lord’s body and blood is powerful for spiritual advantage to both the quick and the dead; concerning penitence, that it has power for the remission of sins committed after baptism [D] when it is administered by the ministers of the church, to whom the keys of the kingdom of heaven are given, and that, just as he who is able to be baptized would not rightly die without baptism, so likewise he who has committed mortal sin after baptism would not rightly die without the sacrament of penitence, because each sacrament is a matter of necessity, the one to those entering the church, the other to those returning to it. On the sacrament of holy orders I hold that grace to minister worthily is conferred on the ordinand when he is ordained, unless he oppose an objection, and that the ordination of a bishop adds something beyond the order of priesthood. On extreme unction I say that for those who worthily receive it it avails for the remission of sins and it prepares the soul for entry into the heavenly kingdom. [f.194v.] Concerning matrimony I say what I have learned in the church, that to those worthily receiving this sacrament grace is given, by which the married pair know that they possess their vessel in sanctification, not in the passion of desire like the heathen who know not God, and that because it signifies the union of Christ with his church and the inseparable union of the two natures in Christ, marriage duly contracted between the faithful is inseparable.

ON THE AUTHORITY AND PRELATURE OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF OVER THE CHURCH AND
OVER ANY MEMBER OF IT

Since, as Augustine says (*De opere monachorum* c.25) there is one republic of all Christians, and in any one republic there must needs be one supreme magistrate, and that the power of a supreme magistrate ought either to be in the hands of one, as in a kingdom, or of a few who are virtuous and powerful, as in an aristocracy, or of the multitude, as in a democracy; if the first be granted, viz. that the supreme [B] power of the regime be in one man's hands, in whose hands (I ask) can it better be than those of the Roman pontiff, the successor of St Peter, to whom Christ gave the keys, to whom by name he entrusted the feeding of his sheep, from whom alone the succession of bishops presiding in the apostolic see has continued unbroken to this day? Add that this is in harmony with the gospels, that the principal general councils agree with it, and that it has the consensus of the Christian world, not recent but ancient, not tacit but express, as it were the voice of the spirit of Christ by which the church is ruled, instilling this truth into the hearts of all the faithful. Or if it be said that the rule of the church ought to be in the hands of the college of bishops, like an aristocratic regime or senate – and the authority of this senate or college is very great in the assemblies which come together from all the Christian world –, nevertheless there must needs be one or more magistrates in whom the legal power of ruling still remains when the assembly is broken up and the council is over, since it cannot always or even often be assembled. If again it be said that the power of a supreme magistrate [C] dwells in the multitude, in the people, as it were, as commonly happens in an ordinary republic, even so it will be needful that one or magistrates be created in whom the supreme power resides, to whom every Christian shall be subject and obliged to obey. Lastly, if the church should be called a mixed polity, as being made up of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, nevertheless what I have just said will be true. For to say that in every temporal kingdom or in any free community the supreme power, both in temporal and in spiritual affairs, resides in the one supreme ruler of the community – not in temporals alone, but equally in things spiritual or in those which are proper to Christ's church, such as the appointing and deposing of bishops – this in no way accords with Holy Writ or with the tradition handed down. Nor does the unity of the church permit it, for the church, insofar as it is kingdom or state, is one kingdom and one state. If these things be well considered, it is plain to a sound understanding that one cannot justly contradict [D] the authority of the Roman pontiff, denying that he is the supreme and ordinary judge of Christians all and several in faith and sacraments and all that pertains to them. From these considerations it is understood that those men gravely err who declare and try to persuade others that one does not oppose divinely revealed truth by saying that a king or emperor or other magistrate by whom a kingdom or state is governed, because he recognizes no superior in civil affairs, can or ought to have equal power in things spiritual. As I have said, that conflicts with the unity of the kingdom, city, and republic which is Christ's church, as is apparent from the division which Aristotle makes in the third book of the *Politics* [1278 b9], saying: 'A republic is an ordering of the city in respect of the magistracies, especially of that one which holds the supreme authority in the city and is the highest of all; for the highest of all governs the city, and what it governs is a republic.' Therefore it is manifest that those who unjustly usurp that unaccustomed power [f.195r.] over things ecclesiastical are creating a schism and are cutting themselves off from the catholic and orthodox church, and in separating

themselves from the unity of the body they lose the life of the spirit, like a branch cut from a vine. They cannot recover life unless they return whence they departed and be again grafted into the good olive so that they can share in its root. Finally it follows that the catholic church essentially and intrinsically and inseparably consists in the ordered lawful power and succession – continued without interruption and to be continued until the end of the world – of appointed rulers and of subjects according to the state in which it was constituted from the descent of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost, because of the effective and powerful word of promise made to it in the person of Peter in Matth.16 [v.18] and in the last chapter of John [vv.15–17]. Hence Augustine setting out the divisions of faith in his unfinished book *De Genesi ad litteram* rightly says *inter alia* that: ‘The holy Ghost was granted to those believing in him and believing that by him the mother church was constituted’ which is called catholic because it is perfect and errs in nothing and is spread throughout the earth. [B] For just as it was impossible that the perpetual succession by the line of carnal generation should not be continued, first from Abraham himself and on to David, then from David to Christ inclusively, because of the infallible and efficacious word of promise made to them, we must speak in like terms of spiritual generation, nutriment, increment, and duration or perseverance in the catholic church until the second coming of Christ, it having received the Holy Ghost because of a promise and donation equally efficacious. For in speaking to his disciples, when his passion and death were at hand, and again after the resurrection, and on the very day on which he ascended into heaven, summing up, as it were, and recapitulating all the work that he had done on earth, he said [Luke 24,46 and Acts 1,8]: *Thus it behoved Christ to suffer and to rise from the dead the third day, and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem, and in all Judaea and Samaria and unto the uttermost part of the earth.* In those words (if we believe Augustine) the church is most openly set forth – the church which, as the same author says, is to be sought not in our words, but in the words of our lord.

END OF THE THIRD BOOK AGAINST TYNDALE

IACOBI LATOMI

CONFV TATIONVM ADVER- SVS G VILIELMVM TINDALVM LIBRI TRES.

IACOBVS LATOMVS LIVINO CRVCIO SVO
S. P. D.

CVM ob Lucheranam heresim Guilielmus Tindalus in vinculis haberetur, librum scriptis super hanc assertione, solum fides iustificat apud Deum: In quo quidem libro omne bonorum operum merita tollere conabatur: nam pro fundamento, & clave (sic enim appellabat) intel- ligentia salutaris sacre scripture hanc sibi propositionem sumebat. Deus nobis omnia gratis do- nat per Christum, nullo habito in istius respectu operum. Cuius nos occasione tres libros scripti- mus. Quorum primo predictam clavem sustulimus, inque eius locum aliam substituimus, Paulum apostolum secuti: Et cuius epistola, aliisque scripturis demonstravimus, quemadmodum in fidibus gratia prius iustificatis, locum habeant bonorum operum meritum, quibus operibus iusti proficiendo merentur coronam glorie à iusto indice reddendam. Hunc nostrum responso tametsi Tindalus non haberet quod cum ratione opponeret, maluit tamquam videri respondere, quam suum errorum agnos- cere. Itaque scriptis & secundum librum, plenius de predicta assertione, al. sq. precipuis, ac pro- ptemodū omnibus articulis, in quibus sane ecclesie doctrinae contradictione Lutherani sua sententi- am explicans. Vnde nobis necessarium fuit eius exemplis ac rationibus, quibus suam assertionem astruis, secundi libro respondere. In quo (nisi fallor) non obscurus eius fundamenta subvertimus, ostendentes sententiae illius absurditatem. His duabus ceteris tertius, in quo de singulis sermone quid sentiendum esset, breui, & claro sermone perfstruimus. Hoc enim postulabat Tindalus, ut quid sensiremus non modo audire, sed legere etiam pergit: cui nolimus quicquam negare: Tametsi enim metueremus illi nihil profuturu, sperabimus tamen alios utilitatem aliquam ex ea re esse percepturos. Hunc qual mea que nostram La- borem, tibi mutuum. Vale Louany.
secundo Idus Junij 1542.

IACOBI LATOMI

CONFVATIONVM ADVERSVS GUILIELMV M TINDA
lum liber primius.



Tpetitiō tuę Tindale (quatenus dabit dominus) satis faciamus, quia postulas ut declarationi, ac probationi, primae afferationis tuae, Quia iolam fidem apud Deum iustificare affirmas, scripto respondeamus, videmur & ad perspicuitatem disputationis, & ad breuitatem operæ preciū facturi, si prius ea exposuerimus in quibus concordamus, ut ea sola relinquantur discutienda, de quibus inter nos est controversia. Igitur quantum arbitror in his concordamus, quod tota scriptura diuinus inspirata, & quilibet eius pars vera est, ut pote diuinus reuelata. Secundo concordamus & in isto, quod predestinatione, elecio, vocatio, & iustificatio, qua ex iniustis

Quod gratis
per Christum
iustificamus.

Bhunt iusti, ex impijs hunt pijs, & ex peccatoribus innocentibus, & generaliter, cuiuslibet peccati renusso ht tam quantū ad culpam & inaculam, q̄ quantum ad xterne p̄cē reatum mere gratis hunt, nec aliquo modo sub humanum meritum cadunt. Tertio in hoc conuenimus, quod gratia qua datur dignē recipientibus baptisimi vel penitentia sacramenta, non cadit sub humanum meritum, sed merē gratis datur à Deo per Christum, ex merito passus eius: Id quod euidenter appetat in parvulis, qui aut hodie baptizātur, aut olim circumcidēbantur, qui cùm careant vsl rationis, manifestum est quod nullo modo cooperātur Deo, eos lauacro regenerationis sanctificanti. *Vt fides iustificat.*

Quarto quantū ad adultos, in hoc concordamus, quos fides non iustificat eos, nisi ex agnoscant peccatum, & fateantur legem esse iustum, & authorem eius esse iustum, ac se se & sua peccata condemnantes, timore commoti, fugiant ad asylum sanguinis Christi, ut gratis à Deo accipiant non modo misericordiam, & remissionem peccatorum, sed etiam spiritum gratiae & vires, quibus implent legem &c. Quinto quod falsum

Potestim vlt
nencancifera
cum optimam
de
Quae sit fides
iustificans.

Cfit dogma, eorum, qui afferunt pessimam vitam posse consistere cum optima fide, siue fides accipiat profidutia, siue prospē, vel certa expectatione à Deo promissi boni

Sexto etiam in hoc non dissentimus quod dicis fidei iustificantē esse non quam libet, sed eam quae per dilectionem operatur, quodque ea non sit solitaria in mente hominis iustificati, siue creditis, sed quod habeat comites antecedentes, & sequentes: Antecedentes quidem, timorem Dei & contritionem, & dolorem de peccatis, cui addere licet & spem de venia, & pedissequas, tolerari tam mansuetudinem compassiōnem, & careros fructus spiritus Christi. Neque iam illud vrgere statuimus, quod fidē videaris a teponere charitati, cum charitas sit forma, & tanquam vita fidei, ut dicat Apostolus excellētiorem viam esse charitatis, quā fidei, quodque fides, spes, charitas, tria hec maneat & maior horum sit charitas. Hoc igitur omisso, vel in aliud tēpus dilato, in hoc cōcordamus, q̄ fides nō iustificat solitaria, secluso cōitatu aliorū virtutum.

Quonodo in
colligatur apo
stolis quae
atq̄ operibus
fides iustificat.

D Septimo in hoc concordamus, quod Apostolus dicens hoīinēm fidei iustificari sine operibus legis, ad Romanos, & ad Galatas, & vbiunque hoc dicit, non intelligit illud solum de lege scripta, propria populo Iudeorum, hoc est, de cæmonialibus, & iudicitalibus, sed etiam de legibus moralibus, quae non habebant vim obligandi solidū ex lege Moysi, sed ex lege naturæ siue scripto, quodq; talū legum beneficio cognoscatur cōidē quid esset recte factū, quid esset peccatum, sed talis cognitio nō s̄ sufficiebat sine gratia & spiritu Christi ad implendā legem: quæ quidē in gratia & scripturā per Christū dantur cuicunq; dantur. Hæc sunt serè in quib; nō discordamus. Expositis breviter, quib; in rebus consensiamus. Cōsequenter videndum est quæ sint illa in quibus dī ordēmus. Et primo quidē nō cōuenit inter nos de clave scientie salutis ipsius scripturæ q̄ tu ponis istam, videlicet q̄ sola fides de misericordia Dei per legem Christū per gratiā Christi, & opera Christi absque di respectu cuiusvis meriti aut bonitatis operū nostrorū iustificat in cōspectu dei, quam lenientiam sepe repetis

De elemē scīs
et salutē
Tindale.

Hh iii. In quo

In quo quia tollis omne meritum vita eterna à quibuslibet sc̄r̄is & iis pr̄terquam ab uno A Christo, ideo à te discentimus. Boni deles cōniūlece, si in hac re scripture & Apolo-
lo Paulo potius credimus quām tibi: Proponit enim Paulus aliam clauem scripture
& eius scientię salutaris, nūximē quantum ad intelligētiam legis & prophetarum
nētē conuersiōnē ad dominū. Sic enim habet. 2. ad Corinthios cap. 1. Vnde in
hodiernū diem idipsum velāmen est positum super cor eorum, cūm autē conuer-
sus fuerit ad Deum auferetur velāmen. Idem. 2. ad Timotheum cap. 3. Tu vero per-
mane in his quę didicisti & credita sunt ubi, sciens à quo didiceris, & quia ab infātia
sacras literas nosti, quę te possunt instruere ad salutē p̄er fidem, quę est in Christo le-
sū: In his duobus locis clare tradit Paulus quod sic es Christi clavis sit scientię salu-
taris, legis & prophetarum, fides (inquit) nō hūnus aut illus articuli, scilicet catho-
lica & orthodoxa, recta & integra, multo ergo minus aliquam particularis fides de
aliquo, quod sit contrariū scripture, vel alicui p̄arti eius. Cuiusmodi est ista clavis tua
quātum ad illam partem attinet, in qua omne meritum iustorū negares, respectūvi. B

*Quae sit clavis
scientię legis
& prophetarum*

*Negare iusto-
rum & cari pēti-
bus ad iusti-
tiam.*

*Demercede
bonorum op-
erum apud dñm*

et eterne, pr̄terquam Christi solius, et insit patebit: vbi Christo proprio ostende-
mus hanc sententia pertinere ad infidelitatem, quę quidē infidelitas iuxta doctrinā
eiusdem Apostoli mentem cl. uidet, i.e. videat clericā Christi. Dicit enim. 2. ad Cor-
inthios. 4. Quod si etiam opertum est Euangelium nostri m̄, in his qui p̄ereunt oper-
tum est, in quibus Deus 1. m̄ seculi excauāt m̄ ei tesinfidelitatem, vt non fulget il-
luminatio Euangeli gloria Christi, qui est imago Dei inuisibilis. Undecimno vero ca.
Lucę non reprehenduntur legisperiti, cua heret trāni, quam in modo falsam ostendi-
mus, clavem abstulerunt. Sed quod in veritate intellectum legis & prophetarū falsis tra-
ditionibus & à se & ab alijs abiulerint, quo intellectu legis & prophetarū, tanquam
clavis quadam ad scientiam, & agnitionem Christi iam p̄ficiunt, & ipsi peruenire,
& alios pertrahere delūserint. Erat enī lex, & propheta quasi clavis quādā m̄ ad in-
telligendum misterium redēit protis uideat cāta, vnde & lex p̄dicta: ḡesus ad Christum
ducens dicit. At gentiles, & obstinati iudei legē non intelligentes, & contrario modo C
fide in Christianū prius accepta peruenient ad intelligentiam & legis & prophetarū: de-
clarat enī figura & figuratur se in utro. cap. 1. p̄gitur (vt scribit) desideras instrui, oportet ve-
queras cauta solicitudine veritatem, vt in legendis scripturis non tā queras quō tua sta-
bilias, & aliena resellias, quā quidē id quod est legis intellegas, quod nondū te sc̄ere perspi-
cit qui tua scripta diligenter attendit: Veri i. gr. tia, aliquid accipis de 1. cap. Epist. Pau.
ad Rom. Deinde clavis oculis trāsilis ad cap. 3. p̄tra termino cap. 2. vbi habentur que-
re à tua sententia poterant revocare: li. 1 et in aperte loquitur Paulus de bonis operi-
bus & malis, & quid utrisque redditus sit Deus in die iudicij. Qui reddet (inquit)
vnicuique secundūm opera eius, p̄ipsi quidē, qui secundūm patientiam boni operis,
gloriam & hunc rem & incorruptionem in querentibus vitam aeternam, & cātera, que
longū est apponere. Item subiungis aliud ex epist. Pauli ad Corin. quod fr̄ tuo
dogmate facere arbitrari, scilicet cap. 8. 8. 9 pr̄termissis: Vbi instat Paulus & n.iris D
modis agit vt inducat Corinthios ad liberalitatem in pauperes sanctos, vbi inter alia
de p̄mō huius operis dicit. Qui seminat parec̄, parc̄ & metet: & qui seminat in te
nedictionibus, de lēnedictionibus & metet: Vnusquisque proit destinavit in corde
suo, non ex tristitia aut necessitate. Hilarem enim datorem diligit Deus, & ea quę se-
quuntur: vbi ostēdit v̄l̄ erē esse retributionē & meritū coram Deo, eiusmodi liberalis
donationis. Item cūm ea quę placuerunt posuiss̄ ex epistola ad Galatas, nolūsti con-
siderare quę in eadem epistola dicuntur de mercede communicationis honorum:
Cōmunicet autē (inquit) is qui catechizatur verbo, q̄ se catechizat in omnibus bonis:
nolite errare, Deus nō irridetur, que enī seminauerit hō, hāc & metet. quoniam qui
seminat in carne sua, de carne & metet corruptionem: qui autem seminat in spiritu
de spiritu & metet vitā eternā. Omitto exponere, q̄ id sit hoc loco seminare & mete-
re. Vix enī reper. f̄rētū sacrarū tātudū, quinō seminare, metere vero, pro me-
rito

Asito recipere, dictum accipiat: bonum autem, inquit, facientes non deficiamus: tempore enim suo metemus non deficentes. Similiter facis & in alijs scripturis, ut in epistola ad Hebreos quæ te potuit instruere, non solum de fide, sed etiam de operibus & eorum mercede nam cap. 6. non iustus, inquit, est Deus ut obliuiscatur operis vestri, & dilectionis, quam ostendit in nomine ipius, qui ministratus sanctis, & ministritus. Et capite decimo post alia concludit, nolite itaq; amittere confidentiam vestram quæ magnam habet remunerationem: & cap. ii. de Moys. Fide Moyses grandis factus, negavit se esse filium filiæ Pharaonis & carera, usque ibi aspiciebat enim in remunerationem: Et ex euangelio Math. cùm mentionem fecisset beatitudinum, quæ gratis donantur à spiritu, illud omisisti adiungere. Gaudete & exultate quoniam merces vestra copiosa est in celis, quia hoc non seruiebat tuo dogmati. Et infra. In eodem sermone manifeste docet Christus, quod merces eleemosinæ, orationis, & ieiunij redditus à patre cœlesti, si rectè fiunt eiusmodi opera, eo modo & fine quam

Bprescribit Christus, quod omisisti considerare. Ex his paucis, ut alia sine numero omittantur, cōstare potest, quod si quæsiueris cauta sollicitudine veritatem, accipies certam doctrinæ, non solum de fide quod ipsa iustificat, sed etiam de operibus, quod merentur apud Deum, quando sunt ab hominibus iani gratis iustificatis, & sanctificatis. Cùm enim hæc à Paulo & Mathæo dicta de operibus tam sint aperta, ut in illo nullum possit esse dubium, oportet fidem iustificantem in Paulo ita intelligere, ut non præjudicet operibus factis ex fide per dilectionem, operante quatum ad vim merendi attinet. Probat siquidem Apostolus in epistola ad Romanos, rationibus efficacibus & scripture testimonijs, nulla opera aut nature aut legis, iustificationem meruisse, ideoque iudeos & gentiles, quod ad eam rem attinet, pares esse, illosque de lege, hos de natura frustra gloriari, quum utrique diuinæ gratiæ debeat salutem evan gelicam, & utrique pari iure modoque Abrahæ, id est, pronissionis filii sancti sunt, dum Deus qui Abrahæ filios promisit, ex utrisque credentes collegit, quorum Abra

Cham pater esset, utrisque gratis fidem donans, utrumque corda fide purificans: ut nemo primam gratiam qua credidit & remissionem peccatorum adeptus est, sibi quovis modo redditum pro suo opere siue legis siue naturæ arbitretur, sed obstruatur omnibus os, & omnis mundus subditus Deo fiat, qui omnes conclusit sub peccato, ut misericordia Dei donum esse appareat indebitum, largientis, non humanæ iustitie hoc promerentis, nec diuinæ iustitiae pro merito mercedem reddentis. Omnis igitur apostolica disputatio pro fide & gratia aduersus opera iustificationem præcedentia dirigitur, non aduersus sequentia.

Item in eo discor damus quia non ponis differentiam inter opera quæ primam iustificationem antecedunt, & ea quæ illam sequuntur, quantum pertinet ad vim & efficaciam merendi apud Deum, nos autem inter illa distinguimus, sicut cogit scriptura inter illa opera discrimen ponere: *Opera præcedentia non merentur iu*

Dstificationem, opera vero sequentia merentur beatitudinem: Voca (inquit) operarios & redde illis mercedem: utique hoc dicit de iam iustificatis, qui per gratiam accipere virtutem operandi, ut essent digni mercede: Item Dominus seruus suis tradidit pecuniam suam, alijs quinq; talenta, alijs duo, alijs vnum, & eos qui superlucrati sunt & auxerunt pecuniam Domini sui, Dominus remunerat, & seruum pigrum, qui non posuit pecuniam Domini sui ad usuram, reprehendit & damnat: Hæc aperte dicit Christus, & audet contradicere qui vult dici & haberi Christianus. Itē in eo discrepam, quod dicas homini iustificato per fidem, nihil accedere p opera sequentia, eo quod opera solū declarat interiorē existentē bonitatē sed illā nō augēt: quod pbas per simile, quia fructus declarat arborē, sed nō facit eā bonā vel malā, per hoc studēs concordare Paul. & Iaco. qd ille loquatur de iustificatione interna corā Deo, Hic vero de externa coram proximis: Propter hoc dicens quod Abrahā non fuit iustificatus per

Hh iiiij obedien-

Discrimen inter opera iustificationis præcedentia et ea quæ iustificatione sequuntur.

Iustum ex suis operibus corā Deo facta metiorum.

obedientiam se circuncidēdo, & inseri, ergo nec per obedientiam in offerendo Isaac A erat iustificatus apud Deū. Nos autem dicimus quod tam interna fide quam operib⁹ s externis ex fide procedentibus Abraham sit coram Deo iustificatus, utpote qui fatus sit primo ex non iusto iustus per fidem, deinde ex iusto iustior per opera sequentia. Quod autem sit iustificatus per obedientiam in offerendo filium, habes textum Genesis 22. vbi habetur, Per memetipsum iurauit dicit dominus quia fecisti rem hanc & nō pepercisti filio tuo unigenito, benedicam tibi &c, vsque ibi, Quia obedisti voci mea. Ecce ipse Abraham accepit reprobationes, addito etiam iuramento ad significandam immobilitatem diuini decreti, quia obedivit voci Dei iubentis illi filium suum offerri, quo argumento haud dubie refellitur distinctio de iustificatione interna apud Deum, & externa apud proximos: quia hoc opus obedientiae etiam coram deo Abraham iustificavit. Jam similitudo illa arboris & fructus virtutis internæ atq; opere eius non quadrat. Corporalis enim arborum animaliumque partus, parientem debilitat, quantoq; magis multiplicatur, tāo amplius exhaustis vires parientis siue pro-B ducentis: secus est in partu mentis: quippe qui adeo parienti non debilitat, vt magis etiam vegetet, ac corroboret: Vt videte licet in scientijs, in artibus, in prudentia, in sapientia, quæ proprijs ipsarum operationib⁹ confirmantur, radicantur, augen-tur. Vnde in talibus magis congruit similitudo fontis, qui sine sui detimento riuum fluuim, vel stagnum producit: Vnde Ioannis 4. de aqua gratia quam dat Christus, dicitur, het in eo fons aquæ salientis in vitam æternam: & cat. Eiusdem 7. cap. de spiritu sancto quem accepturi erant credentes, allegatur scriptura dicens, Fluminis de ventre eius fluent aquæ viuæ.

Item in hoc discedemus, quod dicis ideo nos nihil mereri à Deo quia ipse nostris operibus non indiget, & nihil ei utilitatis adserant. Sed eius dona sunt, omnisque illorum utilitas ad nos revertatur. Nam nos quidem dicimus, quod licet Deus bonorum nostrorum non egeat, & omne bonum quod habemus aut facimus, ab illo habemus, & nobis, non illi profit, tamen quod illo iubente, aut considente, propter eius C amorem nostra sp̄ote & liberè facim⁹, remunerare decrevit, nō aliter quā si nostris operibus egisset atque utilitatem inde accepisset. Quemadmodum opera misericordie proximi impensa tanti facit, atque si libi egenti suissent exhibita sicut habetur Mat. 25. Quod vni ex minimis meis fecisti: nihil fecisti in quibus iudex Christus te pastū, vestīū, collectū, & visitatum satetur, propterea dices, Venite benedicti &c. Et apud Mathæū 10. Qui recipit (inquit) iustum in nomine iusti, mercedem iusti accipiet, & qui prophetam in nomine prophetæ, mercedem prophetæ accipiet, & qui dederit vni ex minimis istis calicem aquæ frigidæ tantum in nomine discipuli, amen dico vobis non perdet mercedem suam. Nōne in his & huiusmodi manifeste declaratur voluntas diuina super retributione futura in æterna vita? idque tam aperte, tot modis, vt nullus relinquat loc⁹ tergiuersationi, & tanquā nihil de ea re scriptū sit, dicitur, deum oia donare gratis pp: er Christū, hoc sensu, quasi nihil diuinitus electus de ob: merita præcedentia, putas ad iniuriam Dei, ad ingratitudinem hominis pertinere, si id sibi D reddi postulet pro benefactis. Ad quod confirmandum dum valere dicas formam orandi quæ habetur in scriptura, vbi orantes non allegant sua merita, sed dicunt Deo propter bonitatem tuam, propter misericordiam, propter nomen, propter verbum tuum: non attendis, quod eadem scriptura testetur, quod Deus beneficit Isaac, & Iacob propter Abraham, & quod Moyses in oratione allegat seruos Dei Abraham, Isaac & Jacob dum pro populo intercedit, & quartus liber Regum cap. 10. testatur, quod Dominus pepercit, custodiuit, ac liberauit ciuitatem Hierusalem & regem Ezechias propter David seruum suum. Sed & ipse Ezechias in oratione propria allegat apud Deum sua merita priora, sicut videte licet apud Isaiam capit. 38. nec est difficile ex psalmis colligere orationes vbi David allegat beneficia sua vt Psalmio 7. 15. 118. vbi allegat

Vt bona ope-
ra non solum
offendere ince-
riat hominem
bonum non in-
ferre fructus er-
ebunt.

A legat in necessitate suā, amore inimicorū: & quod fecerit iudiciū & iusticiā: quodque cor suum inclinaverit ad mandata Dei propter retrahitionem. Certe beatus Petrus confidenter loquitur. Ecce nos reliquimus omnia, & sequi sumus te, quid ergo erit nobis? Nec ignota est responsio Domini Math. 19. & Marci. 10. An aequum putas, ut hæc omnia scriptura testimonia, & alia sine numero cedant similitudini quam additū, cas de medico & ergo bibente potionem amaram, qui propterea nihil meretur de medico, quod illa potio sit sumenti utilis, non medico danti: Et vis esse simile de Deo & homine Dei mandata vel confilia faciente, quia scilicet homini prodest mandatorum Dei custodia, nō Deo: Non enim recte diffinis quid sit mereri ab aliquo, vel apud aliquem, per aliquid opus vel factum: Non solem enim meretur retributionem aliquam vel mercedem sive præmium, qui facit aliquid quod credit in utilitatem præmium dantis, sed etiam qui facit illius voluntatem vel beneplacitum: Redi ad similitudinem: ē medico, sit rex medicus qui statuit in regno suo, quod quicunque ergo

B tus filio suo virginito acqueruerit, & se ab illo curari promiserit, illum faciet filio suo cohæredem, habebit amicum, & mensē, ac ceterorum honorum participē, quia regi ita staruere vīsum est, & ita placet. Iste ergo legi obediens meretur hereditatem, & rure eam petit, non quia sinendo se sanari, & voluntarie sumendo medicamina ad sanitatem idonea, regis fecerit utilitatē, sed quia regis fecerit voluntatem, suam interim non negligens utilitatem.

Nisi istud verum esse fatearis non invenies quomodo Iesu Christi hominis merita (quæ tu optimo iure prædicas & magis facis sicut debes) defendas: qui venit in hunc mundū vt faceret patris voluntatem, vt adimpleret eius beneplacitum, non vt afferret patri aliquam utilitatem, patris enim beatitudini nihil decederet si filius neque homo fieret, neque crucem subieret: nec deerat patri aliis modus, quo electos à peccato liberaret, & ad pædestinatā beatitudinem perduceret, (& hic modus placuit, vt nostræ misericordia seruanda conuenientior) Et revera nusquam purior, & niagis indebita gratia apparet, quām in homine Christo.

C fto. In rebus enim per tempus ortis illa summa gratia est, quod homo in unitate personæ coniunctus est Deo (vt inquit Augustinus), 19. de trinitate. c. 19. & hoc latè explicat de pædestinatōe sanctorum li. 1. c. 15. Neque enim quicquā merebatur ille homo vel potius illa humanitas anteq̄ esset, vt assumeret à Deo filio in unitatem personæ. Attende ergo quod sicut summa gratia gratis & merē gratis Christo homini collata cū plenitudine, & nō ad mensurā, sī dō impedituit qui eius actiones & passiones fierint meritorie in eo ideo meritorie quia ex talī & tanta gratia à Christo procedebant. Ita in Christiano per gratiam iustificato, opera sequentia sunt apud Deum meritoria, & tanto amplius quanto maior est gratia ex qua proficiscuntur. sicut enim Christus est iustus, & iustificans, sapiens & sapientes faciens, sanctus & sanctos faciens, Ita suo merito sī os, merentes facit. impetrās & obtinens à patre suis membris non tantum sanitatem & salutem, sed etiam facultatē & efficaciam, qua Deo in ipsis operanti cooperantur. Nec debet mirū videri, si quos Deus dignatus est diuina natura facere parti

D ciper, facit etiam participes diuinę operationis. Hoc enī magis illustrat gloriā Christi si iphius virtus in alios derivetur, q̄ si ei soli seruetur. Igitur petitioni tua tandem respondebtes dicimus & ingerū fateremur, quod in omnibus bonis ex eislib⁹ gratia Dei præuenit, cor comitur, & subsequitur sine qua gratia nullum bonum opus est in homine, quod si quis negauerit & putet sibi sufficere ad bene agendum noticiū in agendōrum, sive cognitionem legis, aut cum cognitione legis facultatem liberi arbitrij, etiam libenter à peccato per solam illius remissionem cum concursu generali (quo Deus vt primi a causa efficiens concurrit cum omnibus causis secundis pro sua sapientia, quia attingit à fine ad finem fortiter & disponit omnia suaviter (etiam post adeptam remissionem in peccatorum), ille declinat ad infidelitatem & errorem Pelagianorum, quia sicut recte dicit Augu. Neque scientia diuinæ legis neque natura neque sola re-

Nota similiter
direm ut imel
ligas quomo-
do apud Deū
nemus.

Vt Christus
suo in terra me-
tates faciat.

missio peccatorum est illa gratia quæ per Iesum Christum dominum nostrum datur, sed prædicta necessaria, necessaria est alia gratia qua sanctetur natura, & valeat homo legem implere, ne peccatum eridominietur. Et hanc alibi nominatim designans, dicit esse inspiratione dilectionis, ut cognita sancto amore faciamus, quæ propriæ gratia est. Hanc gratiam impetrat fides, quæ tamen fides ut accipere mereatur, ipsa gratis datur. Ex quibus tamen omnibus non consequitur illud quod adiungit, bona opera non esse meritoria apud Deum alicuius boni in hoc seculo vel futuro reddendi, id quod patet ex prædictis, sed utrumque simul ingenuè fateri necesse est, & quod sine Dei gratia neque credere Deo, neque quicquam boni operis operari valimus, & quod accepta fide, & per fidem impetrata gratia (quæ proprie dilectio est), & bene operari possumus, & bonis operibus mercedem vite æternæ mereri, quia oportet accedentem ad Deum credere quia est, & quod querentibus se remuneratio sit.

Nec contra prædicta illud Luke. 15. facit, Cùm seceritis omnia quæ precepimus vobis, dicite serui inutiles sumus, quod debuumus facere fecimus: Nam is est illius scripturæ scopus, ut doceat quod ex conditione seruitutis humiliari debeat seruus: nec extollit in superbiam aduersus dominum, quia bene seruendo id solum facit, quod facere ex officio debet, et nimirum ratione quæ seruus: cum quo nihilominus consistit, quod bonus dominus bene seruienti pro premio constitutat bene & liberaliter obit seruitutis, donationem libertatis aut alicuius alterius boni. Et hanc esse eius loci sententiam ipsa verba coniunctunt. Similiter Christus hominibus qui ex ratione creationis serui eius sunt, non virtutis tantum ut seruus, sed seruos facit amicos, & filios per adoptionem gratiæ, ex qua ius habent ad hereditatem, quam iure perunt, nam si filii (inquit Apostolus) & heredes, heredes quidem Dei, coheredes autem Christi. Vnde Iohannis. 15. Jam non dicam vos seruos, sed amicos &c. Et Luke. 22. Vos estis qui misericordias mecum in temptationibus meis, & ego dispono vobis sicut disposuit pater meus mihi regnum, ut edatis & bibatis super mensam meam in regno meo. Non est seruus, ut seruus est, sedere ad mensam domini sui, sed ministrare domino cenant, sicuti habet parabolam de seruo redeunte ex agro: cui subiectum Verbum supra positum, & tamen pater & filius ita disponuerunt, ut seruus in filium assumptus hat & mensa, & regni percipiat. Hic considerandum est, quod qui asserit Deum nihil reddere pro bonis meritis negare videatur Deum esse iustum iudicem, retributorum, vel redditorem meritis pro bonis operibus, & ita contradicit scripturæ Ezechielis. 18. vbi ostendit Dominus se iuste reddere pro meritis, tamen bene operantibus quam male, sicut manifestum est totam capituli sententiam consideranti. Alia præterea testimonia ex lege & prophetis plurima allegari possunt, sed hoc unum sufficere videtur tam clarum & evidens ut nullum relinquit tergiuersandi locum. Ex abundanti addi potest illud Psalmi .62. Semel loquutus est Deus, duo haec audiui, quia potestas Dei est, & tibi misericordia, & rededes unicuique secundum opera sua: Isti vero vnum tantum audiunt, puta misericordiam, quantum ad honos, & saluandos, quos negant vlo suo opere meriti vite æternæ retributionem, asserentes vitam æternam dari meritis, nullo operum habito respectu, neque cuiusquam meriti contemplatione nisi solus Christus: Vnde veliterius consequens est, quod ratio iustitiae distributivæ locum non habeat in iudicio Dei reddentis pro meritis, nisi erga malos, quos Deus pro malis meritis iuste iudicat & punit: & secundum hoc illud prophete, tu rededes unicuique secundum opera sua, intelligendum est, & contrahendum ad opera mala tantum, cum Apostolus ad veteraque accommodet ad Romanos. 2: & 2. ad Corinthis. 5. prime ad Titum. 5. vbi de te & alijs aduentum Domini diligenteribus dicit de reliquo, reponit est mihi corona iustitiae &c. & secundum ad Thessalonicenses. Si tamen iustum est Deum retribuere ijs, qui vos tribulant, & vobis qui tribulamini &c. Sed dices Deus non potest suæ creature debitor constitui, quod probari uidetur ex Isaia, & Paulo ad Romam. II. Quis prior dicit illi

A dit illi & retribuetur ei, quia ex ipso, & per ipsum, & in ipso sunt omnia, creatura non habet iustè quod conqueratur de Deo, si non retribuat mercedem bonis operibus. Fateor quòd Deus nulli est debitor nisi sibi, immo & in his quæ promisit & iurauit, significans suę ordinationis immobilitatem, non creature, sed sibi esset iniurius, si promissa non seruaret: Ex quo tamen non sequitur, creaturam apud Deum nihil mereri. Creaturam dico gratias iustificatā, super naturę potentiani & virtutem dono Dei eleuataū, & vt Petrus ait factam diuinę naturę consortem, & vt Euangelista Ioannes dicit, cui data est potestas filiū Dei fieri: Hoc enim habet diuinę sapientię ratio, secundūm quā placuit sic ordinare, vt quibus hęc pretiosissima dona gratis donauit, eisdem proper bona opera ex gratia & libero arbitrio præcedētia redderet præmium, & mercedem, quam quidem ordinationem suam per prophetas, per Apóstolos, & per vngenitum filium nobis notam fecit in scripturis sanctis. Et quis est qui dicat ei, cur ita fecerit, aut quis consiliarius eius, fuit qui non hoc, sed diuersum potius aliquid dicat

B Deo placere debuisse: Nonne aperte sunt & claræ promissiones, attestations, & iuramenta diuina in quibus hoc vel illud facienti, aut quia hoc vel illud fecerit vita, gloria, corona promittitur? Similiter respondetur ad istud, nostrum opus non est utile Deo, sed nobis vel proximo prodest, ergo nostro opere bono non meremur à Deo præmium, mercedem, vel coronam, non enim bona est illatio, quia Deus hanc legem fit ita ut, non querens suam sed nostram utilitatem, suam vero gloriam tantum: quam gloriam dumi etiam nos benè operando querimus, cum Dei voluntate concordamus & præmium & mercedem merenur: quam Deus reddet, non tantū secundūm suam bonitatem, liberalitatem, magnificentiam, & misericordiam, sed & secundūm suam iustitiam, iustitiam dico, non tantummodo agendo sicut ipsius bonitati condescet: sed etiam pro meritis retribuendo, bona bonis, & digna dignis, iuxta illud Apocalipso: „. Ambulabunt mecum in albis, quia digni sunt: Et Lucæ. 20. Qui digni habebuntur seculo, illo & resurrectione ex mortuis &c. Et Christus dicit. Qui amat patrem aut ma-

C trem plusquam me, non est me dignus, ex quo econtrario concluditur, quòd qui Christum omnibus anteponit, sit Christo dignus: Sed neque hoc falso quis neget, nos Deo non esse utiles benè operando, quia licet bonorum nostrorum non egeat, &

ita non sumus Deo utiles utilitate supplente eius egestaté de qua superius lo-

cuti sumus, & quæ proprietate utilitas est, tamen ipsi Deo ut vniuersi

rectori utiliter seruiunt boni, quorum ministerio atque opera, Deus

electos suos perducit ad salutē, & ita utilitas electorum eius

utilitas reputatur Boni enim sunt vasa electa, quomodo

scriptura de Paulo dicit. Vas electionis est mihi ut

portet nomen meum &c. De quo amplius

libro sequenti

Non impedit
de reatu
quod Deus
nobis debitor
fieri nequiescat
quodque nos
ili prodest
couposimus.

REFV TATIONVM

ADVERSVS GVIL. TINDALVM LIBER SECUNDVS.

De clavis scientie salvatoris.

NON in eo peccas Tindale quod dicas fidem esse clavem intelligentie salutaris scripturarum, sed in eo, quod fidem huius obiecti, sive huius propositionis, Deus pater omnia dat ita gratis per Christum, ut nullius operis, respectu, sive propter nullum opus internum vel externum quicquam det, (hoc sensu, quasi nullum penitus sit meritum hominis erga Deum, sed quam gratis & sine omni causa ex parte hominis predestinat, eligit, adoptat, tam gratis beatificet, coronet, & remuneret). qui sensus a fide catholica est alienus, pertinens ad infidelitatem, & contra scripturam multis locis contrarium afferentem. Ad hanc propositionem stabilendam omnia que prolixè congeris & inculcas, toto libro applicas, nec ullam vis esse differentiationem, quo ad dari mere gratis, inter gratiam iustificantem, & gloriam corruantem, nisi quod gratia datur prius, gloria posterius. Hæc autem dicendo, videris tibi multum tribuere gratias Dei, & donis que per Christum electus suis dat Deus, quando vocatos iustificat, infundens cordi eorum spiritum sanctum: cum in veritate illi deroges, tollens a gratia & supradictis donis vitam & efficaciam iustificatum perducendi ad finem boni, sicut ille virtuti seminius derogat qui ab ipso auctor omnem vitam genitalem negans ex semine progerminari fructum, sed afferens tantum quod hoc antecedat, ille sequatur contra omnium hominum communem sensum. Sicut enim absurdè loquitur, & intolerabiliter errat, qui eo quod oia quæ sunt in universo mundo Deus faciat, siccirco omnem efficiendi vim tollere studet ab omnibus alijs agentiis, etiam naturalibus, quam liberis, dicens quod ignis, & comburit stuprum, sed Deus solum, aut quod equus non generat equum, vel homo hominem, ita errat non solum contra sapientium iudicium, & scripturas, sed & contra omne iudicium vulgi qui negat Deum iuste regere, & iudicare hunc mundum, & preferunt rationalem sive intellectualem creaturam: reddendo benis & malis quod iustum est pro ratione meritorum. Non enim ita debet in Deo exaltari misericordia, ut iusticiz derogetur, sed contentus est Deus miserator, & misericors, & iustus, ut integras sit fides & conscientia non macula aut mutila, qualis est tua, dum ab homine etiam iusto emne meruit: tollis, dicens quod homo non amplius mereatur a Deo gloriam vel vitam a eternam quibuslibet bonis operibus, quam Paulus itinere si o ad Damascum a Christo iustificari meruit, cum illo opere & voluntate Paulus mereceretur iustificationem non, sed eternam damnationem, aut non aliter quam Ad deum peccatum meruit a Deo per passionem Christi redimi, iuxta illud Gre. O felix culpa que tales, ac tantum meruit habere redemptorem, ubi vocabulum mereuit accepit Gregorius abusivè significans excellentiam nimis charitatis Dei, quam non obstante offensa maiora beneficia humano generi contulit, quam innocentibus prius contulisset. Ut autem sententiam tuam de merito quorunlibet opertum bonorum in agis explices, frugis casum, quod Deus beato Paulo illam perfectionem dederit ab initio, quam nunc anima eius possidet, aut quam habiturus est post resurrectionem, & tamen voluerit Deus eum in hoc mundo manere, & ea facere que pro tempore fecit in officio doctoris, & Apostoli, quo causa admisso, dicit Paulum omnibus suis bonis operibus nihil meruisse sicuti nec beati angelii, qui quam merentur obsequio quo nobis ministrant, & sub Deo procurant nostram salutem. Ex quo conccludis, quod neque quicquam meruerit bonus suis operibus tempore quo fuit in hac vita. De ratione huius casus & an evenire possit, facies, scis est quod ex eo declaras mereantur tuam de merito operum, inno & dilectionis, & fidei,

A fidei, quia nullum prorsus admittit meritum erga Deum, cui Deus se cùdum iustitiam reddat vitam aeternam. Et interim dico te nocte esse contentiosum, nec de verbis facere questionem, quod veniam ex animo diceres: Ita enim breui finiretur concertatio, Sed veniam ad exempla, quibus putas rem ipsam clare ostendi, & per hoc à tua parte stare victorianu: Non sunt enim similia qua pro similibus introducis.

Primo quia opera primi qui pacto pretio agrum suum colit, & opera aliorum, absque pacto aliquo agrum suū colectuum sunt vniuersi qualitatis & valoris, propter paritatem efficientis, his proximi, materis, & forma, saltē illa eadem esse continet. Secus est de operibus quibus mereri dicimus erga Deum quā eiusdem rationis non sunt cum operibus non meritorius. Nam meritoria ex natura sua, seclusa etiam omni pacto sive positiva ordinatione, habent dignitatem, valorem, & perfectionem, qua carent opera non meritoria sicut peccata ex natura sua demerentur poenam, etiam seclusa omni ordinatione positiva. Meritoria enim procedunt à charitate &

B gratia gratu: faciente, quibus anima perficitur, & supra suam naturalem potentiam eleuantur, vt sit diuinæ naturæ particeps, sicut inquit Petrus in secunda canonica sua. maxima & preclara nodis promissa donauit, vt per hoc efficiantur diuinæ consortes naturæ. Hac autē dignitate & perfectione carent opera precedentia iustificationem, & gratia gratum facientis infusionem, in quibus homo vtcunque facit quod in se est, benē vteus donis naturalibus & gratuitis. Non enim hæc opera à spiritu Christi inhabitante, & mentem vivificante proficiscuntur. Secundo dissimile est, quia omnes illi quo singulis operari in agro suo proprio, sibi tantum operantur, non alteri: Sunt enim predici, privatæ personæ habentes bona separata, nec bonū vniuersi includitur in bono alterius, neque econuerso: Sed in operantibus propter Deum aliter res habet, quia Deus est rex & rector vniuersi, intendens bonum totius vniuersi: in quo includitur bonum cuiuslibet tanquam partis, & ideo apud Deum, ille qui suam ipsius salutem operatur & agrum propriæ conscientiæ colit, meretur præmium, qua

C hoc faciendo rem utilem facit toti, cuius est pars: totius autem (vt dictum est:) bonum intendit Deus, in quantum rex, rector vel legislator. Sicut ediverso poenam meretur apud Deum is qui seipsum flagitio corruptit, quia hoc faciendo toti nocet, cuius ipse est pars: quod & ipse Aristoteles Philosophus Gentilis, in lumine nature vidit, quinto Ethicorum scribens, quod merito legibus plectuntur, qui seipso interficiunt, quia damno afficiunt ciuitatem, cuius partes sunt.

Et tertio dissimile est, quia rectè videntes donis Dei gratuitis, querunt in vsu & ex vsu eorum, honorem Dei, & utilitatem gregis Dei, & laborant in vinea non sua, sed Dei. Ac in quantum huiusmodi, pascunt oves non suas, sed Dei, colunt vineam non suam, sed Dei, vbi seipso castigant, non sibi, sed Deo seruiunt, quia non sui, sed Christi sunt creatione, & redemptione. Ita vt, quemadmodum ait Paulus secundæ ad Corinthios quinto, nec sibi vivant, aut moriantur. sed ei qui pro omnibus

D mortuus est, & resurrexit: imo & ideo operis eorum utilitas non ad se, sed ad Deum redire, censenda est ideo quia remunerat Deus laborantem agricultoram pro ratione laboris, non pro ratione prouentus. Spectatur enim à Deo retribuente, quod gloriari eius que sumus, etiam si secludas per intellectum, quod hoc modo toti vniuerso rem secerimus utilem. Propter quod signanter dicit Paulus, prima ad Corinthios tertio: Vnusquisque mercedem accipiet secundum suum laborem.

Sunt & alia differentia, seu dissimilitudines, sed istæ sufficiant. Deus vt creator, & Dominus iustissime ab homine exigere potest omnia possibilia à creatura, & seruo suo, nec habet homo etiam iustus, vel innocens, & multo minus peccator, quod iure queratur de creatore, & Domino, quantumvis multum imponat oneris, et si nihil vel reddat, vel promittat retributionis pro obsequiis, immo si vita ipsam auferre voluerit, nihil habet quod dicat, nisi quod lob dixit ableta sub

stantia & liberis, Dominus dedit Dominus abstulit, & ceter. Sed non eo solo titulo agit. A
cū homine, Deus enī est hominū pater, quo nomine hominē habet Deus non vt ier-
uum sed vt filium: quo iure constituit Deus inter se & homines ius paternum, quod
est nomen aioris, sicut Dominus nomen est timor. Nec solum eo titulo contentus
est Deus, sed proprius accedens ad quandam aequalitatem ecclesie sue: sponsus est, &
cum ea constituit ius coniugale: Quin etiam vltre progrediens, & ad equalitatem vitæ
magis appropinquans, Deus suam maiestatem eo demittit, vt cum hominibus ex e-
qualitate quadam agere & societatem contrahere dignetur. Ex quo constituit
cū hominibus ius quoddam ciuile. Pacta facit cū Abraham Isaac & Iacob, quos
dilexit, & illis agglutinatus est, vt Deutro. decimo habetur. Quibus consideratis fa-
cile est depræhendere, quemadmodum homo meriti posuit apud Deum. Neque con-
tra faciunt argumenta quæ adducis, vt illud de instrumentis, quo sic argumentari.
Homo est Dei operantis instrumentum, ergo homini in bono opere nihil leuidis de-
betur sicut funde vel lapidi vel gladio, quo David gigantem occidit: male concludu, B
quia multiplex instrumentum tibi parit confusione. Non enim unum est genus
instrumenti, sed multiplex. Aliud est enim instrumentum coniunctum, vt manus: Ali-
ud separatum, vt gladius. Item separatorum aliud animatum, aliud inanimatum.
Animatum vt seruus, seruus enim est domini instrumentum quo utitur ad actio-
nem. Et mulier est viro instrumentum ad generationem, vt habetur. . Poliorū. Et
tali instrumento imputatur actio ad laudem vel vituperium, ad penam vel præmi-
um. Exempli gratia. Dominus per seruum homicidium facit, non solus dominus pu-
nitur, sed ambo legibus plectuntur, & merito, nec auditur serui excusatio allegantis
necessitatem, quia ipse est domini sui instrumentum. Idque ideo, quia huiusmodi ser-
vus homo est naturaliter liber habens in sua potestate, domino parere vel non pare-
re. Et propterea huiusmodi instrumento imputatur sua actio ad culpam & penam
si mala sit, & ad laudem & præmium si bona. Sic est dicendum de homine, licet sit
Dei agentis instrumentum: quia est instrumentum separatum, animatum, & liberum, C
non solum motum, sed scilicet non sensus, per liberam voluntatem, Dei enim res
quas condidit sic administrat, vt eas proprios motus agere finat. Est autem hominis
proprius motus, vt liberè agat atque in potestate habeat agere & non agere, & ideo
non cogitur necessario sequi motum primi agentis sicut cetera instrumenta. Rex
Senacherib à domino per Isaiam capite decimino dicitur terra vel securis per simili-
tudinem, qui tamen eodem loco per eundem prophetam arguitur, quod non intel-
ligat se ideo prævalere aduersus Israel, quia Deus eo uteretur ad plectendum pecca-
tum populi sui. Ille rex terra per similitudinem erat, sed per veritatem non erat. Ve-
ni enim monstrorum esset si terra erigeretur aduersus te uteretur. Ita non minus absur-
dum est si quando homo se erigat aduersus Deum: quod tamen homo utique facere
potest, & sepe facit licet iniuste, & propterea non impunè. Et hoc ita se habere tu-
ipse alibi confiteris, dum diuersa Dei pacta cum ipsius creatura enumeras: Pactum e- D
nim proprio non est, nisi sit uterque liber consensus, Vbi non recte enumeras
pactum Dei cum diabolo: non enim ex pacto Dei cum diabolo homini peccanti
dominatur diabolus, non est enim iustitia in hac dominatione nisi ex parte Dei
permittentis. Iuste enim permisit Deus hominem venire sub potestatem tyran-
ni seductoris, cui liberè consenserit contemptu Dei creatore suo sed nullum pactum
habet Deus super ea re cum diabolo, qui iniuste, dominatur homini, & per tyran-
nidem: quicque iniuriam fecit Deo, quando hominem in flagitatione, sua corrupit. Et
quemadmodum hac diuina permisso in primum humani generis authorem Ad-
am peccantem iusta erat, & in posteros peccatum ab eo trahentes per originem,
ita contra eam fecit diabolus dum presumpsit mortem inferre Christo qui non per-
tinebat

*Multiplex in-
strumentorum
genus, & ut in-
strumentum sui
actio impone-
tur.*

A tinebat ad danunatam progeniem. Ac per hoc iustè amisit potestatem in Adam & posteros Dei permissione concessam. Iam vero quod peccatum esse dicas innobis propterea quod charitas nostra in Deum & proximum non est tanta, quanta est charitas Christi, non rectè dicas. Non enim nobis promittitur fore nos & quales Christo sed conformes. Ipsi enim datus est spiritus non ad mensurā, nobis datur ad mensuram, de plenitudine eius nos accepimus, non ipsam plenitudinem eius. Nulli igitur licet aspirare ad equalitatem charitatis Christi, quæ ab instanti ipsius conceptionis fuit summa, nec augeri potest aut potuit. Nobis ergo non debet imputari in peccatum quod nostra charitas minor sit charitate Christi, cum nec possit, nec debet esse tanta. Quia autem de charite Christi meministi ex ea poteras tuis sophisticis rationibus satisfacere. Cuni enim certo affirmes (vt debes) ipsum nescisse, necessario consequitur & Paulum Apostolum si ab initio conuersionis, in hac vita tantam charitatem habuisse, quantā habiturus est post resurrectionem, nihilominus adhuc meritum fuisse. Solvit & ex Christo illa tua argumentatio: homo omnia debet Deo quæcumque præstare potest, igitur nihil meretur. Nam Christus dominus secundum humanam naturam debebat Deo morte ipsam. Nam ut eam subiret precepit pater. Vnde Apostolus Christum patri obediisse ad mortem usque collaudat. Nihilo tamen minus meritus est per mortem: Propter quod inquit Apostolus & Deus exaltavit illum & donauit illi nomen &c. Illud quoque non rectè dicitur quod concupiscentia in virtutis sanctis sit peccatum etiam maximum, sed non imputatur &c. Aut enim loqueris de concupiscentia habituali quæ sere dicitur somes peccati. At illa in baptismatis non est peccatum, quia baptismismo tollitur reatus eius. Aut loqueris de eius actu sive motu: nec ille quidem est peccatum, quando rationalis voluntas reficit, sed est materia exercenda virtutis, si vero motus eius veniat cum surreptione sine voluntate plenè deliberata, veniale tantum peccatum est: quando vero motus est plenè deliberatus, mortale peccatum est, & legitur. Non concupisces, transgresio, qualis non

Noi oportet
nostram chari-
tatem tantam
esse quamvis
Christi.

B est in sanctis, in quibus peccatum non regnat ut obedient concupiscentijs eius, qui iuxta verbum sapientis post concupiscentias suas non eunt.

C Quæris meriti definitionem? Accipe, Meritum generaliter est actio voluntaria bona vel mala viatoris secundum Dei ordinationem ex bonitate vel malitia sua ad præmium vel poenam imputata. Dicitur voluntaria, quia per hoc ponitur actus in genere moris, quod proficiscatur à libera voluntate. Dicitur bona vel mala, propter actus indifferentes & medios inter bonum & malum, qui ut tales non merentur. Dicitur ad poenam vel præmium imputata, quia licet actus bonus vel malus eo ipso quo bonus vel malus est, sit imputabilis ad præmium vel poenam, non tamen meretur nisi actu imputetur. Et additur secundum Dei ordinationem, quia actus bonus non meretur præmium nisi supposita Dei ordinatione: ut volentis pro bono opere præmium retribuere. Et dicitur viatoris, ad excludendum actiones bonas &

Concupi-
scientia in vir-
tutis pecca-
tum non esse.
Philip. 3.12

D malas beatorum & damnatorum, quia sunt in termino boni vel mali, si extra statum merendi. Porro diuiditur meritum in bonum & malum, de malo merito dicitur. Genes. 42. Merito hæc patimur quia peccauimus in fratrem nostrum. Item ad Hebreos. 10. Quanto deteriora eum putamus mereri supplicia qui sanguinem &c. De bono merito dicitur Ecclesiastici. 16. Misericordia faciet locum unicusque secundum meritum suum & ad Hebreos. 13. dicitur, Talibus holij promeretur Deus. Sed dicas nullum esse meritum bonum quia si Deus non redderet iusto præmium siue vitam æternam, nullam saceret ei iniuriam, nec bono opere iusto Deus efficitur ad retributionem obligatus. Ergo iustus non meretur apud Deum. Concedunt sancti doctores antecedens, sed negant consequentiam. Dicentes ad meritum sufficere, quod sit in agente dignitas, in actione proportio, & in Deo precedens ordinatio. Concedunt enim quod Deus creature sue non obligatur, etiam ex promisso: si li iij enim

Divisio meriti

emim Deus promissa non redderet, creature cui promisit iniuriam non faceret, sed sibi A Repugnat tamē bonitati, bene merētes annihilare, aut nō premiare: sicut repugnat iustitiae eius, & bonitatē peccata relinquere ipunita. Alioqui enī malis parēdo nō re probator estet peccatorū, neq; iustis p̄m̄ia subtrahendo approbator estet bonorū. Vnde sicut dicit Apostol⁹. Ille t. delū permanet negare scipsum nō potest, quin scilicet seruet promissa: Ita nos quoque dicere possumus, ille bonus est & iustus, negare se ipsum nō potest, quin seruet debitum in suo vniuerso ordinem. Nec beneficia sine p̄missis, nec peccata sine suppliciū relinquens. Quanquam sicut nō p̄fstante promissa nemini iniurius, sed inhidelis & non verax est. Ita similiter non seruando debitum ordinem in vniuerso nemini iniurius, sed tantum non iustus, nec bonus est. Sed dicus, bene sequitur vita aeterna redditur iustis ex gratia & secundūm gratiam ergo nō ex operibus: quod ex gratia datur est indebitū, q̄ vero ex opere datur, est debitum: est autē impossibile idem, eidē ab eodem esse debitū & indebitum, sic enim loquitur Apostolus ad Roma. 4. & vndecimio, & ad Ephe. 2. Itud quidē argumentū B conuinceret si diceremus opus quod est meritum, non esse donum gratutum Dei: aut si dicemus, quod valor inest operi simpliciter, ea ratione qua proficiuntur à nobis, & non ob hoc principaliter, quia proficiuntur à gratia Dei & à charitate: hoc siquidem intendit Paulus cūm dicit, Donū enim Dei est ne quis glorietur, tanquam scilicet hoc sibi inest à se ipso: Id quod & alibi dicit. Quid enī habes quod nō acceptisti? Si autē accepisti, quid gloriari quasi non accepisti? Vbi non simpliciter gloriari vetat Dei dono ac cepto, cum alibi dicat, qui gloriatur, in Domino gloriatur: sed vētāt gloriari de Dei dono tanquam de non dono, sed suo, hoc est sibi inexistenti à se ipso, quod est illicitum pertinens ad superhiam. Vnde sancti non aliter aspiciunt merita sua, quam vt dona Dei gratuita, quicquid ibi est bonitatis & dignitatis, diuine bonitati ascribentes. Deus vero in eodem opere attendit, quando illud remunerat ex officio iusti iudicis, quod saclum sit sponte, quod voluntarie, quod celestabiliter, quod amauerit, quod gratuito, quod in potestate fuerit sequi & non sequi, operari C & non operari, donis Dei vti & non vti, & præcipue, quod nec quiescerit hemo in suo opere propriam gloriam, sed Dei: nec sibi operatus tuerit, querens quod sibi vtile est, sed quod multis, vt saluarentur, ex eo iusti. iudicans vt corenetur. Hoc vtrumque videre est in his quae dicuntur a iudice, & econtrario à iusto Mat. 25. Verba omitto ponere causa breuitatis. Ex quibus apparet bene consideranti quod que- cunque Tindale dicit aduersus hypocritas, & aduersus eos qui fiducian: ponent in suis operibus, verè quidem dicis, sed extra causam, quia sancti viatores meritis divi- tes non ponunt carnem brachium suum, nec à Deo recedit cor eorum, sed fiduciam habent in domino. Nam spiritus sanctus eos docet, vt sciant quae sibi à Deo dorata sunt, inter quæ & illud sciunt, sese creatos esse in operibus bonis, vt in illis ambulent, & ambulando pertingant ad inseparabilem glorię coronam legit: nō certantibus reprobationem. Nec contra meritum facit quod Dei dilectio in praedestinates D & electos sit aeterna qua ipse prior dilexit nos. Nam sicut ab aeterno præordinavit & proposuit Petro & Paulo, ut cuilibet alteri dare vitam aeternam, ita ab aeterno præordinavit & prouidit ut media ad eandem vitam peruenieret. Quod vt facilius capias considera nomine prædestinationis tria quæ dani per ordinem se habentia significari. Quorum primum est aeternum præfatum miserendi. Secundum tenetoralis colla- tio gracie, hinc gratuitū doni quo iustificatur prædestinatus. Tertium m: est collatio aet- ne gloria. Horum trium primi ex parte nostra nulla cōmiso est causa, hoc et. im- propositum merē est diuina bonitatis, & purę bona Dei voluntatis.

Secundi similiti ex parte nostra nulla est causa, quia licet in adultis dum nullib- cantur regulariter concurrat liberum arbitrium, nec sese habeat pure passime.

Juxta illud. Qui creauit te sine te, non iustificabit te sine te. Et

illud

- A** illud prophete. Conuertimini ad me, & ego conuertar ad vos. Et illud Iacobi. Ap-
propinquate Deo, & appropinquabit vobis, tamen nihil antecedit ut meritum
doni gratuiti quo insipius iustificatur sed gratis nienti insunditur, quo dono pecca-
tum dimittitur, & debitum mortis æternæ tollitur, quibus sublati efficitur diuinæ
naturæ particeps, qui erat indignus vita temporali, et qui dignus erat morte tam té-
porali q̄ eterna, efficitur dignus vita eterna, & qualis qualis dispositio iustificatione
præcedat, esse & est prædestinationis & gratie Dei præuenientis omnē nostrā dispo-
sitionē aut voluntatē, iuxta illud Ieremie Threnorū ultimō: Conuerte nos Domine
ad te & conuertemur. Secus est de tertio, quia inter collationem gratiae iustifican-
tis, & dispositionū eam præcedentium, & collationem gloriae, mediāt opera bona in-
terna & externa, ex dono iustificante & libero arbitrio per spiritus sancti inhabitan-
tis singularem directionē proficiscentia, quibus iuste gloria redditur. Sic enim accipi-
endū est illud Pauli ad Ephe. 2. Creati, in operib⁹ honis quæ preparauit De⁹ ut abule-
B mus in illis, vtique pertineturi per ea ad finē nobis diuinitus præstitutū. Id quod clare
videre licet in Paulo, qui cùm esset ab eterno prædestinatus, & ex tempore gratis iu-
stificatus, dicebat de operibus intermediis inter iustificationem & coronam. Bonum
certamen certavi, cursum consummaui, fidē seruaui: de reliquo reposita est mihi co-
rona iustitiae, quam reddit mihi dominus in illa die, iustus iudex. Quod ut plenius ca-
pias considera rationem reprobationis, in qua similiter tria reperies. Propositum æ-
ternum non misericendi, temporalem obdurationem, & æternam damnationem. H o-
rum primi nulla est causa, nullum meritum ex parte reprobati. Secundi, id est, obdu-
rationis meritum est ex parte hominis, qui meruit ob præcedens peccatum à Deo de-
seri, & filii relinqui. Et similiter tertij, causa est & meritum, peccatum præcedens. Vnde si queritur, cur ab eterno proposuerit Deus Petri misericordi, & iude⁹ nō misericordi, in
C particulari nulla est causa, nisi quia Deo sic placuit, cuius voluntas iniqua esse non pos-
test. Item si queritur cur Petro ex tempore gratiam apponit, & donum largitur quo
liberatus à suo peccato, iustus hinc exit: iude⁹ autem gratiam non apponit, nec iustitia
donum largitur, sed eum relinquit in peccato suo in quo in finem perseverat. Respon-
detur quoniam in Petro placuit Deo ostendere misericordiam, in iude⁹ exercere iu-
sticiam. Si pergis querere cur huic misericordia, & isti non misericordia. Respondebit P̄ulus
& temeritatem querentis compescit, dicens. O homo tu quis es qui respondes Deo
&c. Sed si queris quare iude⁹ preparauit Deus æternatormenta. Recte respondebitur
propter peccata quæ Deus præuidebat eum commissurum esse, & in eis presentem
vitam finitum. Si autem queris cur Petro ab eterno præparauerit æternā gloriam.
Respondebitur, quia in illo placuit ostendere diuitias bonitatis sua. Vnde in Petro om-
nia pertinet ad gratiam: & ipsa prædestination æterna, & ipsa gratia & doni tempo-
ralis collatio, & ipsius doni bonus usus, & ipsa consummatio gratiae sive retributio
gloriae, sed non equaliter nec omnino uniformiter. Nam in primo nihil prorsus est
nostrum. In secundo licet aliquid nobis vendicemus, non tamen illud dignum est,
D iustificatione. Sed in tertio relato ad quartum est dig. ita & ratio meriti: itaque
duo prima pertinent ad meram gratiam: non sic duo postrema, & i deo gloria redi-
ditur pro bonis operibus: licet enim opera bona ad gratiam pertineant, non exclu-
dunt tamen nostram cooperationem, propter quam ipsa gratia merito locum relin-
quit, nec meriti rationem excludit. Sed haec enim de gratia, & merito plus satis, qui-
bus si mentem adhibueris, planè videbis, quæcunque prolixè congeris contra ope-
rum meritum, nihil habere momenti, nisi ve te ad conclusionem planè aliquid
deducant: quam ideo ad verbum subiacio & expendo, vt lector qui quis eius absurdita-
tem videns si tu (quod absit) oculos clauseris eunter notam cordis obstinati.
Opera inquit, postrema sunt quæ requiruntur in lege, nec legem implēt coram Deo
In opere semper peccamus, cogitationesque nostra immundæ sunt. Charitas quæ
legem impleret frigidior est apud nos quam glacies fide igitur viuitur quantum lumen
li iii. carne

in carne, si de que vincimus mundum, hec est enim victoria quæ vincit mundum, fides **A** nostra, prius loannis quanto. In Deum per Christum quod eius charitas qui vicit omnes diaboli tentationes imputabitur nobis. Ex fide ergo est omnis promissio ut firma sit omni semini credentium, quia ex operibus legis non iustificabitur omnis caro coram illo. Hac enus recognoscis verba tua. Hic videris aperire secretū cordis tui, explicando rationem propter quam tam nihil tribuis bonis operibus, quia vide- licet bona opera postrema sunt quæ requiruntur in lege, primum enim requisitum in adimplectione legis est, bona cogitatio. Secundum bona voluntas. Tertium & ultimum, bonè voluntatis per opus exequitio. Et similes gradus sunt in opere prohibito per legem. Primum est mala cogitatio. Secundum male cogitationis deliberata voluntas. Tertiū male voluntatis in uerbo vel facto exequitio. Contingit autem saepe per impedimentum extrinsecū ut voluntas plena, siue bona, siue mala, non perueniat ad exequitionem operis, quo casu voluntas pro facto reputatur, sicut dicit Ioannes in canonica sua. Qui odit fratrem suum homicida est. Et dominus in euangelio ubi de adultero loquitur. Qui viderit mulierem ad concupiscendum eam, iam mochatus est eam in corde suo. Et ediuerso exempla ponit possunt de bono. Igitur non male dicis opera postrema esse, quæ requiruntur in lege opus bonum pre- cipiente. Sequitur: Nec legem implent: verum est quoties sola sunt, & duo priora non precedunt. non enim satis est legi, opus esse bonū ex genere, quæ est bonitas secundum quid, cum qua constat opus esse simpliciter & abolutè malum, quoties duo priora desunt, desunt autem semper. Nam sequitur. Operem semper peccamus, cogitationesque nostræ sunt immundæ: Ecce abest primum ad opus bonum requisitum, scilicet cogitatio bona. Nam immunda cogitatio mala est. Sequitur, charitas quæ legem impletet &c. Hic abest & secundum ad bonum opus requisitum, scilicet bona voluntas, Charitas enim est voluntas bona, vel bonæ voluntatis causa, quæ si adesset legem impletet, secundum illud Pauli ad Romanos. 11. Qui proximum diligit legem implevit. Et illud euangelij: In his duobus mandatis vniuersa lex fendet & prophetæ. Sed **C** quia tu de illa charitate non loqueris, notanter dicis impletet, non autem implet: Et addis, quod est glacie frigidior. Apparet enim benè consideranti quod ille amor qui naturaliter consequitur contemplationē, diuinæ bonitatis & considerationem donorum & promissionum Dei, non est illa charitas quæ est finis precepti, vinculum perfectionis, legis, & prophetarum summa, sed est quidam amor qui naturaliter nascitur erga benefactores, qui reperitur in ethniciis & publicanis qui diligentes se diligunt, ut dicitur Matthei. 5. Talis charitas erga Deum recte dicitur glacie frigidior, comparata ad veram charitatem, quam diffundit spiritus sanctus in corda fidelium, in quibus habitare dignatur, quæ sola implet legem. Sequitur, fide ergo viuitur quemdiu sumus in carne, si de que vici mundum. Hec est enim victoria quæ vincit mundum, fides nostra, prius loannis. 5. Quid audio? An fides mortua quæ nec operatur nec viuit, vincit mundum, hoc est fides quæ per dilectionem non operatur: Charitas **D** enim quæ non sufficit ad impletionem legis, non eripit à potestate diaboli, nec est mundo superior: omnes enim legis transgressores sub lege sunt, & per legem iudicabuntur, & sub maledicto sunt. Nec satis est dicere, sicut tu dicas, quod Christi charitas nobis imputatur. Et quod hoc credere sit fides quæ saluat. Tua verba sunt, fides in Deum per Christum quod eius charitas qui vicit omnes diaboli tentationes imputatur nobis: Considera o'oro te Tindale in quæ absurdā deuolutus es, postquam vias tritias reliquisti, & terminos à patribus positos prætergressus es.

Quid enim potest dici absurdius quam quod aliquis sine propria charitate saluetur & quod personalis charitas Christi, hominibus imputetur non habentibus spiritum sanctum & proprium donum charitatis, evident contra apostolum Paulum ad Corinthios 11 dicentem. Si linguis hominum loquar & angelorum &c. Vbi ex- prese

Quod Christi
charitas nobis
imputatur sed
charitatem no-
bis operatur.

A presso dicit cetera omnia spiritus dona sine charitate nihil prodeſſe, & econtrario charitatem habenti, cetera prodeſſe: Et Ioannes apostolus cap. 3. Nos scimus quia translati sumus de morte ad vitam, quoniam diligimus fratres. Et qui non diligit manet in morte. Ex quo conſtat vnumquemque ſaluatori ſua dilectione, quam licet non habeat à ſeipſo, habet tamen eam in ſeipſo. Ad Romanos quinto, Gloriamur in tribulationibus, quia tribulatio patientia operatur, patientiam autem probationem, probatio vero ſpem, Spes autem non confundit, quia charitas Dei diuina eſt in cordibus noſtri per ſpiritum sanctum qui datus eſt nobis. Alia eſt charitas Dei, qua Deus nos diligit, & alia charitas Dei, quam Deus facit in nobis, & per quam Deum diligimus & proximum. Hanc per ſpiritum sanctum infundit, effundit, diſfundit in cordibus noſtri, Non eſt ergo verum quod charitas Christi nobis imputetur ſed charitas Christi in nobis facit charitatem, licet non aequalē charitati Christi, tamen tamen & tantam quā ſit ſufficiens cum adiutorio Dei, ad implendam legem.

B Haec igitur fides qua credimus & confidimus in Deum, per Christum quod eius charitas nobis imputabitur, nobis, inquam, non habentibus opera bona, quorum cogitationes sunt inimundæ, & voluntas non bona, quia charitas noſtra vel nulla eſt, vel tam remiſa, ut eius remiſio peccatum eſt. Haec inquam fides non eſt vera neque catholicæ, ſed ficta, nō quā Deus revelauit prophetis aut apostolis aut ecclesiæ. Lege enim omnia symbola, & omnes fidei explanationes, quae factæ ſunt ab initio usque in praefens, contra hæretes diversis temporibus exorientes, & non reperies hunc articulum, Credo quod Christi charitas mihi imputabitur ad ſalutem, mihi inquam propria in charitatem non habenti, aut non tantam habenti, quantum a me exigit lex charitatis, ſcripta in lege, reſumpta in euangelio, explanata ab apostolis. Manifestum eſt enim ſecundum ſanam doctrinam, quod ille ad Christum non pertinet qui Christi ſpiritu non habet. Qui enim ſpiritu Christi non habet hic non eſt eus: In quo- cunque autem charitas non eſt, in illo non habitat ſpiritus sanctus

C

FINIS

M. iiiij.

CONFVTATIO.

NVM ADVERSVS GVLIELMVVM

Tindalum Liber Tertius.

QUONIAM in calce assertionis tuae dicis te bona conscientia protrulisse quod sentis, credimus te ita sentire ut loqueris: vnde merito, si vera sunt quae credis, tibi displicent, qui Romani Pontificis, & Cæsar is nomine te captiuum detinent, atque ut malfactorem tractant. Iam quoniam de nobis audire, imo legere possulas, quae sit nostra de re controversa sententia, non deeret voluntati tuae, si forte hac ratione queam te ab isto errore ad catholicæ, veræque doctrinæ studium reuocare. Ecce igitur tibi bona conscientia proserimus quod credimus, quod tenemus, quod didicimus in ecclesia catholica, orthodoxa: & si permittis, etiam Romana. Non enim erubescimus aut euangelium, aut ecclesiam, matrem nostram, scientes quid, & à quo didicerimus.

DE FIDE.

FIDES est charitate prior generatione, charitas fide prior est dignitate. Fides, est fundamentum, charitas est complementum. Prima coniunctio animæ reverentis ad Deum, fides est, ad Hebreos. ii. Oportet accedentem ad Deum credere, &c. ad Romanos. io. Quomodo invocabunt in quem non crediderunt, quomodo credent sine prædicante, vnde rectè dicit Augustinus, loquens instrutori rudiū. Quicquid narras, ita narra, ut ille cui loqueris audiendo credat, credendo speret, sperando amet.

DE CHARITATE.

CHARITAS est finis præcepti, charitas est summa legis & prophetarum, imo Ceuangeli, & apostolice doctrine: vnde rectè dixit Augustinus. Ille tenet, quicquid latet, & quicquid patet in diuinis sermonibus qui charitatē se iuat in misib; & alibi. Scriptura nihil præcipit nisi charitatem, nihil vetat nisi cupiditatem. Hinc sit ut omne mortale peccatum excludat charitatem, & quod alii virtuti contrariatur, charitati contrarietur, vnde Apostolus. Dilectio proximi malum non operatur, plenitudo legis est dilectio, Nam non occides, non adulterabis, non corupisces, & si quod est aliud maledatum, in hoc verbo restauratur, Diliges proximum sicut te ipsum: hinc Iacobus: Qui offendit in uno, factus est omnium in eus. Fides & charitas non coherent inseparabiliter: est enim charitas sine fide in angelis, & hominibus beatis. Charitas nunquam excidit, fides in via est, in patria non est. In Christo charitas est, non fides. Sed & in puris viatoribus fides sine charitate est plerunque prior tempore, & orando impetrat charitatē. Præterea fides est in cathecumenis, qui credunt Christo, & signant se: & tamen nondum Christus se credit eis. Hi dum baptizantur, fidei accedit charitas. Fides est in peccatoribus poenitentibus, nondum à peccatis absolvitis, fidem enim non omne peccatum tollit, sed sola infidelitas. Hinc lequitur quoddam charitas non necessariò fluit à fide, sicut lumen vel calor procedit à sole. Apostolus alicubi loquitur de fide, quae per dilectionem operatur: nunquam tamen dicit, Fides dilectionem operatur, & multò minus dicit quoddam fides necessariò aut naturaliter charitatem producit: iniò perfectam fidem sine charitate esse posse scitis aperte dicit. ad Corinthios. 13. Si, inquit, habuero omnem fidem, ita ut montes transferam, charitatem autem non habuero, nihil mihi prodest. Id quod etiam satis ostendit testimonium à te allegatum, in quo Petrus hortatur fideles 2. Petri. i. Omnes curata subincurrentes, ministrare (inquit) in fide vestra virtutem, in virtute autem scientiam,

A Scientiam, in scientia autem abstinentiam, in abstinentia autem patientiam, in patientia autem pietatem, in pietate autem amorem fraternitatis, in amore autem fraternitatis charitatem, vide quot virtutum gradibus ab initio fidei peruenit ad cacumen charitatis: ad quas virtutes adiunxit, quid opus erat hortari fidem habentes, si necessario & naturaliter atque inseparabiliter à fide fluunt? Vult itaque Beatus Petrus, nostra cura cum Dei gratia & auxilio hæc omnia addi supra fidem, quodque si fides sine his in nobis permiserit, erimus vacui & sine fructu, cœci & manu tétanæ tanquam oblii remissionis peccatorum: vnde & Apocalipsis secundo. Spiritus probat opera, & laborem, & patientiam, & quod sustinuerit propter nomini Iesu Christi, & non defecerit angelus Ephesi, & tandem addit, sed habeo aduersum te paucam: quod charitatem tuam primâ reliquisti: hic nihil arguitur de relata fide, ergo existente fide charitas aut tolli aut minui potest, quod non esset verum, si naturaliter à fide fueret, & necessario eam sequeretur.

B

DE CLAVIBVS

PO TESTA Clavium non fundatur in charitate: sed in ordine sacerdotali. Ordine autem sacerdotalis, neque charitatem sequitur, nec necessario comitatur: alter enim datur spiritus sanctus ad sanctificandam creaturam cui datur: aliter ad facienda miracula, ad prophetiam, & ad diuinitendum aliena peccata, recte ergo dicit Augustinus. Oportet esse sanctos tanti regis ministros, sunt autem sancti si velint, securi: facit ille qui dicit, hic est qui baptizat. Vnde olim de ecclesia ut haereticis & leprosatis projecti sunt Nouatiani, qui negabant sacerdotibus datam esse à Deo potestatem remissionis peccatorum, & postmodum Donatisti: qui dicebant solos bonos, & iustos, ac sanctos ministros, posse baptizare, vel absoluere, Postremo Valdenses, & complices eorum, quia dicebant omnes & solos habentes charitatem:

Chabere claves ecclesiæ: id quod tu modo videris asserte, & non vereri sanctos ecclesiæ partes reprehendere, tanquam cœcos & carnales, quia aliud esse claves assertant, quam tu dicas, dñm in eo solo ponis claudendi & aperiendi facultatem, si prædicator ostendens peccatori iustum damnationis sententiam, facit illum confugere ad gratiam, sicut Petrus prædicans in die Pentecostes: id quod nihil vetat conuenire etiam homini mere laico, vt manifestum est igitur hæc dicens: penitus tollis ordinis sacramentum. Nec quibusvis sed sanctis: doctis: spiritualibus sacramenti Dei ministris contradicis, videlicet Cypriano, Cornelio, Ambroso, Basilio, Chrysostomo, Augustino, Hieronymo, Leoni, Gregorio, totique adeo ecclesiæ catholicae, quæ est columna & firmamentum veritatis.

De episcopatu, sacerdotiu, & diaconatu.

DE PI Scopatus, sacerdotium, apostolatus, nomina sunt dignitatis, officij, ministerij siue administrationis, nō qualitatis. Qualitas enim facit dignum vel indignum, bona dignum, mala indignum: sed non continuo qui dignus est episcopatu vel sacerdotio, Episcopus est aut sacerdos: aut ediuerso, qui indignus est episcopatu, vel sacerdotio, ideo sacerdos non est vel episcopus, Iudas apostolus erat nihil minus quam Petrus & Ioannes. Et Nicolaus Antiochenus diaconus ordinatus est, & que ut Stephanus, qui in diuinis literis ideo positi sunt, vt intelligamus virtutem & efficaciam diuinorum sacramentorum à Deo pendere, non à qualitate ministrantium: quod & Apostolus ostendit scribens ad Corinthios epistola priori, vbi reprehendit contententes, tanquam melior esset baptismus datus à meliore ministro quod ideo falsum est, quia virtus sacramenti est à Deo, in cuius nomine datur.

De obedientia

PER R O illud quoque dicendum est secundum ecclesiae catholicae doctrinam sanam, non esse licitum Christiano se se subducere obedientiae vel subiectioni sui pretlati, praepositi, vel episcopi: ob id quia malus sit, aut non vivat ex praescripto diuina legis. Neque hoc precipere dicendus est Paulus ubi monet, ut substrahant se ab omni fratre ambulante inordinate, & non secundum traditiones diuinis vel apostolicas, unde Matthei 23. docet saluator cauendam malam vitam: & sequendam bonam doctrinam. Super cathedrali (inquit) Moysi sederunt scrib*e*s & Pharis*e*i: Omnia ergo quecumque dixerint vobis, seruate & facite: Secundum opera vero eorum, nolite facere. Non ergo recte dicas quod si episcopus non sit irreprehensibilis, sed ebriosus, vel percursor, vel impudicus, aut non sit episcopus: aut non sit eius parentum in his que benè monet, aut precipit. Eius enim est talem deponere, cuius est constitutere: episcopus enim seruus Dei est, hunc Deus prefecit conseruis. Eundem etiam deponit per seipsum aut per eos qui illi prefecti vice Dei funguntur: Tantisper igitur dum eos Deus patitur, & ad poenitentiam expectat, nos qui talibus subiecti sumus patienter ferre illorum prefecturam necesse est. Nec perturbare oportet ordinem diuinatus constitutum, aut scindere unitatem ecclesiastici collegij, Papa, siue etiam episcopus seruus est seruorum Dei, ab ipsis quidem conseruis electus, sed interim a Deo constitutus. Vos in eo erratis, quod seruum a domino suè familie prepositum, ab ipsa familia constitutum esse, & ab eadem destitui posse arbitramini. In quo laicos facitis ecclesie ministris superiores, cum sint dispensatores & serui Dei quos ipse conseruis prefecit. Et à quo pro bona & fideli administratione gloriam; vel pro mala & infidei dispensatione, peccatum sunt accepturi.

DE VOTIS

HOC habet sana doctrina, quod vouere bonum fit, positum in arbitrio voulentis, sed votum prestatore iam non arbitrarium est: sed necessarium. Quicunque enim illud Deo voulit quod voulendum est, Dei consilium vertit sibi in preceptum: hinc dixit Petrus ad Ananiam act. 1. qui cum totum agri premium voto obtulisset, partem fraude sibi seruabat. Nonne (inquit) manens tibi manebat: & venundatum in tua erat potestate? Non es mentitus hec minibus, sed Deo: & primæ ad Timotheum quinto, de viduis post votum castitatis nubere volentibus, dicit apostolus Cum luxuriantes fuerint in Christo, nubere volunt, habentes damnationem: quia primi fideli irritam fecerunt, id est, votu castitatis seruandæ prius emissum violerunt. Non itaque ad hoc valet vis charitatis, ut vota non seruare liceat habenti charitate, sed ut id quod voulit, prestatore libeat & quod exoluere necesse est, exoluat liberaliter. Sed hinc aliquem qui voulent continentiam, nec habeat donum a Deo continentiae, sed patitur visionem carnis, & stimulos libidinis, nonne huic licet sequi consilium Apostoli primæ ad Corinthios septimo. Qui non continet nubat, melius est enim nubeat quam viri? Haud dubium est non licere. Hoc enim consilium datur homini libere, qui ad virum libet suæ potestatis est vel ad matrem: cùm centralendum vel non contrahendum, alioqui quæ post emissum vatum continentia reverterit ad nuptias, iuxta sententiam Apostoli abit retro post Satanam. Istum alia remedia quartæ oportet contra petulantiam carnis, ieiunium, eleemosinas, iugem orationem, quibus sine dubio impetrabit donum castitatis, quoniam non deserit Dominus refugientem ad se, eaque postulantem quæ necessaria sunt ad salutem, iuxta illud, Petre & accepit, quartæ & inuenietis, pulsate & aperietur vobis. Vnde Augustinus cap. penult. lib. 2. ad Pollen. loquens de viris & coniugibus ipsorum: profiter adulteria separatis ostendit eis continentiam esse necessariam, sicut & illis qui voulent, ipsa continentia facta

A facta est necessitatis, Augustini verba sunt. Hos igitur aliquos ut quod facere deberet si habuerint coniuges diurno languore marcessentes: vel loco sibi inaccessibili absentes, vel animositate illicita continentes, hoc faciant si habuerint coniuges adulterina iniquitate sordentes, & propter hoc a tuo consortio diuorcentes, non alia quicquam coniugia, quia non erunt coniugia sed adulteria. Cum enim pars forma sit in hoc vinculo viri & vxoris: sicut vox viuente viro vocabitur adultera si fuerit cum alio viro. Ita & vir viuente vixore vocabitur adulterus si fuerit cum alia muliere. Et paucis interpositis, non eos terreat sarcina continentia, Ieuis erit, si Christi erit, Christi erit, si fides aderit, quae impetrat a iubente quod iussit, non eos frigat, quod videtur eorum continencia necessitatis esse, non voluntatis, quia & illi qui eam voluntate de legerunt, fecerunt eam esse necessitatis, quoniam viui sine damnatione ab illa deviare non possunt, & qui in eam necessitate contrulsi sunt, faciunt eam esse voluntatis, si non de seipso, sed de illo a quo est bonum omnino confidunt, illi ad eam transcendebant causa maioris gloriae, ut aliquid amplius inuenirent, isti ad eam consugerunt causam salutis nouissimae, ne perirent, utriusque permaneant, utriusque in quod peruenierunt ambulent usque in finem, serueant studijs, supplicant votis, quia & illis salus cogitanda est, ut ab eo quod voluntas arripuit cadere timeant. Et istis gloria desperada non est, si in eo quod necessitas intulit, perfiditer diligent, fieri enim potest ut Deo terrene & hortante, conuertente & implente, humanus in melius mutetur affectus. Simili spiritu loquitur Hieronymus. Et si nupsierit virgo non peccauit, non illa virgo quae semel Dei cultui dedicauit, harum enim si qua nupsierit habebit damnationem, quia primam fidem irritam fecit, si autem de viduis hoc dictum obiecerit quanto magis de virginibus praualebit: cum etiam his non liceat quibus aliquando licuit. Hæc ille. Item Basilius, Cuique ab initio quod vitæ genus cupiat modo concessum, hoc iniuste ac optare licet, siue in matrimonio, siue cælibem agere: Quādo vero se Deo semel autorauit per vitæ continentiam, ac perpetuam castitatem, hoc detrectare non licet.

B cet: nec aliter quam aliquod munus aut hostiam Deo sacram se illi custodire, ne reos sacrilegij nos Deus accuseret, si dicatur ei corpus rursus rebus prophanis & communis vitæ ministerio sordidauerius. Hæc ille. Ambrosius autem arbitratur sacerdoti iustam causam esse martyrum, ut contradicat, ne virgo Deo sacra vox ducatur, ei que similem causam esse quæ fuit Ioanni baptistæ dicenti Herodi, Non licet tibi habere vxorem fratris tui. Et Gregorius eos qui mulieres Deo sacratas sibi matrimonialiter copulabant, anathemate scrire non dubitauit. Sed & Iouinianus Imperator Christianus legem dedit: ut capitali sententia plecterentur qui sacram virginem nuptiali thorbo violare auderent. Patrum istorum sententiam ideo prolixius ascripsi, ut videas quantos & quales pro Luther & Melanth. reliqueris, quorunq; ego malum imitari negligientiam, quam istorum obscuram diligentiam.

Liber primo
adversus Iouinianum.

Liber de vita
solitaria.

Soforenus tri-
partite histo-
riæ. 17. cap. 4.

DE IVRAMENTIS.

D S A N A doctrina iuramenta dicit esse licita causa necessitatis, dummodo hanc ex diuino prescripto, videlicet in iudicio, iustitia, & veritate: Quod enim Dominus in euangelio Math., iurandi facultatem in totum a Christianis auerre videtur, & postmodum apostolus Iacobus in canonica sua capite ultimo, consilium est, non præceptum, aut certè si præceptum omnino esse contendas, non est præceptum absolute ligans, ut est præceptum non occides, non mechaberis, & sunilia quæ nulla causa licet fieri possunt, Sed est prohibitio ex causa nempe ad evitandū periuri peri culuni, quod quando satis cauetur, iurare peccatum non est quod enim ex causa prohibetur, cessante causa, cessat prohibitio. Accipe simile. Paulus vetat eligi in episcopatu Neophyton. I Timoth., hæc prohibitio non est absoluta, sed ex causa, quam addit, ne in superbiam elatus & car. quæ quidem causa si sufficienter caueatur, & electus

JACOBI LATOMI

Lectus in humilitate sese contineat, nihil agitur contra apostoli præceptum qui Ne- A
ophyrum instituerit episcopum, vt patet in electione Ambrosij, de qua ipse loqui-
tur in epistola ad Vercellenses. Simplex promissio homini facta promittente ligat,
ne promittens inveniatur mendax si contra fecerit quam promiserit, Matthæi 12.
Ex verbis tuis iustificaberis, & ex verbis tuis condemnaberis. Sed longè fortius ligat
iuramentum simplici promissione adiunctum, propter secundum decalogi præ-
ceptum dicens, Non asumes nomen Domini in vanum: cōtra quod facit qui iuramento
promissionem firmatam dum potest, non seruat. Non itaque ad hoc valet potestas
charitatis, vt iuramenta non reddatur: sed ad hoc, vt non vi vel iuetu, sed liberaliter
& amanter reddantur.

DE IEIVNIIS

HOC habet sana ecclesiæ doctrina, quod solennia ieunia Christianis indi&t, B
necessario seruari oporteat: & potestatem charitatis non ad hoc valere, vt su-
uni possessorem liberet à ieunij præcepto, & à communibus ecclesiæ legibus
& traditionibus, sed ad hoc vt libenter & amanter ieunet, atque corporalis ieunij
laborem, & afflictionem pinguedine devotionis compenset. Vnde Aerius quidam
(vt resert Augustinus libro de hæretibus) propter hoc hæreticus habitus est, quod al-
sereret statuta solenniter celebranda non esse ieunia, sed cum quisque voluerit ieu-
nandum, ne videatur esse sub lege.

De sanctis cum Christo regnansribus.

Libro 20. cap.
21. contra Fa-
tham.

HOC tenemus, quod tenet sana ecclesiæ doctrina, sanctos esse colendos & ho-
norandos, eorum memorias sive basilicas esse frequentandas, propter initatio-
nem, propter meritorum participationem, propter precium adiutorium: ita C
habet ecclesiæ catholicae usus, & præfens & antiquus, ita per manus à patribus acce-
pimus: Sic respondit Augustinus Fausto Manichæo calumniante, quod martyrum me-
morias honoramus, in hos dicentes idola convertisse, Populus (inquit) Christianus
memorias martyrum religiosa solennitate concelebrat, & ad excitandam imitatio-
nem, & vt meritis eorum consocietur, atque orationibus adiuuetur: Hæc ille. Vnde
perpendis eos qui horum trium tantum primum recipiunt cetera negantes, aut libe-
ra esse volentes, vt credantur vel non credantur, tanquam in illis liceat vnicuique
in suo sensu abundare, ecclesiæ traditionem, patrum religionem, populi pietatem violare.

DE sanctorum reliquijis.

HOC sentimus quod sana ecclesiæ doctrina sentit, in honore & veneratione D
habenda esse sanctorum corpora, tum propter fidem resurrectionis, tum pro-
pter beatarum animarum sanitatem, quarum ea corpora fuerunt, & post ali-
quod tempus futura sunt, & propter spiritum sanctorum qui in illis corporibus habita-
vit, quibus vt instrumentis usus est, & post resurrectionem aeternaliter inhabitabit. Atq;
hunc honorem Deo gratum esse credimus, tanquam impensum ipsi Christo in suis
amicis, fratribus, & membris: credimus & ipsis sanctis nostram devotionem & pieta-
tem in Dei verbo videntibus placere: & quod hoc nobis utile est & expediens ad fi-
dei confirmationem, & augmentum. Si enim vulgaris amor efficit ut qui alicuius amo-
re flagrat omnia quæ amati sunt diligat, quanto magis erga Deum charitatis amor
in corde efficit, vt Dei seruos quos dignatus est sibi sacre amicos, fratres, membra,
tempora, amemus, honoremque reveremur. Vnde merito Vigilantius huic veritati co-
trarium, abiectus est de ecclesia, tanquam hæreticus.

De Christi

A

NHoc articulo eandem fidei regulam sequimur, atque id sentimus & tenemus, quod traditum est per sanam ecclę doctrinam, quod in honore & reverentia habenda sunt, tanquam signa Christi, & sanctorum eius: & quod honor & contumelia imaginibus illata, ad res quarum sunt imagines referatur. Imagines enim eiusmodi va lent ad memoriam excitandam, & sunt literas nescientibus pro libris. Cūn itaque, sacra scriptura caudum esse docet à simulachris, de ijs simulachris loquitur in quibus dēmones, vel alia creatura corporalis aut spiritualis, latrā, sive cultu soli vero Deo debito, coluntur, quemadmodum Pagani idola colebant, se präsentantia aut ali quid quod non est, aut si est, Deus non est, sed creatura, construentes eis templa, altaria, sacrificia, & sacerdotes. Huiusmodi cultum ecclesia catholica non exhibet imaginibus sanctorum, nec sanctis ipsis, neque cuicunque creaturæ, quantunq; excelle lenti, quando autem latrā cultus exhibet signis Dei incarnati, ut in imagine crucifixi.

Bxi vel crucis, ab vniuersi veri Dei cultu non receditur: quia in imagine vel signo non sifatur, sed refertur ad ipsum Deum verum & hominem, signo, simulachro, vel imagine repräsentatum. Ex quo euadit manifestum, eos nullum habere excusandi colorē, qui hoc tēpore prætextu vitādē idolatrie, Christi crucis, & sanctorū simulachra & imagines sustulerūt: recteq; oī damnata est hęc hæresis monachorū, & de ecclesia catholica proiecta. de quo latissimè agitur synodo septima vniuersali Cōstantino & Hirone matre eiusim: per antibus, pontificatu Adriani secundi Romani pontificis.

De purgatorio & suffragijs pro defunctis.

ET in hoc articulo illud tenemus quod in ecclesia catholica didicimus, quod cūm offertur dominici corporis & sanguinis sacrificium, animabus prodest pro quibus offertur, non quidem omnibus, sed illis tantum que purgatione indigēt, & in statu gratiæ decesserunt. Nam altaris sacrificium, elemosina, vel quodlibet aliud opus bonum dum pro defunctis fit, pro valde bonis gratiarum actio est, pro val de malis qualiscunque viuorum consolatio, pro mediocriter bonis & mediocriter malis, expiatio est: hoc habet scriptura vetus libri Machabæorum, quod videlicet sancta & salubris sit cogitatio pro defunctis exorare, ut à peccatis soluantur. Idem testatur scriptura noui testamenti, Matthēi duodecimo, Marci tertio, & Lucē duodecimo. Ex quibus testimonij, sumitur argumētum, quod quedam peccata remittuntur in futuro seculo. Et Paulus testatur quosdam saluari per ignem, in quibus lignum, scenum, & stipula igne consumuntur, manente fundamento, quibus scripturis quia patrum sententia consonat, & ecclesiæ vniuersalis v̄sus in hūc usq; diē continuatus, consequens est, nulli licitum esse huic veritati quæ secundūm pietatem est contradicere. Cui si quis pertinaciter contradixerit, merito hæreticus habebitur. Et Augustinus libro de hæresibus ca. 53. inter dogmata Arii enumerat & illud, quod orare vel offerre pro mortuis oblationem non oporteat.

D

De iustificatione imp̄j

OR Dinarius processus in conuersione imp̄j & infidelis est, ut primum donum sit fides, hęc datur nō peteti. prius enim est credere quā inuocare, dicēte apostolo ad Rom. 10. Quomodo uocabunt eum in quem non crediderunt? Post fidem sequitur timor, primū seruili, & spes quedam, quoniam enim fides peccatori certo ostendit potentiam, scientiam, iustitiam, & honestatem sive clementiam, & misericordiam Dei, tria priora timorem efficiunt, posteriora vero spem. item fides certum reddit peccatorem de Christo Deo, Dei & hominis filio, quod mediator sit inter Deum & homines constitutus ad reconciliationem. Quodque nulla alia via sit posita salutis q̄ per Christū Iesum. Quarto loco sequitur oratio sive inuocatio N̄i patris p Christū, remissionem, salutem, liberationem, & gratiam sancti amoris petens, quo adepto nō tā damnari metuat, quām à Deo separari: quam oīdem gratiam ut facilius obtineat plangit, luget, ieiunat, ut Deus ipsi parcat, qui sibi non parcit, addit & eleemosinam

Kk mosinam

mosinam , censes id æquum esse ut proximum quibus rebus valet , adiuuet , qui à A
Deo cupit adiuari , nouit enim misericordiam promissam misericordibus , Talis vide-
tur suile progressus in cōuersiōe Cornelii Centu . Act . 10 . cuius orōnes & eleemosinę
narrantur tunc Deo acceptę , vnde Deo dignus visus est qui per Petrum de fide par-
ticulatum spiciatimque institueret : si prius generati ac confusè crediderat . ali-
oqui non sūlent eius eleemosinę & orationes acceptę : quemadmodum affirmat
Paulus ad Hebreos vnde cito . Quia sine fide impossibile est placere Deo . Si hæc re-
cte dicuntur , manifestū est q̄ charitas nō immediate , sed mediate non necessario , sed
contingēter pcedat a fide . Quodq; hę duę virtutes nō inseparabiliter adhærent sed
contingat . & quidem frequenter , eas disiūctas existere , tam quòd ad Deum dantem ,
quam quod ad hominem accipientem attinet . Etenim in patria charitas est sine fide ,
in via autem licet non sit sine fide , fides tamen est in peccatore sine charitate . Qui-
busdam enim dat Deus fidem quibus non statim vt charitatem , dat ijs qui ad tempus
credunt , & in tenipore temptationis recedunt : & illi seruo cui vnum datur talentum B
quo nō vtitur : quod illi ad peccatum à Domino nō imputaretur , si non in eius situm
eiset potestate talento vti , & non vti .

DE SACRAMENTIS

QUANTVM ad essentiam , numerum , & efficaciam , hoc tenemus quod in
ecclesia catholica didicimus , eandem sequentes regulam in recipiendis sacra-
mentis , quam sequimur in recipiendis canonicis scripturis . Nam sicut illæ scripturæ
principio loco habentur canonicaꝝ quas pro talibus habet & accipit , non tantum ma-
ior aut frequētior ecclesiæ catholice pars , sed quas oēs p̄fis pro canonicis agnoscunt
Ita illa habenda sunt sacramenta , quæ pro sacramentis habet omnis ecclesia catholi-
ca . Et quemadmodum catholicus orthodoxus non veris rationibus adducitur vt de
authoritate scripturæ canonicaꝝ dubitet vel alicuius partis eius , eo quòd videat quaſ
dam hereses , vel schismata ipsam scripturam in totum , aut ex parte vel nō recipere ,
vel repudiare , ita sentienduni de sacramentis : Quia regula credendi ex ipsa ecclesia C
catholica , & ex his qui in eadem permanent petenda est , non ex his qui foras exierūt
aut proieci sunt : vt enim ex ramis in vite permanentibus vñq; vnde vnum exprima-
tur colliguntur , non de sacramentis p̄cisis , ita quoque veritas fidei , ac doctrine sacra-
mentorum ex catholicis orthodoxis petenda est , non ex hereticis , aut schismaticis ,
Caterū illud habēdū p̄ sacramento quod p̄ sacramento habet ecclesia catholica , etiā
si hoc nō probet per scripturā expressā : Et enī in talibus traditio æquivalit scripturæ
Non enim opinia ad fidem , religionem , & sacramenta spectantia , expressè habentur
in scripturis , vt constat ex dictis patrum & ex ipsa canonica scriptura . Nam & ipse
Paulus quādām verbo tradidit Timothæo tanquam fidele depositum , quæ p̄cepit
conimendari fidelibus hominibus , qui idonei essent & alios docere . Vnde sicut ve-
ritas fidei , verus scripturæ intellectus , & vera obscurorunt locorum interpretatio ,
ex ecclesia catholica petenda est , ita & veritas , vñs , & fructus sacramentorum . D

Neque vero ista dicimus quòd putemus deesse scripturas testificantes de sacra-
mentis , sed quòd etiam si deessent , aut si que sunt , & hæc expositione vel interpretati-
one alicuius trahantur , quam vt ad sacramenta pertinere videantur , sufficere tamē
debet homini pio & fidi traditio ecclesiæ catholicaꝝ .

Nam de baptismō omnium sacramentorum iai ua , quot , & quante sunt vtriusq;
testamenti scripture ? quibus tamen non obstantibus in ira cœpit & obstinata per-
tinacia huic sacramento hodiè contradicitur .

De confirmatione , quòd sit secundūm sacramentum . Eiusque minister episco-
pus , & quomodo datur per impositionem manuum : hal: etur A Et iūm quarto .

De eucharistia superfluum est aliquam scripturam allegare , cūm sint ita aper-
te & tam multe , vt & ipse Luterus cūm conaretur hoc sacramentum euertere , fatea-
tur se scri-

A tur se scripturem non potuisse vincere.

194.

De penitentia quanto sacramento non solum est traditio per manus accepta, sed sunt etiam figuræ, exēpla, & scripture expressæ, tamen noui q̄ veteris testamēti, huius sacramenti minister est sacerdos, materia est peccator baptizatus à sanctitate baptis- mi lapsus, qui per veram contritionem & puram confessionem peruenit ad absolu- tionem, in qua absolutione completetur ipsum sacramentum. In hunc usum sunt clau- des traditæ Petro, & in Petro toti ordinis sacerdotali, cui dicitur Matth. decimo sexto Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorū, & cetera. Huc etiam referendum est & illud Iohannis Vigefinii. Accipite spiritum sanctum, Quorum remisceritis, & cetera.

B De ordine quo aliquis ordinatur episcopus, sacerdos, aut minister, quinto sacra- mento, est scripture Pauli ad Timothæn, quem hortatur ut resubilitet gratiam ipsi da- tam per impositionem manus presbyteri, cui præcipit ne cui facilè manum imponat, cum tradit modum & formam quemadmodum celebrari debeat ordinatio.

De extremaunctione, sexto sacramento, est locus scripture in canonica Iacobi, Infirmatur aliquis in vobis, & cetera, capite ultimo.

De matrimonio septimo, & ultimo ecclesiæ sacramento, est scripture Matthei decimo nono, quod Deus coniunxit homo non separat: de quo apud Marcū, & apud Lucam, & ad Ephesios Apostolus. Sacramentum hoc magnum est, & in Christo & in ecclæsia, ubi Augustinus. Sacramentum hoc paruum est in singulis quibusque coniu- gatis, sed in Christo & ecclæsia magnum.

De efficacia sacramentorum, & quod dignè suscipiens recipit gratiam.

C De virtute vero & efficacia quam sacramenta habent à Christo hoc tenemus, quod in ecclæsia didicimus, verbi gratia, de baptismo quod dignè recipienti remis- tet omne peccatum originale & actuale, mortale, & veniale, & cunctam penitentiam, ita ut si baptizatus non hinc enigret nulla post mortem patiarur purgatoriatormenta

De confirmatione tenemus, quod dignè suscipientibus, baptismi gratiam augen- tar, & eam corroboret perficiatque.

De eucharistia quod dignè recipientes reficiat, nutrit, & spiritualiter crescere faciat, Quodque corporis & sanguinis Domini oblatio vivis & defunctis valcat ad prosequitum, aut utilitatem spiritualem.

D De penitentia, quod valeat ad remissionem peccatorum post baptismum com- missorū, quando per ministros ecclæsiae, quib⁹ claves regni cœlorum creditæ sunt mini- strat. Quodq; ficut is qui potest baptizari nō recte decederet sine baptismo, ita simili- ter qui post baptismum mortale peccatum commisit, rō recte nō igraret sine penitentia sacramento: quia utrumque sacramentum necessitatis est, illud quidem intrantibus, istudvero redeuntibus ad ecclæsiam.

De sacramento sacri ordinis, hoc tenemus, quod dignè gratia ad dignè ministrandum ordinato confertur cùm ordinatur, nisi opponat obicem, quodque ordinatio episco- palis aliquid addit præter ordinem sacerdotij.

De extrema unctione dicimus, dignè suscipientibus valere ad peccatorum re- misiōnem, & preparare animam ad ingressum regni cœlestis.

Kk. ij.

De

De matrimonio dicimus quod in ecclesia didicimus, dignè suscipientibus hoc A sacramentum dari gratiam, qua sciant coniuges vas suum postulare in sanctificazione, non in passione desiderij, sicut gentes quæ ignorant Deum, quodque propter significationem coniunctionis Christi cum ecclesia, & duarum in Christo naturarum visionis inseparabilis, matrimoniali inter fideles ritè contractum sit inseparabile.

De autoritate & prælatura Romani pontificis super ecclesiam & quodlibet membrum eius.

VIA omnium Christianorum sicut dicit Augustin. de opere monachorum capit. 25. vna est res publica, & in unaquaque republica oportet esse vi. i. summa prelatura magistratum, hanc autem supremi magistratus potestatem, oportet esse penes unum, ut in regno, aut penes paucos bonos vel potentes, sicut in Aristocracia, aut penes multitudinem ut in Democracy: si primum detur, videlicet ut in prema potestas regimini sit penes unum, penes quem (putes) melius erit quam penes Romanum pontificem Petri successorem, & cui Christus claves tradidit, cui nominatio suas oves pascendas commisit, à quo solo successio episcoporum in se. & apostolica præsidentur usque in hunc diem continuata perdurat? Adde, quod hoc consentaneū sit euangelio, quod præcipua vniuersalia concilia concordent, quod Christiani orbis accedat consensus, non recens sed antiquus, non modo tacitus sed etiam expressus, tanquam hæc sit vox spiritus Christi quo regitur ecclesia, hanc veritatem omnium fidelium cordibus suggestentis. Sin vero dicatur regimen ecclesie esse penes episcoporum collegium, sicut regimen Aristocraticum, eut senatus, cuius quidem senatus aut collegi authoritas in conuentu us qui ex omni orbe Christiano coeunt maximè valet, tamen erit necesse unum vel plures esse magistratus, penes quem vel quos regendi potestas permaneat conuentu soluto, & concilio cessante. Eo quod nec semper nec sepe potest esse congregatum: Si vero rursus dicatur summum magistratus potestatem esse apud multitudinem, tanquam apud populum, ut in republica prophana fieri consuevit: tamen sic quoque opus erit aut unum aut plures creari magistratus, penes quos sit summa rerum, quibus omnis Christianus sit subditus & obligatus teneatur: Deniq; si dicatur ecclesiæ politia esse mixta tanq; ex Monarchia, Aristocracie, & Democracy. Nihilominus verum erit quod modo diximus: nam dicere in unoquoque temporali regno, aut in unaquaque libera cōmunitate esse summam regnum, tamen in temporalibus quam spiritualibus penes unum eius cōmunitatis supremum moderatorem, nō in temporalibus modo, verum etiam ex æquo in spiritualibus seu in ijs quæ ecclesia Christi propria sunt, quale est episcopos constituere, ac eisdē de flituere Id vero nequaquam concordat cum sacris literis neque traditione per manus accepta. Sed nec id ipsum patitur ecclesiæ unitas, quæ in quantum talis, vnu regnum & vna civitas est. Quib; bene perspēctis appetit sano intellectui quod nō ius e Romani pontificis authoritati contradicatur, negando eiū esse supremum, & ordinarium D iudicem omnium & singularem Christianorum in fide, scientiā, & ijs onus quæ ad ipsa pertinent. Ex his intelligitur primum grauerter errare eos qui dicunt ac persuadere conantur non aduersari veritati diuinitatis reuelatione, si quis alterat Regem vel Imperatorem sive alium quemlibet magistratum, quo vel regnum vel civitas gubernatur quia nullum agnoscit in ciuilibus si persone habere etiam posse, aut potest, parem potestatem in spiritualibus. Quia ut dictum est, illud refugiat unitati regni, civitatis, & reipublicæ quæ est ecclesia Christi, ut patet ex diuinior e quam ponit Aristoteles tertio politicorum, dicens. Res publica est ordinatio civitatis & circa magistratus alios, & maximè circa id quod summa in civitate habet authoritatem & sit principalissimum omnium. Nam principalissimum vbiq; gubernat civitatem quod autem gubernat, res pub. est. Propterea manifestum est eos qui invenitiam illam rerum

A rerum ecclesiasticarum potestatem præter ius usurpant schismatica facere, sequent ipsos ab ecclesia catholica & orthodoxa abscondere: adeoque segregantes se ab unitate corporis spiritus amittere, tñquam lamento à vite præcisum. Sed neque vñtā huj recuperare possunt, nisi eo remigent vnde discessere, & iterato inferatur in bonam olimiam ut hanc radicis participes. Postremo sequitur quod ecclesia catholica, essentialiter & intrinsecè arque inseparabiliter constituta, in ordinaria potestate & successione sine interruptione continuata, & in finem seculi continuanda præpositorū scilicet & subiectorum secundū statū in quo constituta est à descensu spiritus in die Pentecostes, propter efficax & infallibile verbū promissionis ei factā in persona Petri Matthei 16. & exhibit̄ loannis ultimo. Vnde recte Augustinus ponens diuinitatis fidei, lib. de Genesi ad literam imperfecto, inter alia dicit in hæc verba. Datum est se spiritum sanctum credentibus in eū constitutā ab eo matrem ecclesiam, quæ catholica dicitur ex eo, quod vel perfecta est, & in nullo claudicat, & per totū orbem diffusa est. Sicut autem fieri non potuit, quin continuaretur successio perpetua secundū lineam carnalis generationis, primo ab ipso Abraham ad David usque, deinde ab ipso David usque ad Christum inclusuē, propter infallibile & efficax verbū promissionis ad illos factę: conformiter dicendum est, in spirituali generatiōe nutrimento augmento, duratione, siue perseverantia in ecclesia catholica usque ad aduentum dominii secundū, propter promissionem & donationem atque efficaciam consequentē donū spiritus. Nā loquens discipulis suis instantē passione & morte, Itē post resurrectionem, & etiam ipso die quo in cœlum ascendit, tūc velut in summa colligens & recapitulans opus omnino quod super terrā egerat, dixit. Ita oportebat Christum pati & relurgere a mortuis die tertia, & prædicari in nomine eius penitentiam & remissionem peccatorum, incipiētibus ab Hierusalem & in omni Iudea & Samaria, & usque ad ultimum terræ. His etenim verbis (si Augustino creditur) apertissimè demonstrata est ecclesia, quæ quidem (ut idem dicit) non in verbis nostris sed in verbis Domini querenda est.

FINIS TERTII LIBRI CONTRA TINDALVM.

Mindful of the rarity of Latomus's book, the Latin text is offered here in facsimile for the convenience of scholars. It appears by kind permission of the Chief Librarian of the University of Leeds, with acknowledgement to the generous and courteous efficiency of the staff at Leeds University Library.

Latomus's book contains marginalia which are easily read. I am unable to identify f188 r 'Philip 2b'.

There are occasional errors in biblical references: f184 r gives Hebrews 2 for Hebrews 11; f185 v C has Luke 22 for Luke 17; the same page at D refers to 2 Timothy 4:8 in a strange way. The Deuteronomy 10 passage mentioned at f187 v A is elusive. f193 v suggests that Latomus may have misremembered the details of Acts 4.

Some printer's errors are fairly obvious:

- f183 r C *alioru* *read* *aliaru*
- f183 r D *consensiamus* *read* *consentiamus*
- f183 v A *aliquam* *read* *aliqua*
- f183 v B *redemptoris* *read* *redemptionis*
- f183 v C *Christianu* *read* *Christu*
- f183 v D *Scil* *read* *Sed, meteri* *read* *mereri*
- f184 r A *deficentes* *read* *deficientes*
- f185 r B *subieret* *read* *subiret*
- f187 v A *meriti* *read* *mereri*
- f191 v D *libere* *read* *libero*
- f192 v A *agitur* *read* *agit*
- f193 r B *monachoru* *read* *Manichaeoru* (?)

Further difficulties will be noted by the attentive reader:

- f185 r (the parenthesis)
- f186 v *initio*
- f187 r A (si before saltem?)
- f188 r A (Quia autem...?)
- f190 v A (numbered 182, 'quia tribulatio...probationem')
- f192 v A (the syntax of Augustine's quotation)
- f193 v A (ut...dat)

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